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LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SWEDENBORG.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY BELL AND BAIN,
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JESPER SVEDBERG.

BISHOP OF SKARA.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG:

HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

BY WILLIAM WHITE.

"God of old hath for His people wrought
Things as incredible: What hinders now?"

Samson Agonistes.

Second Edition, Revised.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND COMPANY,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

1868.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

B2P (Swedenborg)



PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION, 1867.

SWEDENBORG'S name has grown familiar in English literature, but with few definite ideas attached to it. The causes are not far to seek. His works are so voluminous as to daunt many readers, nor are there any one or two of his volumes calculated to afford a complete view of his philosophy and theology. The little sect, moreover, which assumes his authority to be divine has never commanded the public ear.

To the majority, Swedenborg is no more than an eminent Ghost Seer. Professor Masson, in a recent popular work, states this broadly, saying, "From the most moderate Animal Magnetism to the most involved dreams of the Swedenborgians and Spirit Rappers, is simply the idea, that our familiar world or cosmos may not be the total sphere of the phenomenal"*—that is to say, the drift of Swedenborg's teaching is to prove the existence of a Spiritual World—a phenomenal world beyond that which now affects our senses. Mr. Masson means well, but he completely misapprehends Swedenborg's real business.

As a Ghost Seer, Swedenborg is not without interest, but it is an interest which is quickly exhausted: to regard him simply as a Ghost Seer is to make a prodigious mistake. The mere wondermonger soon becomes a bore; and as he

* *Recent British Philosophy* (Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution, 1865), p. 285.

prolongs his entertainment we have to cry, as Hotspur did under the infliction of Glendower—

“ He angers me,
 With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,
 Of the dreamer Merlin, and his prophecies;
 And of a dragon and a finless fish,
 A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulten raven,
 A couching lion, and a ramping cat,
 And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
 As puts me from my faith. I tell you what—
 He held me, last night, at least nine hours
 In reckoning up the several devils' names
 That were his lackeys: I cried hum—and well—go to—
 But mark'd him not a word. Oh, he's as tedious
 As is a tired horse, a railing wife;
 Worse than a smoky house:—I had rather live
 With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,
 Than feed on cates, and have him talk to me
 In any summer-house in Christendom.”

Elsewhere I have shown how Swedenborg's true glory consists in a new definition of the relations between the Creator and the Creature, and that his other-world experiences are altogether subsidiary to the illustration of these relations. He demonstrates the absolute inutility (for philosophic purposes) of the mere knowledge of an objective Spiritual World. Its phenomena teach just as much and just as little as the phenomena of the Natural World; for there roam Atheists who prove there is no God, and Sadducees who argue they have never died. All this however has been obscured by his vulgar reputation as Ghost Seer, and his merit as the author of a profound and original philosophy is almost unknown.

To try and remove somewhat of this inveterate ignorance concerning Swedenborg seemed not an unworthy task; and a biography in connection with a review of each of his books

appeared to be a good way of effecting my purpose. In short, I resolved to compile a Swedenborg Cyclopædia, in which no anecdote nor any important principle should be omitted.

Swedenborg has as far as possible been left to tell his own story, and to reveal the heart of his own books. The selection of proper material from a territory so extensive has cost far more pains than the same amount of original composition. In many cases the selected passages have suffered severe abridgment. Swedenborg's thoughts are constantly delivered in bulky solution, and if in getting rid of the superfluous water I have ever strained away some of the essential substance, I have in all cases supplied the reference for my extract, whereby a suspicious reader may test its accuracy. The complaint however which I really dread is, that whilst I was straining I did not strain harder.

As a critic of Swedenborg, my difficulties have not been slight. With a few exceptions, he has undergone no criticism. He has been cursed without reserve, and he has been blessed without reserve, but he has been rarely appreciated. I have therefore had to form many judgments which I feel sure would be modified had I enjoyed the discussion of liberal and enlightened minds.

Much new matter relating to Swedenborg will be found in these volumes, but I need only specially refer to the important discovery of his Diary of 1744, printed by Mr. G. E. Klemming, of Stockholm, in 1859. The Diary sheds a flood of light on an obscure and pivotal point in his biography.

There are no doubt many facts yet to be brought to light relative to Swedenborg's personal life in Sweden and England; and if any one in the course of his reading encounters aught unrecorded in the following pages, I should gladly and gratefully hear from him.

Lastly, I owe thanks for assistance to many friends: one has to write a book to learn how courteous the world can be: let me name specially, Dr. Kahl, Dean of Lund; Baron C. Dirckinck Holmfeld, of Copenhagen; the late Dr. Tafel, of Tübingen; and Dr. Garth Wilkinson and William Fryer, Esq., of London.

30 THURLOW ROAD,
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.,
December, 1866.

PREFACE TO PRESENT EDITION, 1868.

HAVING "the proof" of the preceding Preface to a familiar spirit, as he read, he laughed. "At what are you laughing?" I inquired. "At your simplicity—*One has to write a book to learn how courteous the world can be!* You will not say so six months hence, when you have passed through the hands of the critics."

More than twelve months have elapsed, and I have no cause to retract; on the contrary, I repeat the words with emphasis. The attention I have received has been as unexpected as welcome. Praise has often been excessive, and censure only sometimes undeserved.

As anticipated, I have been generally blamed for the size of my volumes—for not "straining harder." The *Glasgow Herald* says, "A great deal more of the rubbish might have been advantageously riddled out;" and the *Spectator* advises, "If Mr. White will in a second edition compress his superfluous matter into one goodly volume, he will have performed a considerable service to that most valuable of all libraries, the Literature of Heresy."

A second edition in one volume I had in prospect, but did not imagine the necessity for it would so soon arrive. Here it is: two volumes condensed into one! With something of shame I confess the condensation has not been very difficult, whilst the improvement has been great. No detail of any importance has been omitted. Nevertheless I do not regret the issue of the two volumes. It was well

for once that various matters should be discussed on a broad scale. Each edition will have its place and use.

Somewhat amusing have been sundry criticisms wherein I have been taken to task for the measure of my faith in Swedenborg. The reasons for that measure I fancied were made manifest even to iteration, but I either over-estimated my own perspicuity or my readers' perspicacity; so much so indeed, that the *English Independent* considers me almost as great a puzzle as Swedenborg himself.

The case against me runs thus—

"You admit that Swedenborg kept a mistress, went mad, told cock-and-bull stories, and didn't wash his face. Yet you say he was a Divine Messenger! You ought to be ashamed of yourself! How can you pretend to respect such a reprobate!"

With similar logic, on the other side, I am almost frantically assailed by citizens of Hindmarsh's New Jerusalem—

"You wicked creature! How dare you tell people a Divine Messenger kept a mistress, went mad, told cock-and-bull stories, and didn't wash his face!"

My good people, I reply, what warrant have you for your indignation? If you were to judge King David as you do Emanuel Swedenborg, you ought either to dismiss his biography as a string of fables, or never read another of his psalms. Have you forgotten the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul? Have you never read of Paul's controversy with Peter? when, in Paul's own words, "*I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.*" Verily the Bible yields no sanction to your assumption that Divine instruments are impeccable and infallible.

You who condemn Swedenborg utterly, and you who uphold him utterly, argue from a common ground of in-

fallible authority vested in Church, Bible, or Swedenborg. Authority speaks, and you submit—at least you say so. On the contrary, disowning any knowledge of infallible authority, I believe what I see to be true. In Swedenborg, for example, I find—1st, a great deal that is trivial, and to which I am indifferent; 2nd, numerous statements perverse and untrue; 3rd, much possibly true; 4th, much probably true; and 5th, a whole body of doctrine which is to me assuredly true and ineffably precious.

“But how do you know what is true?” As I know that two and two make four; by the harmony existing between the truth and my consciousness; and by the test of experience. How else can we know truth?

“You talk as if you could know truth certainly, and as if error were impossible.” Nay; if our natures were in harmony with the truth, then we might know the truth infallibly. In so far as we are in evil, we have an affinity for error: in so far as we are in good, we have an affinity for truth.

“Have you then no respect for Authority?” Yea, profound respect. Nothing which has been held true by many generations can be lightly esteemed. Did I find myself essentially at variance with the catholic faith, I should at once suspect the competence of my judgment. Happily, with Swedenborg’s help, I have been led to see more truth in the creeds than many of their confessors suspect—senses deeper, wider, and more liberal.

It is often urged by despots, Romanist and Rationalist, “Why, since a man takes medicine, law, history, and science on authority, should he not likewise take divinity? Why should the simple and ignorant presume to private judgment in theology, when a similar claim would be scouted in any other department of knowledge?” I answer—In so far as divinity is a science like other sciences,

private judgment is, as you assert, preposterous; but whilst divinity is a science wherein a rascal may be as accomplished as a saint, it is much more than a science; else why does every Church attempt its universal propagation? If divinity were like anatomy, ignorance regarding it might be endured with equal equanimity: but it is infinitely more. The knowledge of God in Jesus Christ is a science with which every soul is called to experimental acquaintance, and in this experimental acquaintance consists living faith, wherein peasant and primate stand on equal ground, and the verdict of one is worth as much as the other.

We have to draw a clear line between authoritative and experimental knowledge. I believe a myriad things for which I have no evidence to offer save that I read or heard them on authority, good or doubtful. If on few or many points my belief is proved erroneous, I accept the corrections with pleasure; the transaction is on the superficies of the mind—no blood is drawn. With experimental knowledge of the spiritual sort the case is widely different. Such knowledge makes one with the heart, and to shake or remove it is to strike at the citadel of life. Not unfrequently in the course of regeneration, the heart *has* to suffer division from cherished errors of tradition and education, and in the bitterness and sickness of the process we discover what a vital matter, in the highest sense, faith is.

The end and promise of all religions is acquaintance with God. Man cries for God. Priests answer the cry, saying, Do this and say that, and you shall find Him; but their advice is too often illusory; it is as "*when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite.*"

Is not England at this hour resonant with High Churchmen who adjure us that God is properly gracious to those

only who have been sprinkled with water by certain officials, and is rightly known to those only who, after sprinkling, receive Him in bits of bread and sips of wine from the same official hands?

From every such limitation of our Father, Swedenborg comes as a strong deliverer. God our Father neither dwells in a palace, with priests for doorkeepers, nor is He an ethereal essence to be apprehended by intellectual straining or ascetic sublimation. God is Perfect Man who has shown Himself in Jesus Christ, and so shown Himself that we might never more have any difficulty in finding Him. Wherever there is love and wisdom, there is God; where-ever there is love, there is Jesus; wherever there is wisdom, there is Christ; whoever loves goodness loves Jesus; whoever loves wisdom loves Christ. The development of love and wisdom in mankind since the days of Tiberias Cæsar, has it been aught else than the ever-swelling, ever-brightening advent of Jesus Christ?

No mere historical character is Jesus Christ, once here and gone, and henceforth an archaic type of perfection for the exercise of lively imaginations, constructive and destructive. The true use of the Scriptures is that of an index to the world. They constitute a faithful picture of the Divine Manifestation and its Antagonists; but our business is not to loiter over the picture, but to use it as a guide to present realities; that is, for the discovery of Jesus Christ and His enemies in our heart, home, country, and world. There He is as veritably as ever He was in Jewry.

Whoever uses the Scriptures thus will quickly accumulate evidence for their authority, which will at least bring peace to his own heart.

There are many who tell us Christianity is exhausted; that the Historical God, the Ethereal God, yea even the

Unknown God, have grown obsolete; and that the answer of Culture in the future concerning Deity will be, "We know nothing about Him; neither whether He is, nor whether He is not." I apprehend no such paralysis of human nature, but regard these prophets as signs of the nearness of the day when the Creator will be more abundantly recognized as the life of His Creatures—identified with goodness and wisdom in Humanity, striving, crucified, glorified, world without end.

30 THURLOW ROAD,
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.,
February, 1868.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

JESPER SVEDBERG, BISHOP OF SKÅRA.—*Frontispiece.*

Copied from a rare engraving in the possession of Dr. Garth Wilkinson. The translation of the stanza in Swedish runs thus, literally—"Here stands Herr Svedberg's image in copper-plate, whose learning, and wisdom and zeal for Christ's flock are widely and most favourably known in the kingdom of Sweden, and will be in cedar-wood with eternal memory praised:" and that in German thus—"Here stands the image (no metal can show the reality) of him who contains nothing but the fear of God and wisdom. Should many walk in his footsteps, O how will then through thee thy Zion, Sweden, rise!"

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, Page 57.

Copied from the frontispiece of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. He was then in his forty-sixth year: in his eightieth, Cuno professed to discern a perfect likeness in this engraving: see p. 565.

SWEDENBORG'S HOUSE AND SUMMER HOUSE, . . . Page 504.

Engraved from photographs taken in Stockholm in the summer of 1862.

SWEDENBORG IN OLD AGE, Page 666.

Copied from an engraving inscribed, "*Eman. Swedenborg; Anno Ætatis 80, Nat. Holmiæ, 29th Jan., 1688. Denat. Lond. 29 Mart. 1772. J. F. Martin, Sculps. Holmiæ.*" It is generally admitted as the best likeness of Swedenborg in old age. It was in a copy of this engraving that Servanté recognized the old gentleman he encountered in St. John Street, Clerkenwell.

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LIFE OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

CHAPTER I.

JESPER SVEDBERG.

SWEDENBORG taught that a man takes his soul from his father and his body from his mother—a dogma we need not implicitly accept in order to feel an interest in some facts concerning his own stock.

His father, Jesper Svedberg, was a notable man in Sweden, who from a humble origin rose to the bishopric of Skara. He was the son of Daniel Isaksson, a copper smelter, and was born in 1653. After a custom of the time, not yet extinct, and which produces many new and strange surnames, he was called, not Isaksson, but Svedberg, after the homestead of Sveden, which his parents owned. How Svedberg developed into Swedenborg will in due course be told.

Daniel Isaksson and his wife Anna were industrious and poor, and had quite a flock of children, which they brought up in "a godly, severe, and serious manner." "My mother," writes Jesper, "was to me all that Monica was to Augustine." Isaksson regarded his family as the source of his income. After dining, he would sometimes say, "Thank you, my children, for dinner! I have dined with you, and not you with me. God has given me food for your sake;" a speech pregnant with that wisdom which is foolishness to a world that takes Malthus for prophet.

Isaksson's cheerful faith was continually justified in sufficiency, and crowned at last in abundance beyond his hopes. He formed one of a party of twenty-four to open a

deserted copper mine flooded with water, and by its yield he became one of the richest miners in his district.

Our boy Jesper, when in his sixth year, was playing with his brother by the mill-dam, which was running furiously, swollen with the spring floods. The brother got upon the cross-bar of the sluice and defied Jesper to follow. Jesper at once sprang up, tumbled into the stream, and was borne down to the mill wheel in such a way that it was stopped with his feet. Alarm was given, and after much trouble he was taken out as dead, but with many pains revived. "From that day," he tells us, "I determined to commend myself, morning and evening, to the hand of God and the keeping of his holy Angels."

He was sent to a school kept by a drunken master, nicknamed Ill-Peter, whose habits and free use of the rod disgusted Jesper. He loved books; his Bible he read constantly, alone and to others, and was delighted when he could find an audience before whom he could play at preaching. These and other signs satisfied his parents that he was destined for the ministry. To see a son in the pulpit is an ambition common alike to many a lowly Swedish and Scottish home.

At thirteen they therefore sent him to college, first to Upsala, and then to Lund. At Lund he had a relative, Professor Holm, who drilled him in logic and metaphysics, to which he had a strong dislike; and he took occasion in a scholastic discussion to manifest his contempt for these studies by reading an address crammed with metaphysical jargon which set the company in roars of laughter. His conduct at Lund showed a marked change from that at Upsala, as he with much naïveté tells us. "When at Upsala, I went about with blue stockings and Swedish leather shoes and a plain blue cloak. I did not dare to go into church, but stopped at the font, close behind the men's pews. But in Lund I became worldly, like my companions. I sported a wig, black and long, a fine greatcoat, a sash as then worn by laymen, and thought nobody was like me, and that common folks should clear out of my way, and make obeisance to me."

The constant presence of Spirits, good and evil, was Svedberg's assured faith. He knew he consorted with an Angel who was his help and defence. He had a vision whilst at college, in which he saw and heard things unspeakable. After preaching at Hoby on the third Sunday after Trinity, 1673, towards nightfall there was heard in the vacant church loud voices singing psalms. All the people of the hamlet heard the ravishing sounds. "From that time," he tells us, "I held in awful reverence the offices of Divine worship, knowing that God's Angels were peculiarly present during their transaction." In remembrance of this manifestation of angelic power he annually celebrated the third Sunday after Trinity as "The Great Festival of Great Sinners."

"Whilst a student," he relates, "God kept me from evil company. To be with holy men and to read the works of those who had written about the Bible was my chief joy. God's Angel once stood by me and said, 'What are you reading there?' I replied, 'I read the Bible, Scriver (whose *Treasure for Souls* I esteem more than all gold and silver), Lütteman, Jo. Arndt, Kortholt, Grossgebur, Jo. Schmidt, and others.' The Angel then asked, 'Do you understand what you read in the Bible?' I answered, 'How can I understand when no one interprets for me?' Then the Angel said, 'Get Geier, J. and S. Schmidt, Dieterich, Tarnov, Gerhard, and Crell's *Biblical Concordance*.' I said, 'Some of these I have and the others I will procure.' Then spoke the Angel, 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein,' and 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' I sighed, praying that by the help of God's Spirit I might give each minute of my life to His most holy will. Thereon the Angel blessed me, I thanked him humbly, and he departed."

At twenty-one he returned to Upsala and entered himself as a candidate for a theological bursary. Brunner, the Professor of Theology, ran his eye over the young man and asked him if he hoped to become a clergyman in a courtier's dress. He did not require a second hint; off went the gay

clothes and he re-appeared in a becoming garb. Brunner discerned a good heart in Svedberg, and took him to his home as tutor to his son Sebastian. "In Brunner's house," he says, "I learnt many good things in morals as well as learning, and above all to lead a pious, righteous, and orderly life. Brunner was a spiritual man in speech, manners, clothes, yea, throughout his whole being." Brunner allowed him to occupy his pulpit, and after his death, in 1679, Svedberg continued to officiate for three years in his parish. He published *A Short Sermon on the Premature Death of the Rev. M. Brunner, D.D., Professor at Upsala and Rector in the Parish of Dannmark*, which was as the letting out of water; for from that time forth throughout his long career he plied the printing-press almost incessantly. "I can scarcely believe," he says, "that anybody in Sweden has written so much as I have done; since, I think, ten carts could scarcely carry away what I have written and printed at my own expense; yet there is much, verily there is nearly as much, not printed."

In 1683 he was appointed Chaplain to the King's Regiment of Cavalry Life Guards.

Aged thirty, and with a fair income, Svedberg thought he might take a wife; and on the 16th of December, 1683, he married Sara, daughter of Albrecht Behm, Assessor of the Royal College of Mines. Her father and family were wealthy, and she brought him a considerable dowry, where-with he resolved to see the world outside Sweden. After spending some six months with his young wife, he obtained a year's furlough and sailed for England.

To London and Oxford he gave three months. He made the acquaintance of Fell, Bishop of Oxford, with whom he had much conversation on ecclesiastical union, telling him, "it could never be effected save by the hand of God, prayer, and a peaceful mind." He was deeply impressed with the sanctified lives of the English clergy, and the strict observance of Sunday by the people. Paris he next visited, and "was much pleased to see the care the Catholic Church took of the poor; and how ladies of quality dressed in mean garments, sought out the sick and houseless, and ministered

to them with as much tenderness as if they had been their blood-relations." In Strasburg he lived some time at the house of the theologian Bebelius, where he met and enjoyed the company of the learned Sebastian Schmidt. He used to speak in after-days of these two men as his spiritual fathers.

Spener, the leader of the Pietists, he wished to visit, but he was ill in bed. At Mannheim he met a Lutheran clergyman who tried his patience sadly with a tedious disquisition concerning the then flagrant controversy as to the propriety of saying *Unser Vater*, Our Father, according to the German idiom, instead of *Vater Unser*, Father Our, as Luther had done, following the Latin *Pater Noster*. At Frankfort he saw Ludolph, the only man he met in all his journey who could talk Swedish. Ludolph had travelled in Sweden, liked the Swedes, but told Svedberg, to "my country's shame, that there was no such thing as a Swedish grammar in existence." Down the Rhine he passed into Holland, seeing its cities, and then by sea to Hamburg, where he lived for ten weeks in the house of Edzardius, a learned orientalist, zealous for the conversion of the Jews, and an indefatigable clergyman. He exercised the young people of his church every Sunday in the catechism, to Svedberg's great satisfaction. "It is not to be described," he writes, "how piously and seriously this holy man lived. He laid his hands every day on the heads of his children, and blessed them as Jacob did his sons, and Christ little children. God bless his soul, and give him His eternal rest!"

Svedberg asked Edzardius what language we should use in Heaven. The doctor was silent. Then said Svedberg, "I think it will be the language of Angels. As the Angels speak Swedish when conversing with Swedes, German with the Germans, English with the English, and so on, I shall have to talk with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Swedish, and they will answer in the same; and when they talk to one another in Hebrew, I shall know what they say, for I understand that tongue." *

* Says Emanuel Swedenborg, "Every Spirit and Angel, when conversing with a Man, speaks to him in his mother-tongue; thus French with a

Svedberg's return to Stockholm was made glad by the sight of a son, born to him in the November of his absence. The year of travel he had enjoyed proved a seed-time in his existence; in it he acquired methods and impulses which through life he turned to fruitful practice.

To his regiment, consisting of 1,200 men, he resolved to be a priest indeed, and commenced by exercising them thoroughly in the catechism. "To this," he tells us, "they were quite unused, so that when they saw me coming, as they afterwards told me, they quivered more than they ever did before the enemy; but when I commenced telling them in a quiet way stories from the Bible, and strengthening them in Christian faith and life, they began to like me so well that they did not care to go away when their time was up and another detachment was coming in, so that between the two I was nearly trampled down. The officers, likewise, sat at the table listening and exchanging with me good and edifying words. At one yearly muster of the regiment I told them that next year I should give every man a catechism who could read print. I took down the names of all those who could then read, to the number of 300. Next year I found 600 so qualified, and it cost me 600 copper dollars to redeem my promise. I went immediately to King Charles XI. and told him of the expense I had incurred, and he at once took up his purse and gave me a handful of silver without counting it."

The regiment did not occupy all his time, and he officiated as assistant to the court chaplain. His free and honest preaching won the King's heart, and he commanded his services as a regular chaplain. He pleaded hard in his sermons for strict ecclesiastical discipline, a sabbatical observance of Sunday, and other reforms, which, advocated with blunt fervour in the midst of transgressors, earned him much dislike and involved him in many troubles. One day the King told him, "Thou hast many enemies;" to which

Frenchman, English with an Englishman, Greek with a Greek, Arabic with an Arabian, and so forth. With one another Spirits and Angels converse in a universal spiritual language, which every one after death utters spontaneously, without difficulty and without instruction."—*Conjugal Love*, No. 326.

he answered, "The servant of the Lord, your Majesty, is not good for much who has not enemies. Look at the prophets, apostles, and Christ Himself, what foes and detractors had they not!" On another occasion the King said, "Ask what you like and I will give it you." It required a strong head to carry such favour, but Svedberg appears to have been equal to it. "From that day," he tells us, "I became more earnest and wary in all I said and did. I asked nothing for myself or mine, no not even half a stiver; but spoke to the King freely concerning men meritorious and men poor, and he always attended to my desires. I also pleaded for his favour for schools, colleges, and the circulation of religious books. When he asked me who should be appointed to such and such a living, I named the person I thought, saying he is serious and one of the 'old sort,' and he straightway got the place. Hence many good men came into rich livings, to their happy surprise, and without any idea of who it was that had singled them out for promotion. As I found every day freer access to his Majesty, I prayed with my whole heart unto God, that I might not become proud nor misuse my opportunities, but that He should apply me to His glory and service; and that I might fulfil my every duty with watchfulness, and never forget that court favour is variable, and that I was girt about with gossips and backbiters. Moreover, I laid down these two rules for myself; first, To meddle in no affairs political or mundane with which I had no business; and second, Never to speak ill of any one, should he even be my worst enemy and persecutor."

In this time of royal favour, on the 29th of January, 1688, our hero, Svedberg's second son, was born. He called him Emanuel, a name, he thought, "which should continually remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy, and mysterious union in which, through faith, we stand to our good and gracious God."

In 1690 the King appointed Svedberg to the rural living of Vingaker, but he did not leave Stockholm to occupy it until 1692. He found the widow and children of his predecessor badly off, so he left them for a year in possession

of the parsonage, with its fields and meadows, allowed them half the income, and paid all their taxes; and, he says, "I lost nothing thereby; for I am of the firm opinion that one derives more blessings from the prayers of widows, orphans, and the wretched than from the richest living."

His connection with the people at Vingaker was brief; but, he says, "the days I spent among them were the sweetest of my life. They received me as they might have done an Angel. My love for them, and theirs for me, was more than words can express. They pulled down the large, old, worn-out vicarage, and built me a new one, with many handsome rooms, without any cost to me worth mentioning. Scarcely a day passed in which they did not bring us more than was needful for our domestic economy; a sort of kindness which at first gladdened me much, but afterwards oppressed and frightened me."

They were a curious people at Vingaker. Queen Christina appointed Baazius, a young man, to the living. He went down to preach to his flock, and when service was over, asked how they liked him. All were silent. He repeated his question, but received no answer. Again he repeated it; still there was no response. Then he said, "I can easily see I have not satisfied you; and be it so. I have been sent here by my Queen and Bishop, else I should not have come." Thereupon an old white-haired man stepped out of the crowd and said, "God be praised, you have a beard; you are welcome!" Baazius asked in amaze, "What do you want with my beard?" To this the ancient peasant answered, "People said you were a child; this is no parish for infants. God be thanked, you have a beard; you are welcome. Give our compliments to the Queen, and thank her."

Svedberg received offers of other livings, which he declined; there was strife in one, and his acceptance of another would evoke envy. His sudden rise, his restless, outspoken, and aggressive character inevitably created enemies, and led him into many difficulties; but he conducted himself warily, and held his own successfully. "The more," he tells us, "I had to suffer from hatred and malice, the more I found the grace and love of God to overflow within my heart."

When in Stockholm in the summer of 1692 removing the last of his furniture to the new house at Vingaker, he was surprised by a letter from the King, appointing him third Professor of Theology at Upsala. He went straight to Charles and pleaded that he might be excused, as he had been quite unused to college work for full ten years. The King insisted on compliance, and Svedberg yielded, saying, "In God's name it cannot be helped. I shall do my best and fly to God for help; but your Majesty must protect my back."—"I will do that," said the King. Svedberg stretched out his hand, saying, "Will your Majesty give me your hand as an assurance?" which Charles at once cordially did. The King showed him still further favour, for, ere he had been a month settled in the University, he made him Rector of Upsala; then his salary as Professor was increased; the living of Dannmark, where he had officiated when a student, was presented to him; and in 1694 he was made first Professor of Theology and Dean of Upsala.

One of Svedberg's fears about going to Upsala arose from the aversion which the dry scientific theologians who dwelt there had to his hearty religion, which they scoffed at as pietism. They spread a report through the University, that when the pietist Svedberg comes, no student will be allowed to wear a wig or carry a sword. About wigs and swords he did not trouble himself, and the "pietist" proved quite a favourite with the students. Other affairs, greater than students' wigs and swords, disturbed his peace.

It had been decided to revise the Swedish Bible and improve the translation, and a committee had been appointed for that purpose in 1686, and on it Svedberg was placed, on the 13th of August, 1691. To put Svedberg on a committee was equivalent to working it at high pressure; and by the 22nd of June, 1692, the revised Bible was ready. George Burchardt, a German printer settled in Stockholm, was despatched abroad to buy paper, types, and tools for its production; and Svedberg, on the King's guarantee, supplied ready money for the undertaking out of his wife's and a ward's funds. Burchardt returned with one foreman and twelve printers, and a stock of paper shortly followed, which

had been purchased in Germany, Holland, and Basle. Meanwhile grave doubts had been cast on the accuracy of the translation, and it was felt impossible to allow it to go to press. Delay followed delay, and the printers stood idle, to Svedberg's intense mortification. The new Bible did not appear until several years afterwards, and then with only a few alterations in orthography.

Undeterred by this disappointment, he entered on the preparation of a new Psalm Book with a few associates. The Book was submitted to the Church, passed the ordeal of two committees, and was ordered to be printed. As soon as published trouble began. Shrieks arose that it was dotted thick with pietistic heresy. "Professor Crispin Jernfeldt of Dorpat," says Svedberg, "a quarrelsome, bold, and impudent man, wrote a great many scurrilous observations on the Psalm Book; and his kinsman, the Bishop of Westeras, sided with him, a prelate who had never done anything to advance religion, but spent his years in adding field to field, and had stored up in his house whole chests of gold and silver." The friends and foes of the Psalm Book fought for some time with varied success. Jernfeldt told the King to his face that if he did not condemn the book, its heresies would cause a religious war; whereon the King seized him by the throat and dashed him against the wall. Jernfeldt was taken ill and in a few days died, and was proclaimed a martyr for orthodoxy. The upshot was, that after consultation with the bishops, the King thought it politic to prohibit the Svedbergian Psalm Book, as it was called.

Burchardt, the printer, between the Bible and the Psalm Book, was ruined, and, relates Svedberg, "was never quite right in his head afterwards. I, too, lost much money, but God compensated me with full interest for all I suffered;" which, when we think of Burchardt, seems scarcely fair. It was at this painful juncture that the King made him Dean of Upsala, to his intense delight. "It is incredible and indescribable," he tells us, "what consolation and peace are felt by the servants of the Lord when raised in a high and holy calling; and contrariwise, how down-hearted they must be who experience no such elevation."

Upsala was a pleasant city of some 5,000 inhabitants, set in a wide undulating plain, and made up of low-built houses of wood and stone surrounded with gardens. In the centre of the city stood the grand cathedral where Sweden's kings of old were crowned, and the bones of many rested. Built about this "beautiful house of God," in a spacious square, were the university buildings, two houses in which Svedberg owned as professor and rector. Here our boy Emanuel spent his childhood and found his playground.

Besides lecturing as professor, Svedberg was indefatigable as pastor. On all Sundays and holidays and every Friday he preached, and regularly catechized the students and youth of the city. His zeal was infectious. "All came willingly and joyfully; even the parents came unasked and stimulated their children."

His house, we may readily imagine, was not a dull one; for wherever Svedberg might be, he was an unfailing source of stir; and in addition, he had now eight or nine children to chase away any remnant of priestly or learned gloom which might linger within the walls of an old house in Upsala Square. There were boys Albrecht, Emanuel, Eliezer, and Jesper, and Daniel who died in babyhood; and girls Anna, Hedwig, Catharina and Margaretta. To find room for this large company he pulled down one of his houses, and set about rebuilding it on a more commodious scale.

About the names of his children the Bishop gossips so pleasantly that we may listen to him for a little—

"Moreover, I kept myself humble, and sought no sponsors of rank for my children, as many do. I shall give the reasons why I called my sons, Emanuel, Eliezer, and Jesper, and none after their grandfathers, or any others of the family. (Albrecht, the eldest, was born during my travels in foreign parts, and his mother named him after her father.) I do not find in the whole Bible a single case in which children received the names of their parents or forefathers. I will only mention the patriarch Jacob and King David. The former had holy, celebrated, glorious ancestors, and he had twelve sons, not one of whom was called Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. King David had also many sons, not one of whom

he called Jesse or David. Solomon had also many sons, none of whom he called David, Jesse, or Solomon, and among his numerous descendants there were many kings and princes, and not one was called Solomon or David. This good custom had however given way before the time of Christ, as is evident from the history of John the Baptist, whom at first they wished to name after his father Zacharias, which is a noble and significant name, *memoria domini*, in order that he might be ever mindful of the Lord.

"Hereby I do not presume to censure those who call their children after their own names; yet I hope and expect that nobody will blame my manner, since I have the Bible and the examples of many saints on my side. I have the full conviction that only such names should be given to children as may awaken in them the fear of God, and keep them mindful of propriety and virtue; and not, as many thoughtless parents do, give improper names to their children, forgetting the answer which a bad name enabled the prudent Abigail to give to King David concerning her husband Nabal (which means folly, in Hebrew). 'Let not my Lord, I pray thee, set his heart against this man of Belial, even Nabal: for as his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him.'

"Eliezer, my son's name, signifies 'God is my help;' and God has been his friend and has graciously helped him. He was a pious child, made good progress, and was called home by a happy death in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

"Jesper, my youngest son, was called after me merely because he was born on the same day and in the same hour as myself, who first saw the light of the world on the 28th of August, 1653.

"I am a Sunday child, and my wife, the mother of my children, was also a Sunday child, and all my children are Sunday children, except Catharina, who was born at Upsala on the 3rd day of Easter.

"I have never had my daughters in Stockholm, where many reside in order to learn fine manners, but where they also learn much that is worldly and hurtful to the soul."

Emanuel, writing long afterwards in his old age to Dr. Beyer, describes his thoughts in these Upsala years—

“With regard to what passed in the earliest part of my life, about which you wish to be informed: from my fourth to my tenth year my thoughts were constantly engrossed in reflecting on God, on Salvation, and on the Spiritual Affections of Man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times that certainly the Angels spoke through my mouth.

“From my sixth to my twelfth year it was my greatest delight to converse with the Clergy concerning Faith; to whom I often observed that Charity or Love is the Life of Faith, and that this quickening Charity or Love is no other than the Love of one's Neighbour; that God vouchsafes this Faith to every one; but that no one obtains it unless he practises that Charity.

“I knew no other belief at that time, than that God is the Creator and Preserver of Nature; that He gives Men understanding and good inclinations, and other gifts derived from these.

“I knew nothing at that time of the systematic or dogmatic kind of Faith which teaches that God the Father imputes the righteousness or merits of the Son to whomsoever, and at whatsoever time, He wills, even to the impenitent: and had I heard of such a Faith, it would have been then, as now, quite unintelligible to me.”

Writing about the same time of the Trinity, and opposing the notion of there being three persons or three gods in the Godhead, he remarks—

“From my earliest years I could never admit into my mind the idea of more gods than one; and I have always received, and do still retain, the idea of one God alone.” *

A precocious child, indeed, and badly instructed for a Protestant clergyman's son! some will exclaim.

As to the precocity, we must remember that the Bible and theology were the perpetual talk of his father's house; that he, his brothers, and sisters almost lived in the church, and were daily hearing or talking about sermons; that they

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 16, published 1771.

were constantly under interrogation as to what they learnt; and that Emanuel's thoughts were still further stimulated by the admiration which heard the Angels in his utterances.

Into these memories of his childhood Swedenborg inserted the doctrine of his prime. Unquestionably that doctrine was rooted in his young thoughts; but we are not to believe that he delivered it in stiff phrases about "the Spiritual Affections of Man," telling the Clergy that "Charity or Love is the Life of Faith," and that "God vouchsafes this Faith alone to those who love their Neighbours," and so on. When he wrote out these recollections he had forgotten how children talk, and although we may find in them the matter of his young thought, we need not suppose that he reproduced the manner.

To childhood the deepest questions of life present themselves bodily, and we esteem that manhood happy which is able to unravel and understand some members thereof. I know a child who is now wondering why God does not kill the Devil. That little boy may live to fourscore, and become learned in all the lore of the universities, but his skill will be thought great if he can demonstrate, in a few cases, Why the Divine Wisdom suffers error, sin, disease, and pain to exist; or, in other words, Why God does not kill the Devil.

About Emanuel there was a strange peculiarity in his respiration. He could hold his breath for a long time without any sense of suffocation. When on his knees at morning and evening prayers, and when absorbed in thought, the action of his lungs became suspended or tacit, as is the case with one in a trance. This fact should be noted, as it will re-appear with important consequence.

The summer 1696 was a sad one in the home in Upsala Square. On the 17th of June, Svedberg's wife died, leaving him a widower with eight children, the eldest of whom was not yet twelve. Of her he wrote, "Although she was the daughter of an Assessor and the wife of a Rector in Upsala and of a wealthy family, she never dressed extravagantly. As every woman in those days wore a sinful and troublesome *fontange* or top-knot, she was obliged to do as others

did: but hearing that a cow in the island of Gothland had, with great labour and pitiable bellowing, brought forth a calf with a top-knot, she took her own and her girls' hoods and threw them all into the fire; and she made a vow that she and her daughters, as long as they were under her authority, should never more put such things on their heads."

Sorrow was not exhausted in the loss of the wife and mother. Ere six weeks had elapsed, Albrecht fell sick and died. As he lay on his death-bed, Svedberg asked him what he should do in Heaven. "I will pray for thee, dear father, and for my brothers and sisters."

Svedberg pondered these words of Albrecht in his heart. They confirmed his belief that death effects no division of life, and that intercourse and service are possible between Angels and Men; and he composed an epitaph on his wife and son, commending himself and his children to their prayers. No sooner was it set up than an outcry was raised, that Professor Svedberg had turned Papist and had taken to the invocation of saints. The tale was carried to the King, and into his presence Svedberg followed it. "Do you not believe," he asked, "that the late Queen, your wife, prays for you and your children in the Kingdom of Heaven?" He desired the King that he might be allowed to illustrate and defend his position in a public discourse, but Charles, knowing the mischievous controversy he would excite, repressed his ardour and hushed up the scandal.

Charles died in 1697, leaving a settled and prosperous dominion to his son Charles XII., a boy of fifteen. He is reputed to have been a harsh king, doing justice, with little mercy. To Svedberg he was ever friendly and accessible. Shortly before his death he said to him, "I have ruled in Sweden three and twenty years. When I first became King I trusted everybody, now I trust nobody." To which Svedberg replied, "That is not right. To trust everybody is foolish; for there are many wicked and silly people."—"The world is full of them," interposed Charles. "But to trust nobody," continued Svedberg, "is very bad; for there are many good, honest, and wise men."—"Ah, it is now too late!" said the King.

SVEDBERG found he could not get on without a wife. The story of his second courtship he must tell for himself. The lady was the daughter of a clergyman, and had been twice a widow before Svedberg fancied her, having been married first to a merchant and then to a judge.

"On St. Andrew's Day, 1697, I celebrated, in a blessed hour, my wedding with my second most beloved wife, Mrs. Sara Bergia. I was not acquainted with her; I had never seen her, and did not know that she existed. I was unexpectedly informed of her piety, meekness, and liberality to the poor; that she was well off, good-looking, a thrifty housewife, and without children; in a word, she seemed a woman that would suit me well. I wrote to her, laying bare my thoughts, and she acceded to my request. Two days before the wedding I went to Stockholm, whither she also, by agreement, repaired. I was put into a room where she was sitting alone, but I did not know and never imagined it was she, for no one had told me. I sat down beside her. We conversed for a long time about sundry matters, I talking to her as a perfect stranger. At length she said, 'What do you think of our bargain, Mr. Professor?' I replied, 'To what bargain do you refer?'—'That which you have written about,' she said. 'What have I written to you about? I do not know what you mean.'—'Are we not,' she said, 'to be man and wife to-morrow?'—'Are you that person!' I exclaimed, and then we jumped up and confirmed our friendship by shaking hands, and with a loving embrace."

His new house in Upsala Square was completed towards the end of 1698. Of its erection he wrote, "I was constantly watching it, and am sure and can truly affirm that no hewing was done, and no stone set in its place with groans and unwilling minds, but all was carried on with diligence and joy. No noise was heard, no squabbles, no reviling, no curses." His house-warming was characteristic. He invited all that could leave the hospital, and the paupers of Upsala. He feasted them, and he, his wife and children waited at table. "Everything passed off decently, and the day was wound up with song, prayers, and mutual blessings."

Presuming on the youth of Charles XII., the King of Denmark, Peter the Czar of Russia, and the King of Poland conspired to plunder Sweden of various out-lying territories. They little imagined the energies hidden in the Boy King, and the terrible disasters their craft would draw upon them. They provoked Charles to war, and in war Charles found the exercise and delight of his nature; "the whistle of bullets shall henceforth be my music," he said.

The wild wars of the young King pinched Sweden sorely. The Clergy contributed one-tenth of their incomes to the State; but Charles demanded a second tenth. The threatened exaction caused some of them to lay a complaint before the Chapter of Upsala. The Archbishop, a timid creature, advised his brethren to suffer quietly, and not embarrass the King when he was preparing for war. At this speech, up rose Svedberg and replied, that if the Clergy sought unfair relief they ought to be admonished; but if fair, the Chapter had no other choice than to lay their case before the King. "Well," said the Chapter, "if you are bold enough, you had better go and see the King."—"Bold I am," replied Svedberg, "when duty prompts. Give me authority, and I will go to the King, confiding in God." His offer was at once accepted.

He started off to see Charles at Kungsör, where he found all busy preparing for a masquerade on Sunday. "Cannot you preach the masquerade out of the head of the King and his suite?" he asked the astonished clergyman of the place. "Since you cannot, then I will try;" and he preached a sermon with his accustomed plainness and warmth against "the profanation of the Sabbath by such sports." "I fear," said he, "if the masquerade go on, Sweden will never forget the bloody shirts that will come out of this war." To his joy, the masquerade was abandoned; whereon he remarks, "A zealous Samuel or Nathan is a means of welfare to any kingdom, whilst a smooth-tongued Uriah works no end of evil."

Svedberg sent his petition to the King, writing under his name, 1 Moses xlvii. 22. "What does that mean?" said

Charles. "It will be his cipher," said Count Piper. Some one looked at a Bible and read, "Only the land of the Priests bought Joseph not; for the Priests had a portion assigned them by Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands." Then said Charles, "Let the Clergy alone, and let them be taxed no more than before." With this decision Svedberg returned in triumph to his brethren.

His connection with Upsala came to an end in 1702; his years of service in the city and university he speaks of with much satisfaction: "During the ten years I spent there, God favoured me so much that there was nothing but peace and goodwill among the teachers and students, although before Upsala had been a place of strife and bitterness."

A few days before he received notice of removal to a higher sphere, his houses were burnt down. A fire swept round the square, and laid the cathedral in ruins. All his furniture and books were saved "by the matchless love and daring of the students." He wrote at great length to the Princess Ulrika Eleonora, describing the conflagration and praying for relief for the sufferers. He ascribes the disaster to "the huge sins of the people;" they are indifferent to the pulpit, therefore "God preaches to them in this horrible fire." His own loss he reckons trifling, "if only the beautiful house of the Lord had been allowed to stand; a house which was the glory of Sweden." He owns that in time of war it is hard to afford means of help; "but the money squandered on play-actors in Stockholm might well be put to better purposes." He ends in asking the throne "to take pity on a shepherd of a miserable flock wailing in ashes," and subscribes himself, "Jesper Svedberg, a very greatly afflicted curer of souls." The woes of Upsala were ministered to, though happily not at the cost of the players.

He was appointed Bishop of Skara by Charles XII., in a letter dated from Praga, near Warsaw. Writing of his elevation, he says, "It was wholly unexpected. I can say with a clear conscience before God, who knows all, that I never asked for it, or opened my mouth about it, or took a

step to get it; and still less paid one farthing; for I have always been an enemy to runners and buyers."

As soon as he was settled at Brunsbo, the seat of the bishops of Skara, he set out on a visit to every priest in his diocese, and repeated the circuit yearly, making his hand felt in the remotest corners. He set up a printing office for his sermons, books, and tracts. He shipped large numbers of his condemned Psalm Book to America, where it was freely used by the Swedish colonists. Missions to the heathen he longed to set on foot, but was met with little but apathy. He succeeded in sending a few clergymen to the American Indians; and for his efforts and goodwill the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts elected him one of their members.

The bishopric of Skara did not render him a whit more courtly. The mad exploits of Charles drained Sweden cruelly of men and money. He issued a decree that every rector of a parish should fit out a dragoon, and every curate a foot soldier. This Svedberg thought a merciless infliction; and he says, "I took courage unto myself, and, seeking the help of God, sat down and wrote to Charles XII., then in Poland, a mightily serious and powerful letter, dated 21st Dec., 1705." He told the King that the Clergy were as willing as any of his people to help him to their utmost in his wars, and they only desired to be dealt with equitably; but the equipment of dragoons and soldiers was intolerable. "If the least thing is wanting in their accoutrements, a clergyman has to hear and swallow hard words, scoffs and snubbing at the mustering table, whilst peasants and others stand by grinning and showing their white teeth. Hence the priesthood is brought into contempt, the Holy Ghost is angered, and pastors lose control over their flocks." He then describes how the men-servants of parsons are carried off for soldiers, so that parsons have to gather sticks in the woods, plough, thresh corn, clean out stables, and perform other menial services. "I have myself seen grey-headed servants of the Lord driving oxen at the plough until they dropped down with fatigue, and remained lying on the ground. The Clergy are forced to think more of guns, swords, and

carbines, than of the Word of God, and have to waste their time in galloping about to musterings and reviews. Poor curates cannot buy the books their duties require; they have no decent broadcloth coats and cloaks, but go about in plain home-spun; and some have had to borrow money at usury, and even to sell their Bibles, in order to rig out a soldier. Such recruits can bring no luck in battle."

This letter he read to the Chapter of Skara and asked them to sign it; but they demurred, fearing to give offence to the King. "What have we to fear?" he pleaded; "we can be no worse than snubbed, and that will be the end of it." After much persuasion the whole Chapter signed the letter.

Charles wrote home to afford the Clergy whatever relief was possible; but as there were few consummate grumblers like Svedberg, nothing was taken from their burdens. He had two dragoons saddled on him, although by order of the King he was exempt, being a sufferer by the Upsala fire. "But," says he, "I paid and said nothing, for charity beareth all things, and seeketh not her own."

There is an anecdote told of Svedberg's supernatural credulity. Praying alone one evening in a church, a young man called to him from aloft, "Svedberg, to-morrow thou shalt die." He heard the voice as that of an Angel, and went home and solemnly made preparation for death.

He himself gives several accounts of exorcism and cures he effected. "There was brought to me a maid-servant named Kerstin, possessed with Devils in mind and body. I caused her to kneel down with me and pray, and then I read over her, and she arose well and hearty, and quite delivered. Three years after, Kerstin entered my service. One day she quarrelled with a fellow-servant, and went out threatening to commit suicide by suffocation in a kiln. I was writing in my study, and felt restless and anxious, and thoughts of Kerstin without cause kept flashing across my mind. At last I could bear it no longer and I went into the kitchen and asked, 'Where is Kerstin?'—'O,' said her neighbour, 'she has not been here for some time; she went out, saying she would go to the kiln and choke herself.' I ran to the kiln and found Kerstin lying in the smoke

senseless. She was carried into the house, and put in a bed like a piece of wood. Then after awhile I called to her in a loud voice, 'Wake up, and arise in the name of Jesus Christ!' Immediately she recovered, got up, and commenced to talk. Then I strengthened her with the Word of God, and gave her a good deal of Rhenish wine; after which she went about her duties as usual."

Again he tells, "There was a rumour spread about me in Holland, England, and elsewhere, that I had driven out the Devil through a little hole in the window, who had come to me in the shape of an officer, and argued with me about the state of Sweden, and how the war would end. Perhaps it grew out of this true occurrence—There was at Skara a woman who, for her terrible crimes, was to be executed. She would not confess, and, after a chaplain had laboured with her long and without effect, she was brought to me under guard. I took her into my study, and there spoke to her the Word of God in the most moving manner, and at last brought her to confess all, and more than she was accused of, and to repent sincerely. I assured her, by virtue of my office, that she was pardoned, and on the following day she bravely met her fate. Glory to God alone!

"One of my servants had a dreadful pain in her elbow. It was much swollen, and nothing we applied did it any good, and for days and nights she went about moaning without rest or sleep. At midnight she came to the room where I was lying asleep with my beloved wife, and prayed that I would for the sake of Christ take away her pain, or she must go and kill herself. I rose, touched her arm, and commanded the pain in the name of Jesus Christ to depart, and in a moment the one arm was well as the other. Glory to God alone!"

Svedberg was less a theologian than a zealous spiritual man of business. Merely speculative theology he abhorred as "Devil Faith," and thought "a man might hold any quantity of it, and yet it could not keep him from sinking into hell." Preaching and catechising, writing and printing were his passion, and he kept stirring up his clergy to similar labours. Repose he knew not. "Never," he writes, "was

miser more covetous of money than I have been of time. I have never willingly wasted an hour, and when others have done so for me, great has been my indignation and pain." Again, he says, "A bishop has far more to do than sit in his Chapter and be bowed to, and consecrate priests, preach funeral sermons for big fees, travel from house to house in pleasant weather, and look out fat places for his own children and grandchildren." We can well believe him when he tells us, "My greatest difficulty as bishop has been to fill vacancies with able and faithful clergymen. In Sweden it has come to be thought that any young man who has gone through the regular university course is fit to minister for God, and that no bishop dare refuse him. I have suffered much because I would not promote to livings at the desire of noblemen and ladies. To such an extent has this been the case, that scarcely a vacancy in my diocese has been filled up without drawing upon me the enmity of some lady or gentleman, count or countess, general or colonel, and I do not know of whom besides, because I would not do them a good turn by providing some minion with a place." When he felt the claims of candidates so equally balanced that he could not decide, he drew lots.

In illustration of the scrupulous way in which he exercised his episcopal patronage, and at the same time of his tact, take this anecdote: One day at court the Princess Ulrika Eleonora kindly inquired concerning the welfare of his wife and children. "I have a daughter here," he said, "and also her husband, Jonas Unge. Will you graciously permit them to come into your presence?"—"Yes, willingly, by all means," she replied. "What living has he?" she asked. "He is my assistant."—"Assistant, do you say?"—"Yes, your Highness, he has the misfortune to be my son-in-law; otherwise he should have had a living long ago, for he is a learned, travelled, and able man." She then asked if no suitable living in her gift was vacant, and Wanga was named. "Let him first preach before your Highness, and try his quality," interposed Svedberg. This she allowed, and he got the living of Wanga and the promise of a better as soon as a better became vacant.

His tithes he never exacted. What was brought he took thankfully, but would not go to law with defaulters. Yet he condemned none of his brother prelates who saw fit to act differently; though he sometimes dryly remarked, that he had abundantly seen the truth of an old saying, "There is no end to the love of God and the greed of priests."

"I have never refused or denied any one his right. I have willingly taken up the cause of the poor and oppressed. No one, however humble, has stood waiting at my door, but has been called in at once to my presence and got an answer, and his case discussed at the next Chapter. For these purposes the Most High has made us bishops, not to strut in our dignity, and have people bowing and curtsying to us; but to hear and assist every one to the full extent of our power."

The care of the poor occupied much of his thought, and he strove hard to put down begging, by regular and discriminating charity. He wished to reduce the number of saints' days, which he denounced as mere excuses for idleness and drinking, and instead to keep Sundays as Sabbaths. Public penance in church on the cutty-stool he "abhorred—for it makes culprits shameless and hardened, instead of tender and truly repentant."

The purity of the Swedish language was another of his concerns. It was, he thought, in a state of rapid corruption from the crude absorption of French words, against which practice he firmly set his face, and published a work on the subject, entitled *Shibboleth*, which provoked much contradiction. In 1722 he produced a Swedish grammar, the first ever printed, and left in manuscript, *A complete Swedish Dictionary, every Swedish word in which is extracted from the Holy Swedish Bible and books contemporaneous with it, and interpreted in Latin, and elaborated with great care.*

Next to churches, schools held a prominent place in his heart. To open new ones and extend and improve old ones was his constant effort. The common methods of teaching he thought very bad, and as a step towards better ones he published, *A Book of Sentences for Grammar Schools, in which, in a light and jovial manner, Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew may be learnt.* The merciless use of the rod, which

was worked like a flail in many of the schools, he tried to supersede by prizes. Writing to the King for money to purchase prizes, having himself given all he could spare, he says, "And now a higher hand is wanted; not such a hand as I had to feel in my youth, when everything I learnt was driven in posteriorly:" he seems never to have forgotten his own early school-days under Ill-Peter's stick.

CHAPTER II.

FATHER AND SON.

EMANUEL was educated at Upsala. Nothing is known of his career at the university. He printed in 1709 a selection of sentences from Seneca and Publius Syrius Mimus, used as texts for comments of his own on friendship, filial love, and other virtues. At the same time he published, in a work of his father's, a Latin version of the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes.

It was resolved that he should go abroad for a few years, and in a journal he gives this account of his first voyage—

"In 1710 I set out for Gottenburg, that I might be conveyed by a ship thence to London. On the voyage my life was in danger four times: first on some shoals towards which we were driven by a storm until we were within a quarter of a mile from the raging breakers, and we thought we should all perish. Afterwards we narrowly escaped some Danish pirates under French colours; and the next evening we were fired into from a British ship which mistook us for the same pirates, but without much damage. Lastly, in London itself I was exposed to a more serious danger. While we were entering the harbour some of our countrymen came to us in a boat, and persuaded me to go with them into the city. Now, it was known in London that an epidemic was raging in Sweden; therefore all who arrived from Sweden were forbidden to leave their ships for six weeks or forty days; so I, having transgressed this law,

was very near being hanged, and was only freed under the condition, that if any one attempted the same thing again, he should not escape the gallows."

In London and Oxford he spent more than a year, seeing every sight and man of note he could. London was then a city of half-a-million inhabitants, about equal to the Manchester or Glasgow of to-day. St. Paul's Cathedral was completed, after being thirty-five years in building; and we can fancy Emanuel wandering in its aisles and catching a glimpse of Wren. Addison and Steele were busy with their *Spectator*, and he may have taken lessons in English out of its pages damp from the press. Swift was writing his weekly *Examiner*, serving his new friends the Tories against his old ones the Whigs. Defoe was also busy with politics, arguing for the Hanoverian succession and getting shut up in his prison for his pains. Pope was amazing the town with his *Pastorals*, his *Essay on Criticism*, and his *Rape of the Lock*. Dr. Isaac Watts was preaching to large congregations in Mark Lane. Sacheverell's sermons were burnt by the hangman in front of the Exchange, whilst the London mob testified admiration for church and champion in riot, drink, and bonfires. Another sight, curious and memorable, he may have witnessed. Anne was Queen; and from Lichfield to London, a weary journey of one hundred and nineteen miles, came Mrs. Johnson with her son Samuel, a heavy child, thirty months old, sorely afflicted with the king's evil, to be touched by Anne for his cure. Years after the Doctor used to say, he "had a confused but somewhat solemn recollection of the Queen as a lady in diamonds and long black hood."

Literature had not for Emanuel the same charm as science. Mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics were his chosen studies, and he eagerly sought the acquaintance of those who were masters in them. He visited John Flamsteed at the Greenwich Observatory. The Royal Society in 1710 moved from Gresham College to a house in Crane Court, off Fleet Street, in the middle of the town and out of noise; and there he would see Sir Isaac Newton sitting president in his seventieth year, with Sir Hans Sloane as secretary,

and surrounded by the savans of the time. In his visit to Oxford he met Edmund Halley, a man second only to Newton, who was striving to discover a method of finding the longitude by the moon: a problem Emanuel himself will struggle with from time to time far into his old age.

He sailed for Holland in 1711. He was at Utrecht while the Congress of Ambassadors from all the European Courts assembled to consummate that peace which gave Spain to the Bourbons and nullified Marlborough's victories. Through Brussels he went to Paris, and in Paris and Versailles lived a year. There he would see Louis XIV. taking to piety in the last years of his long life, "with his Missal and his Maintenon, looking back with just horror on Europe, four times set ablaze for the sake of one poor mortal in big periwig, to no purpose." In Paris he made the acquaintance of Pierre Varignon, a laborious student and mathematician, and at his house met the pleasant Fontenelle, the man of taste and wide information.

From Paris he went by coach to Hamburg, and thence to Pomerania, a German Province on the Baltic, subject to Sweden, a conquest of Gustavus Adolphus. There, in the little sea-side university town of Griefsvalde, he took up his abode, waiting until his father should find for him some work at home; "alternating mathematics with poetry in my studies," as he states in one of his letters.

Meanwhile his father was in great distress. His house at Brunsbo in 1712 met the fate of his house at Upsala in 1702, and all his furniture perished in the flames. In a letter to the Princess Ulrika Eleonora, he deplores his "sins which have moved God to such wrath," but thanks Him inasmuch as "He maintains my courage." He continues, "The fire broke out in my study, which was all ablaze when we got to it with my library and manuscripts; but, strange to say, the *Garden of Paradise* by John Arndt, and my own *Catechism* were found in the ashes with only their covers singed. From this I conclude that God does not disown my trifling labours, and I am encouraged to persevere in the use of those powers which He has given me. Would that He had only allowed me to keep my little hand Bible

which I had carried for forty-four years, and which I valued more than a hundred other volumes!"

Not only his *Catechism* and Arndt's *Garden of Paradise* escaped, but in the preface to the *Catechism* he says, "There was also found among the ashes my portrait on a copper-plate uninjured, though somewhat darkened by smoke; yet in a room close by, a copper kettle full of water was melted.

Special subscriptions were commanded for the rebuilding of Brunsbo, but all was not done that Svedberg required. He therefore addressed the following letter to the Government in the name of Charles XII., who was then an exile in Turkey—

RANAKER, 11th March, 1712.

"Most Mighty King, Most Gracious Lord—My disposition, thank God, has ever been far from selfish, and for this cause He has most richly blessed me. By His help I have been able to spend large sums in printing expensive books for the service of His Church and the edification of many souls. Were I to continue this expenditure when misfortune and misery cry aloud, I should yield my people to wretchedness, and were I to keep resolute silence, I should be lost in despair. I am therefore forced to complain, and bring my necessities before those who are bound by their position under God to succour them who are in distress, and who cannot therefore allow me or mine to go to ruin.

"Your Royal Highness gives proof of your sovereign grace and tenderness in ordering special subscriptions to be made for the complete restoration of the episcopal palace; but I, my wife and children, oh! most gracious King, are going about little short of naked; neither have I a single book which my office demands.

"When the house is ready, there will be furniture to be thought of: chests, cupboards, tables, table-cloths, beds, bed-linen, bed-curtains, dishes, plates, and various other things, required in such an establishment.

"I have, O King, two young sons who have been brought up for your Majesty's service. One of twenty-four years of

age is now in England pursuing his studies, another of seventeen is in Pomerania with the army. I must not see them want.

“JESPER SVEDBERG.”

About the origin of the fire he told a queer story—“One summer day when coming out of Asaka church, I saw a crowd in the corner of the church-yard. When we got home I asked my servant what was the matter. ‘O,’ said he, ‘it was a man possessed with the Devil, and when he saw you coming out of church he cried, “You grey-headed old fellow with the short hair, you took a steak out of me, but I’ll serve you out yet!”’ I discovered afterwards that he had kept company with the female sinner whom I brought to repentance before her execution, and that he came along with her on that occasion, but was unable to approach any nearer my house than the gate. When she came out from me he had no more power over her, and from that hour he cursed and hated me. His revenge was probably gratified in God granting him power, as in the case of Job, to destroy Brunsbo, with all my property. The fire broke out at midnight in my study, in the very place where the woman was converted; but he did not gain much thereby. God granted unto me, as unto Job, twice as much as before, and a far handsomer and more convenient mansion.”

As time went on, he began to grow anxious concerning Emanuel’s settlement in life, and again applied to the King.

“BRUNSBO, 21st October, 1714.

“Most Mighty King, Most Gracious Lord—I have a son Emanuel who has been for four years pursuing his studies in England, Holland, and France, and is now staying, I believe, at Rostock or Griefsvalde. In mathematics and mechanics he may, with God’s help, be useful to your Majesty either at the Academy or elsewhere.

“JESPER SVEDBERG.”

Apparently no answer was given to this, for within five weeks he repeats his request.

“BRUNSBO, 25th November, 1714.

“Most Mighty and Gracious King—In my last humble memorial I mentioned, that I have a son Emanuel who has been for four years abroad in England, Holland, and France, and is now living at Griefsvalde. He has made good use of his time, is master of the requisite languages, and is expert in mathematics and mechanics. If your Royal Majesty has need of such a one, I assure you he will give you satisfaction.

“JESPER SVEDBERG.”

Of Emanuel at Griefsvalde we learn some things from a letter, undated, addressed by him to Eric Benzelius, who had married his eldest sister, Anna.

“Honoured and dear Brother—I am very glad I have come to a place where I have leisure to arrange my works and ideas, which until now have been scattered here and there on scraps of paper. I have produced the following mechanical contrivances—

“I. A sort of ship in which a man can go below the surface of the sea and do great damage to the fleet of an enemy.

“II. A new form of syphon whereby a large quantity of water may be raised from a river to a lofty situation in a short time.

“III. Weights lifted by water by this syphon with great ease.

“IV. Sluices where there is no fall of water, by means of which large ships with their cargoes may be raised to any height within an hour or two.

“V. A machine driven by fire for pumping water and lifting at forges where the water has no fall.

“VI. A bridge which can be opened and shut.

“VII. New machines for condensing and exhausting air by means of water. Also a new pump acting by water and mercury without any syphon, and which has many advantages over the common kind.

“VIII. A new construction of air-guns by which a thousand balls may be discharged through one tube in a moment.

“IX. A universal musical instrument whereon the most

inexperienced musician can execute all the modulations of notation.

"X. A method of delineating houses on any surface by fire.

"XI. An aquatic clock in which water replaces the index, and by its course shows the motion of the planets and produces other curious effects.

"XII. A chariot containing all kinds of tools set in action by the movement of the horses. Likewise a chariot for floating and moving through the air.

"XIII. A method of discovering the desires and affections of the mind by analysis.

"XIV. New methods of making chords and their properties.

"I have furnished the whole of them with algebraic and numeral calculations, whence I have deduced the proportions, motion, times, and all the properties which they ought to possess. Moreover, I have some papers on the analytical sciences and astronomy, which require their own place and time. O, how greatly I desire, my dearest brother, to submit all these matters to your inspection; but as I cannot show you the actual machines, I will at least send you the drawings of them on which I am occupied daily."

In another letter to Benzelius enclosing "a plan for an air pump worked by water," he observes, "I am relieving these mathematical studies with poetry. I have published one or two pieces, and I have in the press some fables, like those of Ovid, under which the deeds of some kings and great people are hidden."

He published the fables in Latin prose at Griefsvalde in 1715, under the title of, *Camena Borea cum heroum et heroidum factis ludens: sive Fabellæ Ovidianis similes*; and at the same time an Oration, fervid with patriotism, on the return of Charles XII. from Turkey, under these circumstances—

Charles invaded Russia, and at Pultowa was utterly routed by Peter. He fled into Turkey, and the Sultan assigned him a residence at Bender, and a pension. For five years he fretted in exile. His army was annihilated; his continental provinces were annexed by his adversaries; and his wiser

Swedish subjects, worn out and disgusted, were not unwilling to see his face no more.

But Charles "ended this obstinate torpor at last; broke out of Turkish Bender, or Demotica. With a groom or two, through desolate steppes and mountain wildernesses, through crowded dangerous cities, he rode without pause, forward, ever forward in darkest incognito, the indefatigable man—and finally, on Old Hallowmas Eve (November, 1714), far in the night, a horseman, with two others still following him, travel-splashed, and white with snow, drew bridle at the gate of Stralsund, and, to the surprise of the Swedish sentinel there, demanded instant admission to the Governor. The Governor, at first a little surly of humour, saw gradually how it was, sprang out of bed, and embraced the knees of the snowy man; Stralsund in general sprang out of bed, and illuminated itself that same Hallow-Eve—and, in brief, Charles XII., after five years of eclipse, has re-appeared upon the stage of things; and menaces the world, in his old fashion, from that City."*

Stralsund was the only place in Pomerania left to the Swedes. Well fortified, almost surrounded by lake and sea, it was supposed inaccessible. Here Charles was quickly environed by numerous foes. Griefsvalde was only fifteen miles from Stralsund, and as the country grew hot with armies, young Svedberg deemed it prudent to be off; he therefore, in the spring of 1715, got on board a small vessel, crossed the Baltic, and reached home safely.

The Bishop was glad to see his son again, but was troubled that he should now be twenty-seven, with nothing to do. King Charles had a world in arms against him, yet he might spare a thought for "my son Emanuel." He thinks there can be no harm in trying, and to Lord Lieutenant Pfiff, who is with Charles in his German fortress, he addresses a letter wherein occurs this passage—

"BRUNSBO, 12th July, 1715.

"May it please your Excellency—My son Emanuel, after five years' foreign travel, has at length returned home. I

* Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, vol. i., page 426.

hope he may be found available for some Academy. He is accomplished in Oriental languages as well as European, but especially he is an adept in poetry and mathematics. He intends to build himself an Observatory where he will try to discover a method for ascertaining the longitude at sea. If there should be any academical opening, will your Excellency be so kind as advance him to fill it? With God's help, he will honour his place.

“JESPER SVEDBERG.”

Some months before, he had preferred another request—that the King would ennoble his sons and sons-in-law. Here is the petition—

“BRUNSBØ, 9th February, 1715.

“Most Mighty King, Most Gracious Lord—It has pleased God to allot me seven children, for whose well-being I am bound to care. Three are sons. The eldest [Emanuel] seeks by study to render himself perfectly accomplished for the service of your Majesty and our fatherland; the second [Eliezer] does so likewise in mining; and the third [Jesper] by service for two years in your Majesty's army in Pomerania, and now, by a voyage to the far Indies. The daughters are all married to honourable men; two are wedded to clergymen — one [Anna] to Eric Benzelius,* and the other [Catherina] to Jonas Unge; of the remaining two, one [Margaretta] is married to Lundstedt, the Master of the Horse in your Majesty's Life Guards, and the other [Hedwig] to Lars Benzelstierna, the Master of the Mines in East and West Bergslagen.

“For these I make bold in all humility to solicit, that it may please your royal Majesty to promote to the rank and place of nobles my afore-named sons and my two last-named sons-in-law, the Master of the Horse, Lundstedt, and the Master of the Mines, Benzelstierna. It will encourage them to be still more worthy of the grace of your royal Majesty; and to me, your majesty's loyal subject, your favour will be peculiarly agreeable.

“JESPER SVEDBERG.”

* Subsequently Archbishop of Upsala.

Nothing at the time came of these petitions, but the applicant was not a man to be daunted, as we shall see. "I have kept my sons," he wrote, "to the profession for which God gave them inclination and liking. I have not brought up one to the clerical office, although many parents do this inconsiderately, and in a manner not justifiable, by which the Christian Church and priesthood suffer not a little, and are brought into contempt."

Emanuel meanwhile collected the poems he had written during his travels, and published them at Skara under the title, *Ludus Heliconius sive Carmina Miscellanea, quæ variis in locis cecinit*. Like most Latin verses written by moderns, little more can be said of them than that they are proofs of their author's facile command of a dead language. The poems are chiefly praises of love, sometimes erotic, of friendship and of patriotism. One of the poems, the chief of the collection, has been translated by Mr. Francis Barham. It commemorates a victory gained by peasants, led on by Steinbock, over a Danish army which had made a descent on the Swedish coast during the absence of Charles in Turkey. He thus addresses the King—

"Ah, soon return, oh monarch of our love!
Oh Sun of Sweden, waste not all thy light
To illume the crescent of the Ottomans:
Thine absence we bewail, wandering in glooms
Of midnight sorrow, save that these bright stars,
That lead us on to victory, still console
Thy people's hearts and bid them not despair."

And thus Steinbock—

"Steinbock! thy red right hand
Hath smitten down the spoiler; and in thee
Another Charles we honour, and rejoice
To hail thee, hero of thy grateful country.
"Chief of our gallant chiefs—
Too gallant for a song so weak as mine—
Oh! could their names enshrined in monuments
Appear, how would the eyes of Sweden kindle
To read them. Coronets of gold for thee,
Were all too little recompence; hereafter,
A crown of stars is all thine own. The foe
Lies broken by thy force and heroism;

Numerous as Denmark's sands they came—how few
Returned!—their princes and their soldiery
Repulsed with scorn, while shuddering horror hung
Upon their flight."

And so forth. He never writes nonsense, nor rises above commonplace.

His choice friend and correspondent was his brother-in-law Eric Benzelius. With him he discussed the scientific projects with which his mind was teeming.

The English Parliament in 1704 had offered £10,000, £15,000 and £20,000 respectively, for a ready method by which the longitude could be determined within sixty, forty, and thirty miles, and he longed to secure the prize. He strove hard to initiate the manufacture of salt, as he thought "it would be of more importance to the country than the whole of its iron trade, and that the money sent out of Sweden would be kept at home." In Westergyllen he spied some white clay, which, he wrote to Benzelius, "I suspect is the same as is used in Holland and England for making tobacco pipes and crockery," and wished him to discover "what kind of clay the English and Dutch use, and how they bake tobacco pipes in the sun and oven. If the clay I have found is of the right sort it will be worth many thousand rix dollars: but silence about it."

He started in 1716 a periodical written in Swedish, and named *Dædalus Hyperboreus*, a record of the new flights of mechanical and mathematical genius in Sweden. It did not pay; it appeared irregularly, and ceased altogether in 1718, having reached only a sixth number. Yet it was useful to its editor, for it advertised his powers, and introduced him to men of kindred tastes, and especially to Christopher Polhem, a famous engineer who has been called the Scandinavian Archimedes.

Once more his father addressed the Crown, pleading that his family might be ennobled.

"WENNESBORG, 23rd April, 1716.

"Most Mighty King, Most Gracious Lord—I am desirous to help my children forward as far as I can in your royal

Majesty's service. My son Emanuel is of Polhem's mind, and has travelled in foreign parts for four years, and has given proofs of his powers in print see [*Dædalus Hyperboreus*.] My next Eliezer"—reciting as before the family register. "These, I beseech most humbly, that your royal Majesty may, of your grace, be pleased to exalt to the rank and privilege of Nobles, whereby they will be greatly encouraged in your Majesty's service.

"JESPER SVEDBERG."

At the end of 1715 Stralsund had been captured. Charles escaped in a small bark amidst the fire of guns which killed two men by his side. Picked up by a Swedish vessel, he was landed in his own country, and began to make fresh efforts for the prosecution of war.

Towards the close of 1716, Polhem invited Emanuel to accompany him to Lund and visit the King. Charles received the young man kindly, perceived his abilities, and gave him the choice of three places: that of Assessor in the College of Mines was selected. Their intercourse grew intimate, and the Assessor happily preserved the following account of it—*

"When Polhem received the King's orders to repair to Lund, he engaged me to go with him. Having been presented to his Majesty, he often did us the honour of conversing on the different branches of mathematics, and particularly on mechanics, the mode of calculating forces and other problems in mixed mathematics. He seemed to take great pleasure in these conversations, and often put questions as if he wished some easy information, but we soon found he knew more than we thought, which put us on our guard lest when advancing a doubtful opinion he should detect its fallacy. The conversation at one time turning on analytic and algebraic calculations and the *regula falsi*, he desired us to give him a few examples, which we did, proposing such as made it necessary, in order to proceed agreeably to rule, to use signs or symbols as well as equations; but the

* Communicated by Swedenborg to Nordberg as "worthy of transmission to posterity," and printed by him in his *History of Charles XII.*

King did not require them, and after a few minutes reflection, he told us, without any other aid than his own superior genius, in what way our examples might be solved, which we always found to agree perfectly with our calculations. I confess I have never been able to understand how, by mere reasoning and without the aid of algebra, he was able to solve problems of this kind. It seemed, indeed, that the King was not sorry to display before a competent judge like Polhem a penetration and a power of reasoning equal to the ablest mathematicians.

“I will now relate to you, as I am peculiarly able to do, what arose from this learned amusement. Conversing one day about arithmetic, his Majesty observed that the denary arithmetic in universal use was most probably derived from counting on the fingers by illiterate people of old, who, when they had run through the fingers of both hands, repeated the process over and over again, keeping a tally of tens, and when figures were invented, this mode of numeration by tens was preserved and brought down to the present day. The King was of opinion that, had such not been the origin of our mode of counting, a much better method might have been devised; the number 10 being a very inconvenient one, as it can be divided by no numbers except 5 and 2 without breaking into fractions; besides, as it contains neither the square, nor the cube, nor the fourth power of any number, it interposes perpetual difficulties in the way of easy calculation: whereas, had the periodic number been 8 or 16, great facilities would have resulted, the first being a cube number, of which the root or prime is 2, and the second a biquadrate number, of which the root or prime is also 2; consequently, either of these numbers as a basal number would prove highly useful in calculating money or measures, as by them the complexity of fractions would be in a great measure avoided. Having represented to him that this could not be done unless we invented new figures (to which also new names must be given, as otherwise great confusion would arise), he desired us to produce an example.

“We chose the number 8, which is of the cube 2. We

also invented new figures to which we gave new names, and worked out the method, applying it to weights and measures and cubic calculations. We presented our essay to the King, who was pleased with it; but he evidently desired something more extended and less easy, so that he might display his great penetration. For this purpose he made choice of 64. We objected, that it was far too high a number, and consequently very inconvenient; that if we were obliged to reckon up to 64 [inventing new single figures from 10 to 63 inclusive], before recommencing [representing 64 by the figures 10], and upon reaching 64 times 64 or 4096, only three figures would have to be used [4096 being represented by the figures 100], the difficulties would be such that the scheme would be little short of impossible. However, the more we urged these and other difficulties, the more was he determined to work out this idea, and to prove to us how easily and quickly it might be done, he said he would do it himself. To our amazement he sent us next morning the method fully developed. He had invented 64 new figures, divided into 8 classes, and each class with its own style of symbol. Upon a closer inspection I found that these symbols were composed of the initial and final letters of his own name in a manner at once so clear and exact, that when the first 8 numbers were known, all the rest up to 64 were learnt with ease; for the first 8 were so simple and well contrived that they served as a key to the remaining sevens, to which they stood as heads.

“It was to me that the King committed this plan in his own handwriting (which I still preserve) that I might frame from it a table showing the differences between it and the common mode of reckoning both as to names and figures.

“The King had also added to his plan an example in multiplication and an example in division: two operations in which I had contemplated much difficulty. As it was my place to perfect the method, I examined it thoroughly and tried to make it yet more convenient and easy of application. My attempts however were in vain, and I question whether the greatest mathematicians would have succeeded.

“What I chiefly admired was the King’s ingenuity, shown

in the invention of the figures and the names, and the ease with which the signs could be varied *ad infinitum*. I was also greatly struck with his example in multiplication; and when I consider the short time in which he wrought out the scheme, I cannot but regard him as endowed with faculties much above those of other men.

“From this cause I have been led to believe, that in all his other actions he was guided by a deeper wisdom than apparently belonged to him. Certain it is, that he thought it beneath him to assume the air of a learned man by affecting an imposing exterior.

“He said to me one day, that ‘He who has made no progress in mathematics does not deserve to be considered a rational man.’ a sentiment truly worthy of a King. Accordingly, he especially patronized mathematicians, and had it pleased Providence to allow him to rule Sweden in peace, he would have raised literature and science to higher perfection than they have ever attained, or perhaps ever will attain in Sweden. His example would have stimulated his people, who would have striven with noble emulation to win the praise of an accomplished prince, always ready to bestow on merit its due reward.”

As to the works Charles set him to do, he writes—

“At the same time several projects of great utility were laid before the King, and he directed me to assist Polhem in their execution. Amongst them was the dock at Carlsrona, which we blasted out of granite, for laying down the keels of ships; and as there is no ebb and flow in the Baltic it is one of the most important works in Europe: also, the making of sluices between Lake Wener and Gottenburg, in the midst of the rapids and cataracts near Trollhåta, a work which would have been the admiration of the world if it had been completed: to say nothing of many other equally useful projects.”

Charles was so pleased with his engineers that to seal their partnership, he advised Polhem to give Emanuel one of his daughters in marriage. This Polhem was very willing to do, and Emanuel very willing to have done; for living in Polhem’s house, he had become enamoured of his second

daughter, Emerentia, a girl of fourteen; but she did not care for Emanuel and would not allow herself to be betrothed. Her father however caused a written agreement to be drawn up, promising her to him at some future day. The document, as an obedient child, Emerentia signed; but her heart being elsewhere, she took to sighs and sadness. Her brother, moved by her misery, stole the agreement from Emanuel's desk, who soon missing it, as he was used to read it often, besought Polhem to replace it with a new one; but discovering the state of Emerentia's affections, he at once relinquished her hand and left her father's house.

The Bishop went likewise to Lund to see the King.

"Well, Bishop," said Charles, "you are not changed since I saw you last, only you have grown very gray." He was invited to dinner, and observed "that the King ate very quickly, and gulped down water upon everything, though it were ever so fat." Svedberg's health was drunk in tumblers of wine; whereon his Majesty grew still more gracious, and the Bishop more audacious. On Sunday he preached one of his plain sermons on the desecration of Fast Days, and prayed, that his Majesty might be delivered from Rehoboam's advisers. "In the evening," he writes, "I was taken into the King's own chamber, and there Prince Frederick pleaded, that I might retain a coachman; but the King answered not a word. Then spoke I boldly of the cruel grievances of the Clergy, and how a Bishop, who may walk abreast of a Governor, is not allowed a coachman, whilst a Governor drives to Church with a coachman and two tall footmen behind; whilst I, a Bishop, have to travel, and make visitations without any one to drive or serve: but to this also the King answered not a word." He stopped the torrent of complaint by speaking of the Swedish language, and praising Svedberg's efforts to restore and preserve its purity. "Do they speak Swedish in France?" asked the King. "No," said Svedberg. "Then, why should we speak French?" he rejoined. He inquired if there were any foreign words in the Swedish Bible, and Svedberg said there were a few, and took out his pocket Bible to show them, telling the King that he never entered the pulpit without that Bible, and always

carried it about when on duty, even as a soldier did his sword, and "whoever finds me without it may knock me down." Charles some days afterwards met him and said "Show me your Bible."—"I have not got it," said he. "Then I will knock you down."—"But," said Svedberg, "I am not now on duty." He found a pamphlet on the King's table, written against his *Shibboleth*, ridiculing his enthusiasm for pure Swedish, which worried him much, and he would fain have had it suppressed.

After his escape from Stralsund, Charles left his German provinces to their fate and made war on Norway. He laid siege to Frederickshall, and called Emanuel's engineering skill to his aid. He contrived carriages on which "two galleys, five large boats and a sloop," were conveyed fourteen miles overland; and under cover of these vessels heavy artillery was brought to bear on the walls of the fortress. Charles would have liked to keep Emanuel by him, but he was able to exclaim in a letter to Benzelius, "God be thanked! I have escaped the campaign in Norway and that very narrowly; nor should I have been so fortunate, had I not used some little management."

War in company with Charles was no pastime. In hardship and danger he was foremost, and expected his staff to follow him. In this siege the soldiers were nearly frozen to death, but the King shamed discontent into silence. He slept in the open air on a plank or a truss of straw, and fasted, and worked day and night as if his body existed outside the ordinary laws of Nature.

His last day had however come. On the night of the 11th December, 1718, he went out to inspect the progress of the trenches. Not finding the parallels so far advanced as he expected, he was much displeased. Megret, a French engineer who conducted the siege, assured him that the place would be taken in eight days. "We shall see," he said, and proceeded in his survey. Stopping at an angle of the entrenchments, he knelt down, rested his elbow on the parapet, and there, with his body exposed to the fire of the besieged, he remained watching his men working in the trenches by star-light. In this position he was struck on

the forehead by a cannon-ball, his hand clutched his sword, and with a deep sigh he fell dead on the parapet. His attendants rushed forward, lifted his body, and Megret exclaimed, "There, the play is over; let us begone."

CHAPTER III.

SCIENCE AND SPECULATION.

ULRIKA ELEONORA, sister to Charles XII., succeeded to the throne, but soon resigned the crown to her husband, Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Shortly after her accession, in 1719 she complied with Svedberg's pertinacious prayer and ennobled his sons. On this occasion Emanuel's surname was altered from Svedberg to Swedenborg. The Swedish Diet consisted of four houses: the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants or landholders who were not nobles. The house of nobles was composed of upwards of two thousand members, and it was into this crowd that Emanuel was introduced, but was thereby created neither Count nor Baron, as some persist in calling him.

Sweden had suffered so severely from the despotism of Charles XII., that the Diet resolved to put some check on the kingly power. To this Bishop Svedberg was warmly opposed. He thought that absolute power belonged to the King by Divine right, and he saw many administrative advantages in the King's will being supreme: one had only to gain access to the King and hear his Yea or Nay, instead of running from office to office and enduring delay after delay when the least matter required attention or execution; he therefore vehemently denounced any change, saying in the Diet, that "No King was read of in Scripture with the limited power you would give the Queen, and I abhor the ambition of men who aspire to be Kings of Kings." His opposition was construed into selfishness; Kings and Queens had proved very beneficial to him, and it was no more than

natural that he should favour their extreme power. More virulent insinuations were made, in reply to which he closed one of his speeches before the Diet with these words, "I have gathered my gray hairs in honour, and in honour I shall carry them to the grave. As long as the 17th and 27th Psalms are in the Psalter, no one, however mighty he may fancy himself, can harm a hair of my head. This campaign against me did not commence yesterday or the day before, but thirty years ago, and spite of all enmity, I have risen to where I now sit. I know that my Angel will receive command from God to prepare a crown for me when the hour of my departure for the Kingdom of Heaven comes. Meantime, here I sit in my place of honour, fearless, and full of joy and praise."

The royal power was circumscribed. Although Bishop Svedberg enjoyed much court favour, he had no high opinion of Ulrika Eleonora, whom he thought "a great hypocrite," and her consort Frederick "good for little." With both he used much freedom. To King Frederick he said one day, "Your Majesty must not take it ungraciously, if I tell you what people say about you."—"Not at all. What do they say?"—"That your Majesty gives away too much money."—"That may be true," said the King; "but they should remember that if I give away one Swedish ducat, I receive fourteen thousand ducats a year from my own Hesse-Cassel—But what more do they say?"—"They say your Majesty very seldom visits your council."—"Ah, that is true, and not to be wondered at; for there I find I have sixteen tutors, every one more impatient than another to instruct and govern me."

Sometimes he ventured too far in his freedom, and once provoked the Queen to write him sharply, threatening him with displeasure if he sent "any more of his indecent and uncivil epistles, in disregard of that reverence which was due from a subject."

King and Queen spent some days with him at Brunsbo in 1722, filling his palace with their retinue. "At their departure," he writes, "They gave me one hundred ducats, a coronation medal of pure gold weighing thirty-nine

ducats, and my wife a silver salver and ewer weighing about forty-five ounces, and ten ducats for gilding."

The wife here mentioned was his third. His second, Sara Bergia, died at Skara on the 3d of March, 1720, and before the year was out, on Christmas-day, he married Christina Arhusia, the daughter of John Arhusius, Dean of Fahlun. Concerning this third marriage in his sixty-seventh year he records—

"My dear wife, Sara Svedberg, died in the year 1720, to my great grief and loss. My circumstances and my extensive household required a faithful companion, whom God gave me in Christina Arhusia. May God bless us both in the name of Jesus. Amen!"

In 1718 Emanuel issued three pamphlets written in Swedish.

1. *Attempts to find the Longitude by means of the Moon.*

In a letter to Benzelius he proposes translating this "into Latin for foreign circulation, and dedicating it to Edmund Halley, at Oxford, who has likewise done something in the same way."

2. *The Art of Rules, in ten parts.*

An introduction to Algebra: a continuation of the treatise containing the first account given in Sweden of the differential and integral calculus, was handed about in manuscript, but never printed.

3. *On the Motion and Position of the Earth and the Planets: in which are some conclusive proofs that the Earth's course decreases in rapidity, being now slower than heretofore, making winter nights and summer days longer than they used to be.*

In 1719 he published other three.

1. *On the Level of the Sea and the great Tides of the Ancient World, from Proofs in Sweden.*

2. *About Docks, Sluices, and Salt Works.*

3. *A Proposal for the Division of Money and Measures, so as to facilitate Calculation and avoid Fractions.*

Benzelius advised him to relinquish the scheme for a new

system of money and measures as impracticable. He replied—"It is a little discouraging to be dissuaded thus. For myself, I desire all possible novelties; ay, a novelty for every day in the year, provided the world will be pleased with them. In every age there is an abundance of persons who follow the beaten track, and remain in the old way; but perhaps there are only from six to ten in a century who bring forward new things founded in argument and reason."

In another letter he answered Benzelius, who had advanced the notion that the Sun is the abode of the damned—

"STOCKHOLM, 26th November, 1719.

"I think exactly the opposite. It ought rather to be the abode of the blessed. The following are my reasons—

"1. The Sun is the centre of our planetary system, and the motion and subsistence of everything in the solar vortex has its source from the Sun.—2. The firmament and heaven of the Planets are towards the Sun—upwards in the solar vortex is towards the Sun, downwards is away from the Sun, towards the end of the solar vortex, or the Tartarian regions.—3. Light and splendour are in the Sun, and darkness and its horrors are where the Sun is far off and dim.—4. But the main reason appears to be, that the most exceedingly subtile aura and the minimal element exist in the Sun. The nearer the Sun, the finer are the elements. In the Sun itself their fineness is probably so great that the particles are almost devoid of composition and put off the name of Matter, as well as form, weight and many other qualities which compound particles possess; it would therefore seem likely, that in the Sun, the finest sphere, would be the finest being—a God, an Angel, a something which as it is not material must be most eminent. Like seeks like, and the finer does not unite with grosser. For these reasons, I rather incline to believe (though I willingly leave the point to your judgment) that God has His seat in the Sun as the Bible says.

"It would be absurd to imagine, that the Sun's heat is used to torment the bodies of the damned. In the nature of things, there is no pain without destruction. When fire

burns our flesh, it dissolves and destroys the flesh; and with its destruction ends the possibility of sensation, and therefore of pain.

"I hope no evil sense may be put upon these reasonings of mine. The Word of God is the only foundation for philosophy."

At this time he was neither happy in his home, nor satisfied with his work, nor prospects in life. To Benzelius he wrote—

"Among all my relations I know of no one who has wished me, and still wishes me, so well as yourself. If I can in any way show my gratitude, it shall not be wanting. Brother [in-law] Unge likes nobody; at least, he has estranged my dear father and mother's affections from me now for four years. However, it will not benefit him."

He feels he is not appreciated—

"STOCKHOLM, 1st December, 1719.

"Should I be able to collect the necessary means, I have made up my mind to go abroad and seek my fortune in mining. He must indeed be a fool who is loose and irresolute, who sees his place abroad, yet remains in obscurity and wretchedness at home, where the furies, Envy and Pluto, have taken up their abode and dispose of all rewards, and where all the trouble I have taken is met with such shabbiness.

"I only desire quietness before my departure, and perhaps I may find a corner of retreat in Starbo or Skinsburg. All will depend on a respite of four or five years; yet I clearly see that long plans are like long roofs, apt to tumble in; for man proposes but God disposes. I have however always thought, that a man should know what he is aiming at, and ever have a clear design for life and business before him."

Again—

"I have taken a little leisure this summer to put a few things on paper, which *I think will be my last productions*; for speculations and inventions like mine find no patronage nor bread in Sweden, and are considered by a number of political blockheads as a sort of schoolboy exercise, which

ought to stand in the background, while their finesse and intrigues step forward."

These melancholy humours were dissipated by a tour of fifteen months on the Continent, commencing in the spring of 1721. He had with him as companion, John Hessel, a physician, and a large bundle of manuscript, which he put to press at Amsterdam.

In May he addressed a letter to Jacob a Melle, a savant of Lubeck, describing some marine deposits in Sweden, and the retreat of the Baltic, whereby towns were left high and dry which once stood on the sea shore. Some tracts of land formed of sand, pebbles and shells, he concludes, were once the bed of the ocean. Hills and valleys, he thinks, were formed by the strong currents of the ancient seas. The enormous water-worn boulders scattered over the soil of many Swedish provinces, he takes to be evidences of the immense force of the currents in that sea. Modern geologists, granting the water, maintain that its currents were unequal to the carriage of these erratic boulders, and that they must have been floated from cliffs and hill-sides attached to icebergs, and dropped irregularly as the ice dissolved.

He concludes—

"It is most pleasant to search out the causes of things, and to listen to those who have the genius to penetrate the secrets of Nature, and the industry to evolve the Ancient from the Modern World."

Towards the end of 1721, he published at Amsterdam five pamphlets in Latin—

1. *Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, comprising New Attempts to explain the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics by Geometry.*

2. *New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the Elemental Nature of Fire: together with a New Construction of Stoves.*

3. *A New Method of Finding the Longitudes of Places on Land or at Sea by Lunar Observations.*

4. *A New Plan of Constructing Docks and Dykes.*

5. *A Mode of Discovering the Powers of Vessels by the Application of Mechanical Principles.*

Of these, the most interesting is the first. It consists of chapters taken from a complete work extant in manuscript.

A schoolmaster was once asked, "Why are cream and sugar put into tea?" and he answered, "To render the acute angles of the tea more obtuse." His reply involves and illustrates Swedenborg's theory of Chemistry.

His doctrine was, that the invisible atoms with which the chemist deals are geometrical forms, and that chemical phenomena are to be explained by geometrical laws. "For," he asks, "what are Physics and Chemistry? What is their nature, if not a peculiar mechanism? What is there in Nature, which is not geometrical? What is the variety of experiments in Chemistry, but a variety of position, figure, weight and motion in particles?"

He continues, "The reader will be equally astonished with myself, that the knowledge of invisibles has remained hidden from the learned world up to the present time, when so many experiments respecting them are on record. If we look to Physics we shall find, that it abounds in experiments and discoveries. More light has been shed upon Physics in the way of experiment during the last century, than in any previous age: indeed, so far as facts are concerned, Physics have reached a meridian degree of brightness. If we consider Chemistry, with what experiments is it not enriched! So greatly has it exercised the industry of the learned, that we possess thousands of guides towards penetrating its secrets. If Geometry, to what a height has it not been carried by the men of science of our time! It seems indeed to have scaled the sacred hill, and, for all human purposes, to have attained the utmost perfection.

"Since then we have several thousand experiments indicating the nature of the various metals, salts, and elements, and since these bodies consist of groups of particles, varying in their shapes and positions in a certain geometrical arrangement, therefore we have every reason to conclude that the law of their structure may now be demonstrated."

In illustration of his theory he adduces many experiments

from Boyle, Boerhaave, and others, and some original, and by a free use of diagrams makes himself clearly understood. The experiments in these times would be thought crude and imperfect; but the pith and merit of the *Specimens* lie in the theory of the geometrical forms of atoms: and the century of research which has followed Swedenborg, has done much to justify his speculation.

From Amsterdam, he set out for Leipsic through Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, visiting the mines and smelting works which lay in his route. From Liège he sent home a paper, *New Rules for Maintaining Heat in Rooms*, which was printed in the *Acta Literaria Sveciæ*. In it he maintained that wooden houses are warmer than stone ones, and brick than stone.

At Leipsic in 1722 he published in three parts *Miscellaneous Observations*, and in the same year at Schiffbeck, near Hamburg, a fourth part, all copiously illustrated with engravings.

The *Observations* are gossip on a few out of the many scientific plans and fancies seething in his brain. We find remarks on the marine origin of some Swedish mountains—on proofs from fossils found at Aix-la-Chapelle, that what is now dry land was once sea bottom—on the world being at one time a vast globe of water—on the origin, temperature and saline components of hot springs—on vitrification or the change of particles into glass—on the decomposition of stones by air and moisture—on the entrance and egress of liquids, “as for example water and fire,” into and from hard bodies—on stoves, fire-places, and wind and draught furnaces—on the cure of smoky chimneys—on an air-pump worked by mercury—on cheap methods of salt-making—on a new mode of weighing metals—on the glass of Archimedes—on an instrument for discovering the proportions of mixed metals mechanically without any calculation—on the impossibility of transmuting metals, especially into gold—on the reasons why the blood circulates through the capillaries more easily than through the arteries—on the supposed fire in the centre of the earth—on the minerals and stalactites in Baumann’s Caverns—and on sundry other matters.

On his return home in 1722 he published an anonymous treatise at Stockholm *On the Depreciation and Rise of the Swedish Currency*, which terminated his desultory pamphleteering. For twelve years, from 1722 to 1734, he appears to have printed nothing.

Looking over the packet of pamphlets and of letters preserved for us, we discern a man eager to know and quick to apprehend; not one who absorbs knowledge implicitly and sits down satisfied, but who tests and questions it; who would fain carry out every truth to new issues, and be an enlarger of science. Though speculative, his speculations have all an end towards practice; with many adventurous notions, he is yet so shrewd and prosaic that you would never call him romantic. His tastes and pursuits are various, but all open into the mechanical plane. Religion is no more in his thoughts. He has left the Angels of his childhood, not in contempt, but forgetfulness, having other business on hand. Of reverence he has plainly little, of self-satisfaction, much.

It would seem that in 1722 he came for the first time into the full pay and exercise of his Assessorship. We must now picture Swedenborg during twelve years to come, from his thirty-fourth to his forty-sixth year, as an industrious official through the day, and giving his leisure hours to study and the composition of three great folios: one, a laborious description of the mode in which matter was created, and two on the processes by which iron and copper were led out of ore into human service. Of this long stretch in his life we have little more to say. As to who were his companions and what were his enjoyments, there is no record known; quite likely none ever kept.

In 1724 he was offered the Professorship of Mathematics in the University of Upsala, which he declined. We may learn his reason perhaps in this scrap from a letter to Benzeliuſ—

“I wonder at Messieurs the mathematicians having lost all heart and spirit to realize that fine design of yours for an observatory. It is the fatality of mathematicians to abide in theory. I have often thought it would be a capital thing,

if to each ten mathematicians one good practical man were added to lead them to market: he would be of more use and mark than all the ten."

Bishop Svedberg was meanwhile busy as ever. The Swedish Church was then, as now, dead in formalism. A few earnest Pietists, chiefly among the laity, sought to diffuse the Divine influence by meetings for prayer and preaching in their own houses. As Methodism in England aroused the jealousy and opposition of the Clergy, so did Pietism in Sweden. The offices of religion were held by Swedish and English Priests to be exclusively their business; and it was sacrilege for vulgar hands to meddle therewith.

Svedberg had a kindly feeling towards Pietism. When a young man abroad, his heart yearned towards the German Pietists, and throughout life he had been charged with Pietistic sympathies.

The conduct of the Swedish Pietists was warmly discussed in the Diet. It chanced on one occasion, that Svedberg had spread before him on a table in the Diet some sheets of a Swedish translation of Scriver's *Treasure for Souls*. These sheets were seen by one Dr. Edzberg, and rising in his place he charged Svedberg with complicity in Pietistic heresy; for, said he, "Is he not preparing to circulate a book which is steeped in the very spirit of Pietism? "Yet," writes Svedberg, "this same good Doctor daily attested his orthodoxy by getting drunk; and pleaded as an excuse, that aching teeth required free libations of *aqua vitæ*."

That he might speak from experience, Svedberg attended a conventicle of Pietists, and testified in the Diet—

"There has been a great deal spoken here in derision and aversion concerning these assemblies of Pietists. I am now the only clergyman present, and therefore must speak. I have to-day been to a meeting of Pietists, and I only wish that every master in Sweden held such meetings under his roof."

Against the opinion of the Pietists, that an unconverted Priest was unfit to minister in sacred things, he protested—

"It was a very dangerous doctrine. An anxious man

sends for a clergyman, and is by him absolved from his sins, but afterwards he falls into doubt as to whether his absolution is worth anything, since, he fancies, the minister is unconverted; but as a ducat loses nothing of its value though tendered by an unclean hand, so absolution is not affected by the character of the administrator."

Whilst defending the Pietists, he would not be ranked with them—

"I have never taken to reading Pietist books, for which I had no taste, nor have I had anything to do with Pietists, but a very great deal too much with numerous Impietists. Would to God we were all true Pietists after the pattern of St. Paul and St. Peter!"

To Sweden's misfortune the Clergy triumphed. The Pietists were condemned, and the Diet passed a law forbidding all attempts at public worship outside the established Church. This done, the Priesthood at once relapsed into sleep with security.

Jesper Swedenborg, the Bishop's youngest son, had turned sailor, and after an absence of several years, returned to Stockholm in 1724. His father, troubled that he should have reached thirty without any fixed purpose in life, wrote to him thus—

"BRUNSBØ, 20th April, 1724.

"I forgot to mention my dear wife's will. [His second wife, his son's stepmother.] She had resolved, that at her death Emanuel should inherit her property at Starbo. When I saw her dying, I reminded her of this. She then repeated her resolve, whereon I prayed her not to exclude my other children. She answered, "They may have equal shares, but Emanuel shall be sole owner of Starbo provided he buys the others out." Of this I have given him an assurance for your sakes.

"You may thank God that you will have a good round sum. Had I so chosen, none of you, but I alone, according to law, should have inherited her property; but I wished you well, and what is more, I paid claims to the amount of 6,000

dalers on the estate, and will pay any more that may come due, as Emanuel can tell you.

"This you, and not I, ought to have done; but I am father, and you children, and I am ever thinking of your welfare. Let me now see you agree as brothers, and may I never hear of want of unity among you, that my overflowing kindness may not come to sorrow.

"See that you find some occupation where you are. It is no use being in Sweden to fritter away your best days in idleness. You write well, you reckon well, and *thank God you are not married. See that you get a good wife and something with her.* Pray God to lead you in His holy way.

"Your kind father,

"JESPER SVEDBERG."

Jesper married in 1728, and through his family the name of Swedenborg is perpetuated to this day. Whether his wife had as much "with her," besides goodness, as his father enjoined, we do not know. Albrecht, it will be remembered, died in boyhood—Eliezer married in 1710 and died in 1711 without issue—and Emanuel lived to the end, a bachelor.

Swedenborg did not live a bachelor without remonstrance. When in his forty-second year, his brother-in-law, the Reverend Jonas Unge, addressed to him these words of warning and encouragement—

"WANGA, 18th May, 1729.

"Now finally I shall give you something to think about. Why do you allow all good opportunities of marrying to slip past you? Major Otter is betrothed to Thamen's elder daughter; but after all his younger daughter is by far the better and prettier of the two. Now, my beloved brother, will you not take measures accordingly? I have no doubt Thamen will approve of you. The money with each, I believe, will be considerable; so my brother could not possibly have a better partner in all Sweden. In God's name, make up a good resolution and trust the issue to His

gracious providence. Time does not permit long deliberations, and there is danger in delay.

"I am, my dear brother, your obedient servant,

"JONAS UNGE."

What was Swedenborg's reply is hidden from us; neither do we know his reasons for his confirmed celibacy. After the custom of unmarried men in the upper ranks of life in Sweden, and especially Stockholm, he kept a Mistress;* and she, assisted by his absorption in business and study, may have conspired to hold him unwedded.

Fire pursued Bishop Svedberg to the end of his life; again in 1730 his palace was burnt down; and being an old man of 77, his nerves were so shaken that he could no more write with a steady hand, and his health, which had always been excellent, began to decline and his memory to grow feeble.

Swedenborg having completed his great work, set out for Leipsic on the 10th of May, 1733, to have it printed. First he made a short German tour in company with Count Frederick Gyllenborg and a few other friends. They landed at Stralsund and surveyed the traces of the siege of 1715. After visiting Griefsvalde, they went on to Berlin, where they spent a few days.

Berlin was beginning to rise into high rank among European capitals under the eccentric power of Frederick William, the father of Frederick the Great. The city charmed Swedenborg. "The royal palace," he wrote, "is very magnificent, in size and height surpassing the palaces of many kings. The houses of the citizens are numerous, and built like those of Italy and Paris. Outside old Berlin a new town is springing up, under the direction of the King. You would imagine its best street consisted of the houses of nobles, whereas artizans dwell in them, who elsewhere would inhabit cottages and huts. The eye is delighted, the mind exhilarated by the wonderful uniformity and contiguity of all

* *New Jerusalem Magazine*, vol. i., page 263. London, 1790.

the houses. It may be said, many thousands of men live in one house under one roof."

Frederick William's tall soldiers did not pass unnoticed. "If they could fight to the same perfection as they go through their drill, Prussia might conquer Europe; but ——. Their dress is admirable and magnificent, it allows full freedom of motion and makes a fine show; yet beneath all this military splendour, the parsimony of the King is evident."

In the royal library he found a large number of books, but chiefly old ones not much in request, a collection made on the principle of getting great bulk for little money.

From Berlin he passed to Dresden, where, on the 21st of June, he "went to the chapel of the Duke of Saxony to see the sacred service according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Everything was employed that could captivate and delight the senses; there were all kinds of musical instruments, and also eunuchs whose voice imitated that of virgins; the fragrance from the incense carried about by boys was most grateful; and our eyes were charmed with pictures hung round the building, and with the magnificent dresses of the priests who not unlike harlequins went gesticulating about. All things appear to breathe solemnity and sanctity, and at the least sound of a bell all fall on their knees. The whole service is performed in Latin, which strikes with awe the common people. The worship of the Roman Catholic Church seems contrived to blandish and intoxicate the senses."

In Dresden he laid hands on the *Cosmologiam Generalem* of John Christian Wolf, "who," he wrote, "has endeavoured to establish the nature of elements from merely metaphysical principles, based upon a very sound foundation." The meeting with Wolf's work had in it much pleasantness. He discovered that their thoughts had been running in the same channels: and to generous thinkers, unconsumed by the lust of originality, such coincidence is rich with satisfaction.

"Illustrious Wolf was recognized, at that time, as the

second greater Leibnitz and head philosopher of Nature, who by 'mathematical method' had as it were taken Nature in the fact and illuminated everything, so that whosoever ran might read; which all manner of people then tried to do, but have now quite ceased trying by the Wolf method."*

From Dresden, Swedenborg went to Prague and made a tour among the mines of Bohemia. To Leipsic he came in September and devoted himself to the final preparation of his manuscript for the press. His itinerary ends with this entry—

"5th October.—The printing of the *Principia* is begun, and six sheets this week are printed. The gods bless it! The Leipsic fair this day commenced."

The supervision of the printing of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, and the execution of its numerous engraved illustrations occupied the last months of 1733 and the first of 1734. At the same time, stimulated by the confirmation of his mechanical philosophy in the writings of Wolf, he composed a treatise on *The Infinite*.

At the beginning of 1734 both works were published at Leipsic and Dresden.

He now turned homewards through Hesse-Cassel, inspecting mines on the way. The chief attraction in Hesse-Cassel was Philosopher Wolf. Wolf had been driven from his professorship in Halle by the terrors of Frederick William, and had found refuge with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who appointed him professor of mathematics and philosophy at Marburg. Here Swedenborg made acquaintance with the great man and chatted, and settled and re-settled the origin of the universe by "mathematical method" to perfect satisfaction.

Persecuted by King Frederick William, it was some consolation to Wolf to find an ardent admirer in his son Prince Frederick. Frederick had Wolf's Latin writings translated, that he might study them; and writing to Voltaire he recommended Wolf to his notice as "the most celebrated Philosopher of our days, who, for having carried light into

* Carlyle's "*Frederick the Great*," vol i., page 622.

the darkest places of metaphysics, is cruelly accused of irreligion and atheism. Such is the destiny of our great men; their superior genius exposes them to the poisoned arrows of calumny and envy."

Voltaire's answer to this is worth quoting—

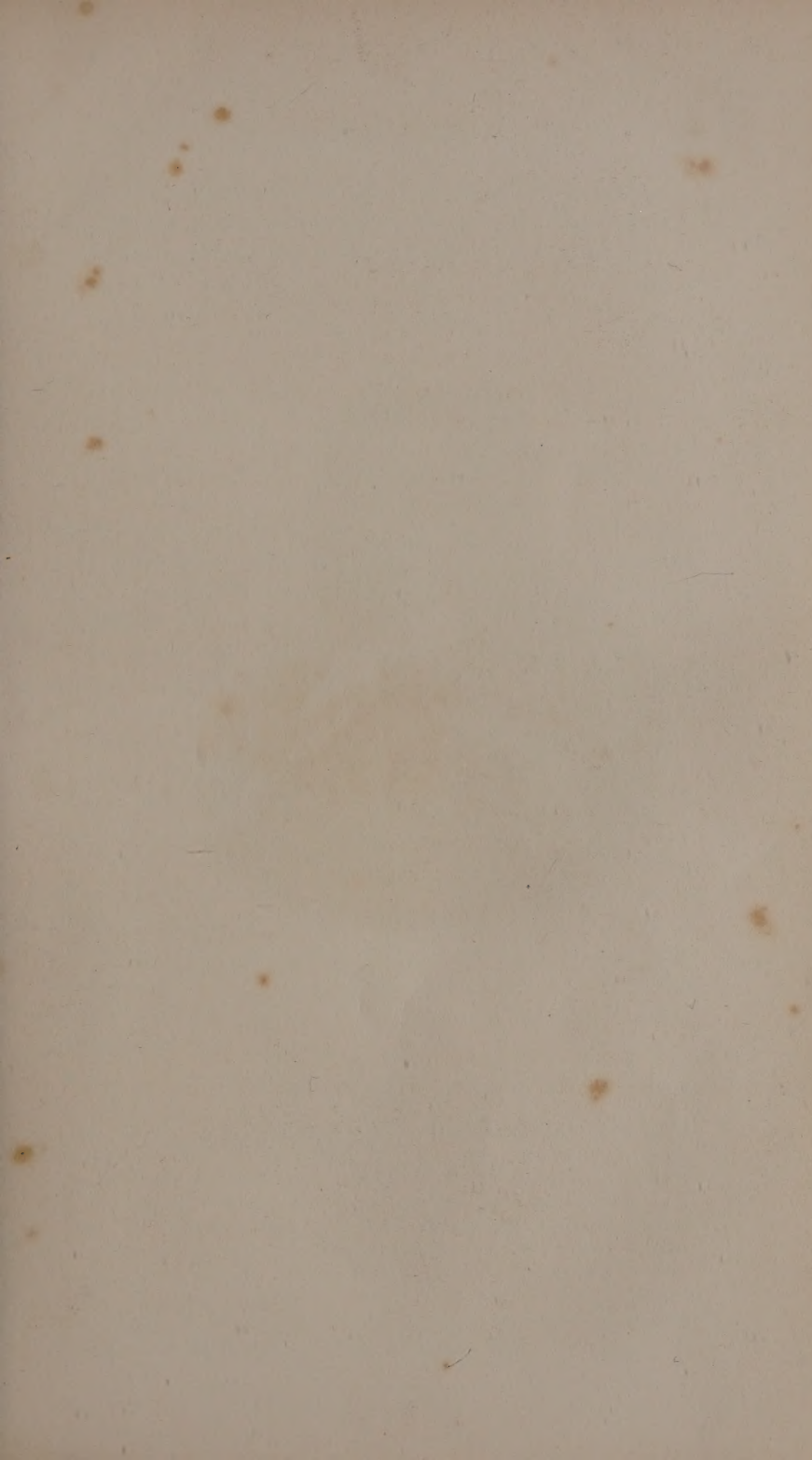
"CIREY, 26th August, 1736.

"I cannot sufficiently thank your Royal Highness for the gift of that little book about Monsieur Wolf. I respect metaphysical ideas, rays of lightning they are, in the midst of deep night. More, I think, is not to be hoped from Metaphysics. It does not seem likely that the *First Principles* of things will ever be known. The mice that nestle in some little holes of an immense building, know not whether it is eternal, or who the Architect, or why he built it. Such mice are we;* and the Divine Architect who built the Universe has never, that I know of, told his secret to one of us. If anybody could pretend to guess correctly, it is M. Wolf."

Wolf derived his philosophy from Descartes and Leibnitz, whose successor he may be considered. Swedenborg had developed his philosophy before his acquaintance with Wolf, but in the last paragraph of his *Principia* he confesses important obligations to him, adding, that whoever will take the pains to compare his writings with Wolf's, will see that their principles almost exactly coincide.

From Cassel Swedenborg went to Gotha, and thence to Brunswick, on a visit to Duke Rudolph, who munificently defrayed the cost of printing his *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. To him the great work was inscribed, offered as incense to a god, in one of those absurd dedications

* The analogy does not hold. Men do wonder concerning the Universe and its Maker, and their questions concerning both are satisfied more and more as they follow right methods of inquiry. Mice neither wonder nor desire to understand anything of the building in which they nestle; if they did, doubtless they would have been endowed with intellects by which they might apprehend the Architect. Our Maker created in us the desire to know Him; and that desire He did not create for perpetual hunger and torment, but for gratification.





Ætæ 46

Emanuel Swedenborg.

which were the fashion of the age. The Duke died in the following year, and in him Swedenborg lost a liberal friend.

Swedenborg returned to Stockholm in July, 1734.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND METALLURGICAL WORKS.*

THESE works are contained in three handsome folios copiously illustrated with engravings. A portrait of the author forms a graceful frontispiece to the first, a fair copy whereof is presented on another page.

The second and third of these volumes may be disposed of at once. They are practical and technical, giving an account of iron and copper mining and smelting processes. To metallurgists they must ever have an abiding interest as a broad landmark in the history of their art.

His publication of trade secrets was not approved by the narrow-minded; of such he observes—

“There are some who love to hold knowledge for themselves alone, and to be reputed possessors and guardians of secrets. People of this kind grudge the public everything, and if any discovery by which Art and Science will be benefited comes to light, they regard it askance with scowling visages, and probably denounce the discoverer as a babbler who lets out mysteries. Why should secrets be grudged to

* TOM. I.—*Principia Rerum Naturalium sive Novorum Tentaminum Phænomena Mundi Elementaris Philosophice Explicandi.*

TOM. II.—*Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Ferro deque Modis Liqutationum Ferri per Europam passim in usum receptis: deque conversione ferri crudi in chalybem: de vena ferri et probatione ejus: pariter de chymicis præparatis et cum ferro et victriolo ejus factis experimentis.*

TOM. III.—*Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Cupro et Orichalco modis liqutationum cupri per Europam passim in usum receptis: de secretion ejus ab argento: de conversione in Orichalcum: inque Metalla diversi generis: de Lapide Calaminari: de Zinco: de Vena Cupri et probatione ejus: pariter de chymicis præparatis, et cum cupro factis experimentis, &c., &c. Cum figuris æneis. Dresdæ et Lipsiæ, 1734.*

the public? why withheld from this enlightened Age? Whatever is worth knowing should by all means be brought into the common Market of the World. Unless this be done, we can neither grow wiser nor happier with time."

These are right liberal words, having the savour of a spirit often claimed as peculiar to "this enlightened Age."

Our interest lies in the first volume, entitled, *Principia, or the First Principles of Natural Things, being New Attempts towards a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World.*

It is an attempt to show how atoms are created; and, as Earths are congregations of atoms, how Earths were created. Picking up a grain of sand, Swedenborg would show us how it proceeded out of nothingness into being.

By what means did he hope to steal from Nature the secret of her Genesis? We shall better answer that question after hearing what he has to say concerning the means to a true philosophy.

Reason operates on Experience by Geometry.

These means, he says, are three—Experience, Reason, Geometry.

Experience is the only way to Wisdom. It is impossible to derive knowledge from the Soul. Knowledge is solely acquired through the Senses: but we must not confound Knowledge (another word for Experience) with Reason.

Experience supplies the materials wherewith Reason builds: Reason could have no active life without Experience. Reason is that fine faculty of the Soul whereby Experience is ruled, analysed, classified, and reduced to laws and analogies. Moreover, Reason, from facts or things known, elicits a second, a third, or a fourth truth hitherto unknown. Reason is the mark of the true philosopher; and Reason, to attain her ends, must invoke the aid of all the Sciences, but chiefly Geometry.

The Vast Realm of Geometry.

All the things of the Animal, Vegetable, Mineral, and Elemental Kingdoms are mechanical. The whole World is

a system of mechanism. The Animal Kingdom is mechanical as to its bodily organization. Hence by Geometry all are to be investigated and understood.

The World being mechanical, it follows that the smallest things and the largest are governed by similar mechanical laws; and, though the particles of the Elemental Kingdom are invisible and in a great measure elude the observation of the Senses, yet, as they are fluent and bounded, they must be geometrical, and flow and exist in a mechanical manner.

The Method of Nature is everywhere the same; what is true of the least is true of the greatest; the force that shapes a dew-drop forms a world; the mechanism of the trunk of an elephant and of a fly is the same: the philosopher must not be deluded by size and suppose difference. This truth is of inestimable value, because by analogies drawn from the seen we can advance to the unseen, and speak of the unseen as if it lay under the eye.

Many things are not Mechanical.

Though the World is constituted in a mechanical manner, and is explained by Geometry, it does not follow that all things whatsoever are to be thus explained. There are innumerable things not mechanical. There is the Infinite, altogether without and above the sphere of Geometry. From the Infinite the Finite is derived, and from the Infinite the Finite instantly lives.

There is also that intelligent principle which exists in Animals, called the Soul. What is the nature of this intelligence, Geometry has hitherto been unable to discover, and we are yet ignorant whether the laws to which the Soul is subject are similar to those of Mechanics: yet it cannot be denied, that the laws of the Soul are as fixed and orderly as those of Mechanics, and that they act through mechanical principles in the body. The same may be said of the Love or Life of Man, which is not to be explained by Geometry: yet his Love, by and through the body, operates mechanically.

There is likewise a Providence respecting all things, which is Infinite in the Infinite, and which is quite in-

appreciable by Geometry. There are probably infinite other things of which we are ignorant, which owe no obedience to the known laws of Mechanics.

The Philosopher's Hope.

The true philosopher seeks earnestly for the causes of things, for knowing the causes he becomes the easy master of effects and details. The mechanical World of Nature is not unlike a spider's web, and the philosopher may be compared to the spider herself. The spider in the centre of her web, by circles and polygons radiating around, knows in an instant what takes place in the circumference. The philosopher who discovers the central law of Nature, will be in Nature as the spider in her web. From the centre he will view Nature's infinite peripheries and comprehend the whole mundane system at a glance.

God and Nature.

"Nature is only a word which expresses the motive forces proceeding from the Infinite. Nature is nothing apart from the World, but the Infinite is independent of the World, whilst on the other hand no conception can be formed of the World independently of the Infinite. They therefore are mere children, and have not reached the first threshold of true philosophy, who ascribe to Nature the origin of all things and exclude the Infinite, or who confound Nature and the Infinite together, when yet the World or Nature is only an effect or thing caused, the Infinite being its efficient or cause."

Such is a curt abstract of his preliminary observations. His purpose is to bring to light the constitution and laws of the Elemental World; to reveal those subtile, invisible and inner forces which are the Soul of Nature, by which Nature's gross body of Earth is permeated and vivified, and from which by condensation Earth was created.

He has told us that we can know nothing save by Experience, that no Knowledge can be derived directly from the Soul, but solely through the Senses; yet he

opens the *Principia* with an assertion which he never gathered from Experience.

The Miraculous Point.

He wishes to prove how the Elemental World began, and he begs the whole question by assuming that it must have commenced in a Point.

Nature, he conceives, originated in a Point, which he defines as the simplest existence, the geometrical Point, the Point of Zeno. This Point is the beginning of the World, for it is the beginning of Geometry; and Geometry is the law of every substance in the World.

The Point is produced immediately from the Infinite. It is the medium between the Infinite and the Finite, and partakes of the nature of both; hence it may be compared to Janus with two faces, which look both ways at once.

The Point is pure and total motion; it is the commencement and the potency of all motion and production. The Point cannot be conceived of according to any laws of Geometry, and no attribute can be assigned to it except by analogy. Geometrically considered *the Point is nothing*, or a subject of mere imagination.

Motion, as derived from the Point, ever flows from a centre to a circumference, and around the circumference back to the centre, and is thus an everlasting spiral. In speaking in this fashion, he speaks of the Point as manifested in Nature. As from the Point all the motion, force and being of Nature are derived, so every atom, and consequently every aggregation of atoms, carries in its heart a perpetual tendency to vortical motion.

The Order and Process of Creation.

In a congress and coacervation of Points the First Finite is produced. This First Finite is a geometrical figure with the fewest of boundaries, the most perfect of figures, the first limitation of substance, and the first occupant of space. In it there are two poles formed by the spiral motion of the Points, and an equator. From its inherent motion it is

impelled to a revolution on its axis. The First Finite thus perfectly resembles the World, although it is so small that in comparison with things compounded it is almost nothing.

As by the aggregation and coacervation of gyrating Points the First Finite is formed, so by motion, aggregation and mutual pressure among First Finites a grosser order of Second Finites is produced. What the Point is to the First Finite, the First Finite is to the Second.

Second Finites are said to compose the First Element, forming the solar vortex, and filling the whole space of the starry heavens.

From Second Finites are produced Third Finites, in the same manner as First Finites are from Points, and Second Finites from First.

Third Finites form the Second, or Magnetic Element.

From Third Finites, in the same way by condensation and coacervation, are produced Fourth Finites.

Fourth Finites form the Third Element, or Ether.

From Fourth Finites are produced Fifth Finites in the same way.

Fifth Finites compose the Fourth Element or Air, and in a state of still closer compression, Water. Water having no elasticity, cannot however be regarded as belonging to the Elemental Kingdom. It is the first purely material Finite. In a globule of Water is contained all previous existences from the Point downwards, like box within box.

It will thus be readily seen that one Finite stands to its second as its cause, and in this sense is called its Active. Actives are the heart of their Finite; and the Point within all is the heart of hearts. Derived from the Point is a ceaseless motion by which the whole Elemental World is maintained in a constant vortical whirl.

Such is the derivation and procession of the Elements.

Action and Re-Action everywhere.

It will be observed that in this procession we have a series of Actives and Passives, or rather Re-actives. The Point is an Active to the First Finite, and the First Finite a Re-active to the Point; and the Elements of Magnetism and Ether stand

to one another in the same relation. Throughout Nature there is Action and Re-action, and absolute inertia nowhere; the gross moves more slowly than the rare, but the rare finds a fulcrum for action in the gross; without Re-action there can be no Action, for, without a passive continent, action would be dissipated like steam without a boiler. Every Active in its turn serves as a Passive to a higher Active; as, for example, the boiler of a steam engine is Passive to steam, steam to heat, heat to electricity, and electricity to some force more subtile still, and the highest finite force of all to the Infinite.

A boiler is a tangible Passive; but Swedenborg would say that steam, and heat, and electricity are not a whit less mechanical, although their mechanism eludes our Senses.

For the illustration and confirmation of this theory he turned to Magnetism; Magnetism he held to be the Second Element, and composed of Third Finites.

Peter Van Musschenbroek, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Utrecht, published in 1729 a work, *Physicæ Experimentales et Geometricæ Dissertationes*, abounding in magnetic experiments and observations. These Swedenborg freely transferred to his pages, and used to prove his doctrine of vortical motion. Musschenbroek considered that magnetic attractions and repulsions observed no certain law; but here Swedenborg left him, maintaining that nowhere was order more demonstrable.

Creation of our Solar System.

This done, and having described the Elemental World in its leasts, in single Points and Finites, he turns to its description in mass, in Suns and Space and Earths. In doing so he repeats what he has written before, for as he tells us, "Nature is similar to herself in Suns and Planets as in Particles, size makes no difference."

The Point was described as containing or receiving the potency of all motion and production from the Infinite. Suns are the sires of systems, and therefore Suns consist of Points. From these Points are produced First Finites, and

from First Finites the First Element, and from Second Finites the Magnetic Element. These First and Second Elements form the Solar Vortex. Each particle and the whole mass of the Magnetic Element wheeling in ceaseless gyration, "in perpetual motion, local or translatory, undulatory or modificatory and ancillary," closed and thickened in the Third Element or Ether.

The Sun in his Vortex was surrounded by this crust of Ether. Subtile and rare though Ether be, yet to the inner Elements it is coarse; and, revolving in a continual gyratory motion round the Sun, it gradually retreated until widening and widening it became so attenuated, that it broke and collapsed, and was fashioned by the soft but powerful action of the Magnetic Element into a Planet, and led into its orbit by continuing magnetic bands.

The Planet of Ether by further condensation became Air; and from Air by still further compression was produced Water.

From Water was formed the Mineral Kingdom. Around globules of Water grew crusts, just as Ether crusted round the Sun. These crusts gathered themselves between the interstices of the Water-globules, and hence originated Salt.

Salt was the first of the solid formations, the beginning of the terrestrial series. From Salt, Swedenborg conceived, "by distillation, sublimation, rectification, circulation, filtration, commixion, digestion, precipitation or crystallization might be educed any substance;" and indeed was educed the Mineral Kingdom.

The Mineral Kingdom thus accounted for, the foundation of the Earth was laid; and by countless subsequent developments, a ground for vegetables, and then for animals, and at last a Paradise were prepared, into which Man, the king and crown of creation, stepped forth: and all these wonders were effected through gyrating Points, or the Sun whose inmost consists of an infinite concourse of such Points.

Such is Swedenborg's theory of the origin and order of the mechanical Universe. It would be difficult to give an idea of the laborious minuteness, running into iteration and diffuseness, with which he reasons out its details. What is to be said about it?

It is a mathematician's ambitious dream. The very beginning of his theory lay in nothingness. The Point by his own definition was geometrically nothing, a mere figment of the fancy, and his ratiocination over it makes the head swim. He felt his difficulty, and candidly expresses his desire to evade it—

“Since the Point is of such a nature that it must necessarily be contemplated as proceeding from the Infinite (and yet existing before any Finite, and so must be considered as non-geometrical), I could wish that some other person capable of the task would favour us with a better view of the subject. For my own part, I would willingly give up the further consideration of this first *ens*, to which something of Infinity adheres, and proceed to the Finites.”

This was hard; his Point he was bound to make clear, yet after much ado he ends in taking it for granted.

The bland and unconscious way in which the makers of precepts abandon them in practice is amusingly illustrated by Swedenborg in his *Principia*. He tells us, that all Knowledge is derived through the Senses, and nothing directly from the Soul; and this assertion stands as the preface to a theory spun out in all its elaboration from his own fancy. It is true he allows, that he is only trying to evolve the Unseen from the Seen; and we may follow him when he says, that as visible Matter is Geometrical as to figure and Mechanical as to motion, invisible Matter must be so likewise, for size makes no difference; but when he proceeds to invent Elements, we listen to him, if we can command the interest, as we would to a tale of Utopia or the Fairies. For the existence of Points and the procession of Finites into the Elements, he has no evidence or experience to adduce whatever. Why Magnetism itself is not composed of Points “derived immediately from the Infinite,” and why there are not ninety-two, or twenty-five, or ten layers of Finites between the Infinite and the Ether—these and scores of similar questions might be idly asked, for his only answer could be, I have assumed whatever I thought requisite for the complete symmetry of my

theory. This, every open-eyed reader of the *Principia* perceives.

The *Principia* has not wanted admirers who have found in it anticipations of many subsequent discoveries. It would be surprising indeed if a theory of such range and elaboration did not strike out some hints which Science might justify and subsequent speculators repeat.

From our abstract it will be seen, that something akin to the Nebular Hypothesis is set forth in the assertion that Earths are produced from the condensed effusions of Suns. Laplace, who is commonly credited with the Nebular Hypothesis, owns that Buffon first suggested to him the idea of the derivation of Planets and their Moons from Suns. Buffon possessed Swedenborg's *Principia*, and it may be presumed read it: a copy with his autograph, *Buffon*, 1736, on the title-page, now lies before me.

Even for the Point there are people to say something; some of our scientific men think, "that Matter is resolvable, in the last analysis, not into definite atoms occupying space, but into Points of dynamic force." This Mr. Faraday considers demonstrable, and substantially it is Swedenborg's notion: the Point is by him defined as "pure and total motion, an everlasting force," and the seed of all things.

That heat and electricity are latent in all Matter is now universally admitted. Swedenborg held that heat, light, and electricity were but modifications of the Magnetic Element. It is plain that Magnetism, according to his theory, is latent in all Matter, for it is but one of its gradations.

Perhaps the most fruitful doctrine of the *Principia* is the doctrine of similarity—that Nature is everywhere the same in great as in little—that size makes no difference. This truth Swedenborg laid fast hold of, and never forgot; he used it unsparingly as a truth of universal application in things spiritual as well as natural, and few of his pages can be read without meeting it, expressed or implied.

Hence his Cosmogony is only a repetition of his theory of the Point and its Finites; the Sun becomes a centre of Points breeding the Elements which condense into Earths.

The existence of vortices throughout all Creation is main-

tained in the *Principia*; a spiral or vortical motion, he says, is derived from the Point and pervades every Finite, and therefore all aggregates of Finites whether Elemental or Material.

The theory of vortices was advocated by Kepler, Descartes, and Leibnitz, but it was regarded as exploded by Sir Isaac Newton's doctrine of attraction.

There is a great difference however between the theory of vortices as taught by Swedenborg and by his predecessors. They supposed atoms and worlds to be inert masses, and that Earths were wheeled in their orbits by some extraneous force; Swedenborg on the other hand looked on each atom, and therefore on each Earth of atoms as carrying in its heart the force of the Point, and as being internally impelled thereby to perpetual vortical motion. Moreover the spaces between Suns and Earths are not voids, but are filled with the Magnetic Element, which swathes the Earths in soft bands, and guides them onward in their spiral ways.

By a Magnet and its sphere Swedenborg would interpret the Universe. What indeed is the Universe but a great Magnet? Stars cluster, and Suns and Earths and Moons move under magnetic laws.

CHAPTER V.

THE INFINITE AND THE FINAL CAUSE OF CREATION, AND
THE MECHANISM OF THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE
SOUL AND THE BODY.*

SWEDENBORG inscribed this treatise to his brother-in-law Benzelius, at that time Bishop of East Gothland, a step in his ascent to the primacy of the Swedish Church.

The Infinite, he premises, is the Difficulty of Philosophy.

* *Prodromus Philosophiæ Ratiocinantis de Infinito et Causa Finali Creationis: deque Mechanismo Operationis Animæ et Corporis.* Dresdæ et Lipsiæ, 1734.

“As the mind in the course of philosophizing peers into and courses over finite Nature, it cannot but at last arrive at the utterly unknown and inexplicable, that is, at the Infinite; and as the Infinite is identical with the Non-finite, the mind there stops; there finds an insurmountable and impenetrable difficulty, a Gordian Knot.

“The Philosopher then by a thousand curious efforts labours to know, what the Infinite can be, what the Infinite God is like, what can be the nature of an Essence without end or boundary, and what that something is of the qualities of which Philosophy is doomed to perpetual ignorance; whether the Infinite is identical with the Divine, whether there be aught in Nature which can be said to be Infinite, whether the Infinite is beyond Nature, and whether the qualities of the Infinite are to be discovered by means of Nature.

“The Philosopher impatient to solve the difficulty whets his mind, consults all the oracles of Reason, and collects a thousand arguments from his Memory.”

Yet it will be observed, that the Philosopher, his Reason, his Memory, and all the powers and knowledge he can command are Finite, and being Finite, can make no approach to the Infinite. He may come indeed to the conclusion that Nature and God are one; but that is to deny the Infinite, for Nature is Finite.

“I will admit,” he continues, “that by no comparison with things finite, and by no similitude, and by no force or faculty of the understanding can we penetrate into the Divine Infinity. I will also go further and grant, that not even Angels (if the reader believe in Angels) can penetrate to the Infinity of God.

To narrow the discussion, he asks his reader to accept the conclusion, “that in Nature the Infinite is impossible. Nature is composed of Finites; and Finites though multiplied indefinitely can never become Infinite.”

Admitting then that the Universe, Nature, or Creation is finite, he next inquires, By whom was the Universe created, caused, or finited? If it be answered, that Nature created or originated itself, a reply is made which is flatly repugnant

to Reason; for that is saying that it existed before it did exist; that it created itself. If it be said that God created Nature, and God be thought of as finite, the question is not answered, but evaded or deferred; for, if God be finite, we renew our inquiry, and ask, By whom was God finited, created, or caused? We have here the child's question, following his instruction that God made him—Then, who made God?

Thus driven inwards from Finite to Finite, from Cause to Cause, we are at last compelled to stop and own a first and original Cause, un-caused and un-finite, and therefore Infinite.

By this process our Author extorts the confession of the Infinite as the Cause and Creator of the finite Universe.

Having confessed the Infinite, his next lesson is, that we can never know *what* the Infinite is: that we can do no more than say the Infinite *is*. "Poor foolish Reason" has long striven hopelessly to conceive the Infinite by the Finite, although the mere terms of the case ought to have taught a wholesome despair.

"Let us now proceed onwards and see whether we can by Reason attain a still more distinct acknowledgment, that there is an Infinite God the producer of Nature. Reasoning *à priori* we have found, that this Unknown Being exists, or, that there is an Infinite. We will now inquire experimentally whether the same conclusion does not become irresistible when reasoning *à posteriori*."

With this end he adduces a variety of reflections on the immensity and the order of the Universe, as seen in the heavens and the structure of the human body, and infers therefrom the necessary existence of an Infinite Creator and Designer. He had evidently (1733-4) begun to grow familiar with anatomy.

In conclusion, he enters into some perplexed reasoning about a *nexus*, or medium of connection between the Infinite and the Finite, between Creator and Creation. The Infinite is the cause of the Finite, but the Finite is perfectly distinct from the Infinite: Creation is *from* God, but nothing of God is in Creation. Creation moreover is not a work

done and abandoned, but a work in constant progress and renewal; maintained in every item of its existence by a perpetual efflux from the Infinite. How then is the chasm between the Infinite and the Finite bridged over? How is Nature adjoined to God?

“Without a *nexus* the Finite could neither exist nor subsist. Unless the First Finites were related to the Infinite by a *nexus* of some kind they would be at once annihilated and the Universe dissipated outright.”

In the *Principia* he selected Points for this office of mediation between the Infinite and the Finite: “like Janus looking both ways.” Now he is less positive and in perplexity, directing his attention “at one time to the Infinite and at another to the First Finite, hoping to discover the *nexus* from the latter, though not from the former, and standing hardly knowing which road to take between some light and more darkness.”

This conclusion is at last attained—

“The *nexus* is affirmed, but it is not known; we declare its certain existence, but pretend to no knowledge of its qualities. The *nexus* is Infinite, and equally unknown as the Infinite itself.”

This was discouraging. Evidently his next duty was to evolve from his Reason a *nexus* between the unknown Infinite *nexus* and the Finite. Strangely enough he elects Jesus Christ to the office of the *nexus* between the Infinite and the First Finites! His idea was, that—

“Where Reason is perplexed in her apprehensions recourse must be had to Revelation; and when Revelation gives us no answer we must fly to the oracle of Reason. In this way, Natural Theology must proffer her hand to Revealed when the meaning of Revelation seems doubtful; and Revealed Theology must lend her aid in turn to Rational Theology when Reason is in straits.”

His Reason being in straits about the *nexus*, he therefore flies to Revelation, and this is his deliverance—

“Let us now see whether God Himself has not been pleased to reveal to us this very thing. He tells us that He had from Eternity an only begotten Son; that this only

begotten Son is Infinite, and is God; that the connection between the Finite and the Infinite is effected by this Infinite Son and God; and that the Father and Son concurred in the work of Creation.

“Here we have something like what Reason had dictated, to wit, a *nexus* between the Finite and the Infinite; also, the declaration that the final cause belongs to the Infinite, but through the *nexus* of the Son; and that the connection between the Infinite and the Finite is through the Son and through nothing else. Thus we have a concurrence of Revelation and Reason in the matter of the *nexus*.

“For the present then let us rest content in the certainty, that First Finities are connected with God through His only begotten Son.”

The title of the second part of the treatise, *The Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*, indicates a piece of thorough Materialism.

He first decides, that the Soul is not Infinite inasmuch as it is not God, but created by God; and not being Infinite, it must be Finite, and being Finite, it must be included somewhere in that Universe which commencing in Points ends in Earth.

The Soul being Finite must have extension, “for the Finite is not conceivable apart from extension. I do not care how small a Finite may be, it must occupy space.”

Having caught the Soul in the net of the Finite and the Material, he discourses over it geometrically and mechanically—

“The Soul is in Nature enclosed within the Body. It is clear from experience, altogether apart from reasoning, that the Soul is a constituent of the Body, limited to it, and one of the Body’s natural parts: its last and subtilest part.

“The Soul dwells in no particular gland or membrane, nor is it diffused over the Body. Its dwelling-place is where the membranes pass into their highest attenuations and reach their finest subtilty. The seat of the Rational Soul is in the Brain, and does not extend beyond it. The Soul resides particularly in the cortical substance of the

cerebrum, and partly also in the medullary, where exquisitely fine membranes run from particle to particle, and above, around and within each particle. It is ubiquitous in all parts of the Brain."

Between his Soul and his flesh, blood and bones, Man comprises all the Elements which exist between the Sun and the Earth: by his Soul he is kin to the Sun, by his Body to the Earth. By vibrations from without through the Senses communications are made to the Soul. "Such vibratory or tremulous motion is the cause of all sensation." By vibrations from within, the Soul in turn issues her mandates to the Body.

Such was Swedenborg's theory of the intercourse between the Soul and the Body. He had too much good sense not to feel its defects; but one of the vices of his mind was an impatience of uncertainty, and to attain a fully rounded doctrine he was far too ready to invent the unknown.

To discover the Soul had become his consuming desire—

"The Sciences are diving continually deeper and deeper into the mysteries of Nature, and continually detecting correspondences between the grosser and finer substances of the World. Why should we not press inwards to a knowledge of the Soul? and so forestal posterity and prevent them laughing at us, as we now laugh at some of the old philosophers."

That he had his doubts about his theory is evident from several expressions. He naturally felt, that—

"If the Soul be mechanical and geometrical it may be difficult to explain many of its faculties; as Imagination, Perception, Reason, Memory, Ideas, etc."

Difficult indeed! He meets his doubt in this suggestion—

"Why may not mechanical laws exist in a superlative perfection adequate to these offices?" and promises, "that in a work to which this essay is only preliminary, we shall demonstrate that the Soul is perfectly mechanical, and that it is immortal and cannot perish unless the Universe itself be annihilated."

In the Introduction to the *Principia*, published in the preceding year (1733), he had written—

"In respect to the Soul and its various faculties, I do not conceive it possible that they can be explained or comprehended by any of the known laws of motion. Such indeed is our present state of ignorance, that we do not know whether the motions by which the Soul operates on the organs of the Body are reducible under any law or rule, either similar or dissimilar to those of Mechanism."

Now (in 1734) he has come to another conclusion—

"The Soul is subject to mechanical and geometrical laws. As it is impossible to conceive any finite existence without extension, so I am utterly at a loss to know how it can be shown, that there are other rules or laws of Nature beyond those that are geometrical and mechanical."

Yet he did not close the lid of the geometrical box upon the Soul without misgivings—

"If any one can point out to me—I will not insist upon demonstration—but if any one can point out how any other than geometrical and mechanical laws are possible in our finite Creation, I will cede the whole argument. To me it is inconceivable how the Soul can exist save as a subject of Geometry and Mechanics. He who denies extension to the Soul, denies that it is finite."

Deeper in the mud-holes of Materialism he could scarcely go. The year he had spent in Germany, reading and communing with Wolf and his set, had hurried him into positions from which his own good sense had saved him when writing the *Principia* at home in Stockholm. Now he thinks everything which is not God, everything created by the Infinite, inasmuch as it is Finite, must needs be material, possess length, breadth and thickness, and exist under the rule of Geometry and Mechanics. Afflicted with an itch for simplicity, he gains his end by reducing the Universe to one common stuff called Matter, thin at the centre in Suns and Souls, and thick at the outside in Earths and Metals.

We may smile at these attempts to conjure the secrets of Creation out of Reason; but Swedenborg tried to do no more than whole regiments of Philosophers ancient, modern, and contemporary.

Swedenborg speaks of the present treatise as "an essay merely preliminary to a work in which I will prove, that the Soul is perfectly *mechanical*, and that it is *immortal*;" and in several places he repeats the promise, saying in one instance, that he "designs to speak more at length of the Soul in the Body in special dissertations, the purpose of which will be to demonstrate the immortality of the Soul to the very Senses."

To discover then the Soul in the Body he betook himself with all his vigour to the study of Anatomy and Physiology: with what results we shall presently see.

In 1745, ten years after this, he printed a work in London on the *Worship and Love of God*. It is mentioned now, because from internal evidence it appears to have been written about this time; and because, when speaking of Christ as the *nexus* between God and Nature in the book before us, he observes, "We shall have more to say on this head when, in pursuance of our present plan, we come to speak of *Divine Worship*."

CHAPTER VI.

AT HOME AND ABROAD.

RIGHT glad was the old Bishop to receive his son back from Germany, a recognized Philosopher. His memory had grown treacherous, his nerves tremulous, but his eyes never needed spectacles, and he beheld with a proud joy the handsome volumes of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. In an autobiography he thus expresses his comfort in his son up to the ripe age of forty—

"Emanuel, my son's name, signifies 'God with us,' a name which should constantly remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy, and mysterious connection in which, through faith, we stand with our good and gracious God: and, blessed be the Lord's name! God has to this hour

been with him, and may God further be with him until he is eternally united with Him in His Kingdom!"

The Bishop composed the autobiography when he was between seventy-six and seventy-nine years old, from 1729 to 1732. With his own hand he made six copies, in folios of one hundred and sixty pages, "with good intention and in a fatherly spirit," and dedicated them with his usual sublime self-assurance, "to my children and posterity as an example how to conduct themselves after my death."

In 1735, Bishop Svedberg died aged eighty-two, having ruled in the diocese of Skara for thirty-three years.

So far back as 1718, the managing man had written out precise directions for his funeral. "There is to be no fuss made about my corpse; the Masters of Arts and the Clergy of the vicinity are to bear it from my house to the grave, and if they grow tired the parishioners will relieve them. The funeral will take place by daylight, so that there may be no need for flambeaux or torches; the funeral sermon will be taken from the text, 'I believe in the communion of Saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.' Music and organ will be silent, and only the hymn, 'I know I shall again arise,' sung at the end. Meat and drink will be provided abundantly for the guests, and the remnants distributed among the poor of Asaka and Saranaka. The funeral memoirs written by myself will be read before the sermon."

Thus closed the long life of the busy Bishop, a man spiritual and worldly, liberal and intolerant, generous and grasping, lively and serious, and in all things restless and aggressive. Entertaining it likely was to meet Svedberg once in a while, and hear the rattle of his audacious tongue, and enter into the bustle of his doings; but to be associated with him permanently must have been weariness to the flesh. To the health of his enemies, whom he reckoned many, he used to drink; but it is easier to imagine that he was disliked as a bore, as an intruder into matters beyond his pale, and as an upsetter of comfortable routine, than seriously hated as a foe. On the same ground we should suppose he was liked by his admirers rather than

reverenced or loved. There was not stillness in him to afford leisure for friendship, and his three mercantile marriages prove that his sensibilities were of a somewhat coarse texture.

Music was a passion with Svedberg. Peter Hesselius, a clergyman, used to spend his evenings with his violin and flute at the Bishop's fireside, and wile away the hours with favourite tunes. "Heaven," said Svedberg, "is the land of music. There all motions are melodies. When I hear the roar of the waterfalls and the clatter of the mills, they bring to mind the constant harmonies I shall enjoy when I ascend to my eternal home and abide with the Angels."

Peculiarly notable was his omnipresent self-esteem; in all his affairs the Lord was on his side, and the Devil on his adversary's. In that conviction lay the secret of his pertinacity, his naïvete and perpetual activity. He never saw himself as others saw him; hence he felt none of that timidity which afflicts those who can look at themselves out of their neighbours' eyes. His frankness was not sincerity so much as ignorance of the effect of his words. Dulness of this sort is a qualification for a certain order of worldly success. Men who are dead to the thoughts and feelings of others concerning them, and supremely satisfied with their own rightness, can drive their measures through society in a style utterly impossible to sensitive organizations. It is plain that was Svedberg's case. Indifferent because dead to unspoken opinion, he was able to work incessantly without being bewildered by doubt or fear. Direct resistance alone affected him, and he was satisfied if his imperious wishes were obeyed, without heed as to the motives from which obedience was yielded.

Varied by culture and circumstance, we shall observe in Emanuel Swedenborg a repetition in many respects of his father's mind.

Bishop Svedberg left a considerable fortune. Swedenborg's share, added to what he had inherited from his step-mother, placed him in independence. He therefore found a substitute for his Assessorship, and resigning to him half

his salary, set off for the Continent in order to study Anatomy and Physiology and print promised books. His official income was 1,200 dalers, and as a daler was worth about 2s. 6*d.*, his income in English coin amounted to £150, a sum which had in Sweden a hundred years ago a value that £150 distantly represents.

On the 10th of July, 1736, he sailed for Denmark, and spent about a week in Copenhagen. From thence he went to Hamburg, and Hanover, Holland, and Belgium. He entered Rotterdam in the midst of a fair, and, after some notes on the amusements of the people, he makes these reflections on the prosperity of the Dutch—

“Here at Rotterdam, I have been prompted to inquire, why God has blessed a people so boorish as the Dutch with such a fertile and luxuriant soil; why He has preserved them for so long a course of years from all misfortune; and why He has raised them in commerce above all other nations, and made their provinces the emporium of the wealth of the world. On consideration, the first and principal cause appears to be that Holland is a republic, which form of Government is more pleasing to God than an absolute monarchy. In a republic no worship is paid to any man, but high and low think themselves equal to kings, as may be seen from the bearing of every one in Holland. They only worship God; and when God alone is worshipped, and men are not adored instead, such worship is most acceptable to Him.

“Then again, in Holland there is the greatest liberty. None are slaves, but all are as lords and masters, under the government of the most high God; and the consequence is, that they do not repress their manliness either by shame or fear, but always preserve a firm and sound mind in a sound body, and with a free spirit and an erect countenance commit themselves and their property to God, who alone ought to govern all things. It is not so in absolute monarchies where men are educated to simulation and dissimulation; where they learn to have one thing concealed in the heart, and to bring forth another upon the tongue; where their minds by inveterate custom become so false and counterfeit

that they proffer their flattery and deceit to God Himself, which certainly must be most displeasing to Him. These seem to be the reasons why the Dutch are more prosperous in their undertakings than other nations. Their worshipping Mammon however as a Deity, and caring for nothing but gold, is a thing not compatible with long prosperity; yet perhaps there are ten in a thousand, or in ten thousand, who avert the punishment, and cause the rest to participate in the abundance and blessings of this life."

On his journey from Antwerp to Brussels by boat he had among his fellow-passengers two bare-foot Franciscan friars, one of whom stood on a spot for four hours, praying devoutly all the time; upon which he remarks, "This custom of praying is doubtless well pleasing to God if it proceed from a true and faithful veneration and from a pure mind, and not from simulation and hypocrisy, as with the Pharisees. Prayer avails much, as we know from the instance of Moses when his people were rebellious, and from other examples. Paul was also desirous that others should pray for him."

Roye in Picardy he describes as "a miserable town. The monks are fat and voluptuous, and an army of such fellows might be banished without loss to the state. They fill their bellies, take all they can get, and give the poor nothing but fine words and blessings; and yet they are ready to receive from the poor all their substance. What is the good of barefoot Franciscans?"

On the 3rd of September he arrived in Paris, where he remained for a year and a half; during the last four months of 1736, the whole of 1737, and 1738 to the 12th of March. This was his second visit to Paris; in 1712-13 he spent a year there.

"4th Sept.—I saw the city around the Faubourg St. Germain, was in Notre Dame, the garden of the Luxembourg, and at the theatre. The Parisians carry pleasure, or rather sensuality, to its highest pitch.

"5th Sept.—I have been in the King's palaces, the Tuilleries and the Louvre, where I admired the statues of great, noble, and renowned men. I was also in the Hotel Royal des

Invalides, which is a miracle of architecture, a temple of beauty!

"13th Sept.—Was at the Italian Comedy.

"14th Sept.—Have been to the Opera, which is magnificent, and to the Comedy.

"18th Sept.—Was in the churches of the Franciscans and Cistercians, and to the Italian Comedy. I had some controversy with an Abbé about the worship of the Saints. He utterly denied that they are worshipped, contending that worship is solely rendered to God, veneration to Saints, and double veneration to the Virgin Mary.

"28th Sept.—Was at the Opera and saw excellent acting and dancing.

"10th Oct.—It is reckoned that the tax called the tenths yields annually 32,000,000 livres, and that the Parisians spend two-thirds of the sum over the city. One-fifth of France is in the hands of the Church. If this lasts long, the ruin of the empire is certain.

"17th Oct.—I have been to the Opera at the Palais Royal, where a charming piece was performed. The best dancers are Malter and Desmoulins. Among the actresses most praised are Madame Breton and Madame Mariette; among the actors, Fribaud and Fel; among the singers, Pellecier and Antier.

"I was also at the Sorbonne hearing a theological debate.

"Oct. 30th.—I was at the Church of the Augustins, where Guillaume, preacher to the King, delivered a sermon like an actor, in a most artificial manner.

"Nov. 3rd.—I was at the palace where the Parliaments are held, and one is now commencing its sittings. In the large hall of assembly many candles were lit, and the place was filled with most exquisite music. The nobles were robed in purple. The bishop presided in his sacred garments.

"I went to St. Chapelle, which St. Louis built in 1245. Among the relics shown is a fragment of the cross, a thorn from the crown of thorns, the spear, the sponge, and other things purchased at great cost, and brought from Constantinople."

So day after day was passed during the first months of this Parisian residence. Swedenborg was an active sight-seer, with a universal curiosity. His journal contains few opinions, and is little more than a catalogue of sights.

He left Paris for Italy on the 12th of March, 1738. At Lyons he spent some days inspecting the city and its maufactories. After a tedious and dangerous journey across the Alps he reached Turin, through the streets of which marched a body of monks bearing lighted candles as he entered. From Turin he passed to Milan, and on the way his guide proved a robber. He threatened Swedenborg with his dagger, who managed to convince him that as he had no money, his murder would be a profitless crime. At Venice he settled for five months, from April to August.

Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, and Siena were next visited, and on the evening of the 25th of September, he entered Rome by the Flaminian Way through the People's Gate. There he abode until the 15th of February, 1739, for four and a half months. His journal, like that kept in Paris, consists of a mere list of the sights of Rome, with here and there a note of admiration over some picture, statue, or palace. His lodging, he states, was near the house where Christina of Sweden lived and died.

Swedenborg's presence in Rome set the Cardinals thinking about him and his writings; and the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* was honoured with an entry in the *Index Expurgatorius* in 1739.

In his journal he does not mention the Pope. It is not likely he saw Clement XII., for he was an old man, worn out and blind. He had been elected Pope in 1730, at the age of seventy-eight, and full of infirmities, as a brief respite to conflicting claims; but he lived to rule wisely and well for ten years, rather longer, it is said, than intended.

From Rome he returned to Florence, where he had the pleasure of spending two hours in conversation with the Grand Duke and Duchess; then he went to Leghorn and thence to Genoa, where his journal concludes thus—

“17th March, 1739—I have come to Genoa, which has an excellent harbour, superb palaces, and a senate house, the

most splendid imaginable, in which is a picture of Christopher Columbus, so livingly painted that I could conceive nothing more perfect.

"I saw the Doge, dressed in red to the shoes, and the Nobles, who are eight hundred, all in black with little tippets, and with noses and faces like apes.

"I was in a most pleasant garden, which now in the middle of March is in high bloom, oranges and citrons are ripening, olives are gathered from the trees, Pomona is bringing her harvest."

After this date we are without record of his goings. In 1740-41 he must have been at Amsterdam, for there he printed his *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*. In 1740 he seems to have been at Leipsic, for there he published ten Latin verses celebrating the third centenary of the art of printing. It is probable he went home in 1741, for we know he returned to Holland from Sweden in the summer of 1743 and published at the Hague Parts I. and II. of his *Animal Kingdom*. In 1744 he left Holland for London, where, in 1745, he published Part III. of the *Animal Kingdom*, and the *Worship and Love of God*.

This is a meagre summary of seven years, but there is nothing more known from the summer of 1736 to the summer of 1743: to the latter date we shall recur by and bye. From the mass of writing he produced in these years, we conclude that he spent his time studying the works of the Anatomists, attending lectures, and getting into dissecting rooms whenever he had an opportunity. In his itinerary he makes few references to his studies. On the 21st of July, 1736, he notes that he is reading and making extracts from Wolf's *Cosmology* and *Ontology*. On the 6th of September, in Paris, we find him meditating a treatise to prove, that "The Soul of Wisdom lies in the acknowledgment and knowledge of the Deity;" and on the next day a second treatise, setting forth, that "It is now time to proceed from facts to the exploration of Nature."

He was still pondering on the theme of the *Principia*, for, on the 4th of October, recording a visit to the Gardens of the Tuileries, he adds, "my walk was exceedingly pleasant

to-day; I was meditating on the forms of the particles of the atmospheres."

There is an anecdote connected with this part of Swedenborg's life, which may be mentioned. When he was an old man, General Tuxen asked, why he did not wed with Emerentia Polhem, and he frankly answered, "She would not have me." Tuxen then ventured to inquire, whether in his youth he had been indifferent to women. Swedenborg replied, "Not altogether. In my youth I had a Mistress in Italy."

When in Italy he was fifty-two years old, not an age usually spoken of as that of youth; but at the time the confession was made he was eighty, and to eighty fifty might appear as youth.

We have already referred to a similar connection, reported by Robsahm* in these words—

"It is well known that Swedenborg in his youth had a Mistress, whom he left because she was false to him. Besides this there cannot be found in his life any trace of a disorderly love."†

No doubt Robsahm refers to his life in Stockholm and not in Italy. It may have been that Swedenborg was misunderstood by General Tuxen, and that Italy was supplied by his imagination. Yet there is fair cause for belief in both Mistresses. The confession to Tuxen was not exhaustive, and Robsahm did not know everything. Moreover the Italian Mistress is more credible after the Stockholm one, even as the chances of marriage are greater with widowers than bachelors.

Let us now look over the books which Swedenborg has printed.

* M. Robsahm, Director of the Bank of Stockholm, became intimate with Swedenborg towards the close of his life, and published a pamphlet descriptive of his habits and conversation. Robsahm's anecdotes have been often printed, but the English versions are usually more or less garbled. I shall often quote Robsahm as saying this or that, and let this reference to him as an authority suffice.

† Tafel's *Sammlung von Urkunden betreffend das Leben und den Character Eman. Swedenborg's. Abtheilung III.*, p. 20.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ECONOMY OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.*

SWEDENBORG, we have seen, arrived at the conclusion, that the Soul was a machine consisting of the inmost and subtilest parts of the Body. That he might discover the Soul in its fastnesses, he resolved to pierce the Body from the outside, membrane by membrane. He recorded the resolve in 1734, and in 1741, after seven years' search, he published the result in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*.

By the Animal Kingdom, he did not mean the Kingdom of Animals, but Man only, Man being the summary of all Animals—

“Man did not begin to exist until the Kingdoms of Nature were completed: then all were concentrated in Man. Thus in Man, the microcosm, the whole Universe may be contemplated from beginning to end, from first to last.”

Blood.

In the pursuit of his argument he limits his attention to the Blood; for “whatever exists in the Body pre-exists in the Blood. It is the complex of Nature: to its constitution the Animal, Vegetable, Mineral and Elemental Kingdoms contribute: in fine, it is the epitome of the riches of the Universe.”

In the *Principia* he told us, that a Water-globule was the ultimate and first material out-come of the inner force of Nature. For like reasons he now tells us the same concerning a Red Blood-globule—

* *Œconomia Regni Animalis in Transactiones divisa: quarum hæc prima de Sanguine, ejus Arteriis, Venis et Corde agit: Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustrata. Cui accedit Introductio ad Psychologiam Rationalem. Amstelodami, 1741.*

Œconomia Regni Animalis in Transactiones divisa: quarum hæc secunda de Cerebri Motu et Cortice et de Anima Humana agit: Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustrata. Amstelodami, 1741.

“There is not in the whole compass of Nature a single compound entity more simple and perfect than a globule of Blood; for it comprehends every constituent of the Mundane System. Hence the infinite variety of liquids and solids in the Animal Kingdom which proceed from the fountain of the Blood.

Animal Spirits.

Swedenborg resorted to Anatomy less for instruction than for confirmation. He had settled that the Soul was the inmost of the Body; he demanded of Anatomy what the inmost of the Body is; and to his delight the Anatomists supplied him with an idea which perfectly met his requirement: they all believed in Animal Spirits—

“The Learned in general, and the Anatomists in particular, describe the Animal Spirits as running through the finest threads of the Nerves, as calling out the force of the Muscles, as being sublimated from the Blood, and as having their birth in the Brain, which they term the mart and emporium of the Animal Spirits.”

The fact is, the doctrine of a Nerve Spirit never ceased to be orthodox until our own day. All the old masters in Anatomy were its adherents. They never saw the Spirit, but as Haller observed, “that only proves the weakness of our Senses, but has no validity against the existence of a Juice or Spirit in the Nerves.”

The wisest among the old Anatomists knew, that it was vain to seek the Animal Spirits in the corpse. The difference between a live Body and a dead one was to them, the difference between the presence and the absence of Animal Spirits. They knew that a corpse was not a Man, but only a vesture from which the Man had fled; that which had fled they called Animal Spirits. Some of them said the Animal Spirits were the Soul, some said they were only the Body of the Soul, and some gave other definitions of their being and functions; but all united in the confession of their existence.

These Animal Spirits were precisely what Swedenborg wanted for the perfection of his theory. So essential were they to him that he says—

“With those who deny the existence of an Animal Spirit, as denying First Principles, I hold no disputation. Their minds, sunk in unwisdom, are entirely confined to their eyes, and all causes with them are confused in effects.”

Three Bloods and their Organs.

The Red Blood-globule is composed of six globules of White Blood set in a cube of Salt. The White Blood-globule is again divided into smaller globules, set in rarer Salts: these globules the eye with every help cannot distinguish: they are the habitations of the Animal Spirits.

The Red Blood has its birth in the Stomach, from which it ascends as Chyle into Serum, and is taken up and worn as a vesture by the White Blood.

The White Blood is derived from Ether sucked out of the Air in the Lungs: from Ether likewise are taken those rare Salts in which its globules are fixed.

“The Lungs may be considered as a single Stomach consisting of an infinite number of smaller ones, feeding on aërial food, just as the Stomach feeds on terrestrial food.”

The Brain is the organ of the Animal Spirits, as the Stomach is of the Red Blood, and the Lungs of the White.

The Animal Spirits “by a transcendental art” are elaborated in the cortical spherules of the Brain; “by a wonderful process they are conceived within, and excluded from the exquisitely fine wombs of the cortical substance,” and by the Nerves are conveyed to the remotest hamlets of the Body, and emitted into the Blood. The Nerves are the conduits of the Animal Spirits, and through them they glide with the swiftness of light.

There is no part or substance in the Body which is not permeated and interfused by the Animal Spirits; “they are the life and cause, the mother and nurse of the inferior Bloods,” and of all the bones and tissues condensed therefrom.

We have thus three fountains for the three Bloods: the Brain for the Animal Spirits, the Lungs for the White Blood, and the Heart for the Red. The motion of the Red Blood is

Rotatory, of the White Spiral, and of the Animal Spirits Vortical.

The Brain pulsates and propels the Animal Spirits through the Nerves just as the Heart does the Red Blood bred in the Stomach. What the Heart is to the arterial and venous circulation, the Brain is to the nervous. Each of the spherules of the cortical substance is a little heart prefixed to its fibre, and by a perpetual systole and diastole does its work.

Brain and Lungs.

In this work the Brain is assisted by the Lungs. Between the pulsations of the one and the respirations of the other there is a perfect accord. The peculiarity of Swedenborg's own breathing probably directed his attention to the intimate relation between the Brain and the Lungs. He had from childhood been accustomed to sink into depths of thought, in which, while his Brain paused, his Lungs lay still. The state was a kind of trance, which after middle life developed into a prodigious faculty. Any one, who pays attention to his own thoughts and breathings, will quickly observe how intimately they correspond. As often as the Brain is intent and thinking deeply, it will be noticed that the Lungs rest inactive; when the Brain is exhilarated and joyous, that the Lungs expand and inhale great gusts of Air; when the Brain collapses with fear, that the Lungs do the same; and when the Brain is disturbed with anger, that the Lungs gulp in the Air in quick mouthfuls. All know the meaning of the deep sigh of care, which is only a great breath inspired and expired after a prolonged thought. The sympathy between the Brain and the Lungs is perfect.

Result of the Inquest.

At first Swedenborg seemed inclined to think, that in the Animal Spirits he had found the Soul. He owned, that though everything in the Body confirmed their existence, yet "they could not be discovered by the acutest sense, because they lie so deeply hid in Nature, and that no thought can approach unto them, except by way of Analogy."

After a while however he decided, that the Animal Spirits were not the Soul, but the Body of the Soul, and the Soul he removed into a higher and inner region, saying, "That the Animal Spirits are the organ of the Soul, just as the eye is the organ of sight, the ear of hearing, the tongue of taste, and the brain of universal perception. The Animal Spirits form and rule the Body, but they in turn are ruled and formed by the higher forces of the Soul." These conclusions he attained "by that Intuition whereby many truths are captured without the aid of the Sciences or far-fetched arguments, by that Intuition which enables us to decide in an instant whether what any one tells us is true, or not."

At the end of his work we find ourselves no nearer a resolution of the mystery of the Soul than at the beginning. "If it is asked," he writes, "whether the Soul be material or immaterial, I inquire, Pray, what is Matter? If it be defined as extension endued with inertia, then the Soul is not material; for inertia only belongs to the last things of Nature, such as Water and Minerals. The first Aura of the World is not Matter in this sense; neither gravity nor levity can be predicated of that Aura; but on the contrary active force. On the other hand, Is not everything in Creation extended? and since extended, May not the Soul on that ground be called material? Let us not however trifle over words."

With satisfaction we perceive that he was not betrayed by his theories, that he felt their insufficiency, and that he was willing to abandon all as labour lost, and enter upon fresh and more arduous toils if so be the truth might be won. Note this confession—

Ignis Fatuus.

"To discover the Soul there are two ways; one by bare reasoning, the other by anatomy. On making the attempt I found myself as far from my object as ever. No sooner did I feel the Soul within my grasp than I found it eluding me, though it never wholly disappeared from my view. Thus my hopes were not destroyed but deferred, and I have

frequently reproached myself with stupidity for being ignorant of that which was yet everywhere most really present to me; since by reason of the Soul we hear, see feel, perceive, remember, imagine, think, desire, will, and are, move and live. Thus did I seem to see, and yet not to see, the very object *with the desire of knowing which I was never at rest*. At length I awoke as from a deep sleep, and discovered that nothing is further removed from the Understanding than what is present to it, that nothing is more present to the Understanding, than what is universal, prior, and superior—than what is indeed itself. What is more omnipresent than the Deity (in Him we live, and are and move) and yet what is more remote from the operation of the Understanding?”

Preparatory to metaphysical disquisition, Swedenborg compiled from the best Anatomists, articles descriptive of the vessels and circulation of the Blood. This has led some to suppose that his knowledge of the Body was limited to books and drawings. He leaves us in no doubt, however, that he frequented the dissecting-room, but whether in Holland, Paris, or Venice he does not say: probably wherever in his travels there was an anatomical school he found means of entrance. His reasons for making these careful digests of the observations of others I quote at length, as they supply at the same time an accurate estimate of his own speculative genius—

“In the experimental knowledge of Anatomy our way has been pointed out by men of the greatest and most cultivated talents. Assisted and fortified by the works of these illustrious men, I have resolved to commence and complete *my design*; that is to say, *to open some part of those things which it is generally supposed Nature has involved in obscurity*. Here and there I have taken the liberty of throwing in the results of my own experience; but this only sparingly, for, on deeply considering the matter, I deemed it better to make use of the facts supplied by others. Indeed there are some that seem born for experimental observation and endowed with a sharper insight

than others, as if they possessed naturally a finer acumen; such are Eustachius, Ruysch, Leeuwenhoek, Lancisi, etc. There are others again who enjoy a natural faculty for contemplating facts already discovered, and eliciting their causes. Both are peculiar gifts and are seldom united in the same person. Besides I found when intently occupied in exploring the secrets of the Human Body, that as soon as I discovered anything that had not been observed before, I began (seduced probably by self-love) to grow blind to the most acute lucubrations and researches of others, and to originate a whole series of inductive arguments from my particular discovery alone; and consequently to be incapacitated to view and comprehend, as accurately as the subject required, the idea of universals in individuals, and of individuals under universals. Nay, when I essayed to form principles from these discoveries, I thought I could detect in various other phenomena much to confirm their truth, although in reality they were fairly susceptible of no construction of the kind. *I therefore laid aside my instruments*, and restraining my desire for making observations, determined rather to rely on the researches of others than to trust to my own."

Not the least interesting portions of the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* are several in which we note the dawn of some of the chief ideas which gave specialty to his future life, and which have made him a name among men. These for instances—

The Spiritual Body.

"Should any one of the external spheres of Nature be dissolved, the internal nevertheless remains unharmed; for though the effect be lost the cause endures: thus wherever Air ceases Ether is found: when the Red Blood dies the Animal Spirits survive: though death destroy the Body the Soul escapes unscathed.

"When by death the Soul is emancipated from the bonds and trammels of the earth, it appears in the exact form of the Human Body, and enters on a life pure beyond imagination."

No Resurrection, or Return to the Flesh.

“Freed from the entanglement of the Flesh, the Soul rises from a lower to a higher life. Never again can it attract the elements from the three Kingdoms of the World wherewith to form anew a fleshly covering. The carnal Body is at death dissolved beyond recovery; the Soul has no more any need or desire for its service.”

God animates the Soul.

“Though the Spirituous Fluid is indestructible and immortal, it is not immortal *per se*. The Soul cannot truly of itself be called immortal; because it is created by the one Immortal Being, who is Eternal Life. For Him to create anything in itself immortal would be to create that which He is. Whereas, what God does, is to preserve the Soul immortal through His indwelling.”

Earth the Seminary of Heaven.

“We then clearly perceive, that everything in Creation tends to an end. That end is Man. Thereby the Creator unites Himself with a responsive Creation in a Society of Souls in the Heavens.

“If there be a Society of Souls, must not the city of God on the universal Earth be its seminary? The most universal law of its citizens is, that they love their neighbour as themselves and God more than themselves. All other things are means to this Divine end.

“The Holy Scripture is the code of rules for attaining this Divine end. These rules are not so dark and difficult as Philosophy and the Love of Self and the World would make them; nor so deep and hidden that any sincere Soul led by the Spirit of God may not draw water for all its needs.”

The Spiritual Sun.

“To know how God enters and vivifies the Soul is infinitely above comprehension; there is no analysis and no abstraction which can reach so high; for whatever is in God, and whatever law God acts by, is God. The only

representation we can have is by way of comparison with light ; for as the Sun is the fountain of light to the World, so the Deity is the Sun of Life and Wisdom. . . As the Sun of the World flows into objects and subjects according to the form of each, so also does the Sun of Life and Wisdom. We are not however at liberty to go further into the details of the comparison, inasmuch as one Sun is within Nature, and the other is above it ; one is physical, the other purely moral ; one lies under the range of the Mind, the other is withdrawn among the sacred mysteries of theology.”

Man takes his Soul from his Father and his Body from his Mother.

“The Soul of every child is derived from its Father, and the Souls of all from Adam, who received his immediately from the Creator. If the Soul be the Spirituous Fluid, it can come from no other place than the soil of its birth in the Father. The Body alone is from the Mother.” *

These passages are worth attention ; they mark an advance in Swedenborg’s mind ; and by and bye we shall find similar opinions offered as supernatural revelations.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.†

“NOT very long since,” writes Swedenborg, “I published the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, and, before traversing

* This notion is at least as old as Aristotle.

† *Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum. Cujus Pars Prima. De Visceribus Abdominis seu de Organis Regionis Inferioris agit.* Hagæ Comitum, 1744.

Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum. Cujus Pars Secunda. De Visceribus Thoracis seu de Organis Regionis Superioris agit. Hagæ Comitum, 1744.

Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum. Cujus Pars Tertia. De Cute, Sensu Tactus, et Gustus ; et de Formis Organicis in Genere, agit. Londini, 1745.

the whole field in detail, made a rapid passage to the Soul, and put forth an article concerning it. On considering the matter more deeply, I found I had directed my course thither too hastily, having only explored the Blood and its organs: I took the step impelled by a burning desire for knowledge.

“The Soul acts in the supreme and innermost parts and cannot be reached until all her swathings have been one by one unrolled. I am therefore determined to allow myself no rest until I shall have opened all the doors which lead to her, and at last contemplate the Soul herself by Divine permission.”

Thus clearly does he set forth his aim, and thus his plan—

“I intend to examine, physically and philosophically, the whole Anatomy of the Body, its Viscera, abdominal and thoracic, the Generative Organs of both sexes, and the Organs of the five Senses. Likewise, the Anatomy of all parts of the Cerebrum, Cerebellum, Medulla Oblongata, and Medulla Spinalis.

“Afterwards, the cortical substance of the two Brains, and their medullary fibre; also, the nervous and muscular fibres of the Body and the forces and motion of the whole organism: Diseases moreover, those of the Head particularly, or which proceed by defluxion from the Cerebrum.

“I propose afterwards to give an introduction to Rational Psychology, consisting of certain new Doctrines by the assistance of which we may be conducted from the material Body to the immaterial Soul. These Doctrines are—

The Doctrine of Forms.
The Doctrine of Order and
Degrees.
The Doctrine of Series and
Society.

The Doctrine of Influx.
The Doctrine of Corre-
spondence and Represen-
tation.
The Doctrine of Modifica-
tion.

“From these Doctrines I come to the Rational Psychology itself, which will comprise—

Subjects of Action.	Imagination and Memory.
External and Internal	The Affections of the Will.
Sense.	The Affections of the
Intellect, Thought, and	Rational Mind.
Will.	Instinct.

“Lastly, of the Soul and of its connection and intercourse with the Body, its affections and immortality, and its state when the Body dies. The work will conclude with a Concordance of Systems.

“From this summary the reader may see, that the end I propose is a knowledge of the Soul; that knowledge will be the crown of my studies. This then my labours intend, and thither they aim.”

In what a different sense he is here writing of the Soul from that in which he formerly wrote, take this example—

“It is impossible to climb or leap from the organic, physical, and material World (I mean the Body) immediately to the Soul, of which neither Matter nor any of the adjuncts of Matter are predicable; for Spirit is above the comprehensible modes of Nature, and in that region where the significations of physical things perish.”

He writes for Unbelievers.

He supposes that some may object to his search after the Soul, on the ground that the Soul dwells in the realm of Faith and not of Intellect; and that Reason ought to confine its exercise to the Earth, and not aspire to heights for which it has no wings, and which lie in the domain of Revelation.

“I grant this,” he says. “Those who are inspired by a Divine Faith despise the assistance of confirmatory arguments, and perhaps they will laugh at these labours of mine; nor would I persuade any one who comprehends these high truths by Faith to attempt to compass them by his Intellect: let him abstain from my books. Who so believes Revelation implicitly, without consulting the Intellect, is the happiest of mortals, the nearest to Heaven, and at once a native of both Worlds.

"These pages of mine are written for those only who never believe anything but what they can receive with the Intellect; consequently, who boldly invalidate the existence of all things sublimer than themselves, as the Soul, Eternal Life and Heaven. Since they do not perceive these things, they reject them as empty phrases, phantasms, trifles, fables, conceits, and self-delusions; consequently, they honour and worship Nature and themselves; they compare themselves to brutes, and fancy they shall die as brutes die, and their life exhale and evaporate; thus they rush fearlessly into wickedness.

"For these persons only I am anxious; for them I indite, and to them I dedicate my work."

Two Paths.

There are two ways, he says, which promise to lead to the Soul—the Analytic and the Synthetic.

Deductive Method.

In the synthetic way Swedenborg will not walk; he utterly condemns it, saying—

"Synthesis has been the favourite method with philosophers since philosophy began. It is a method pleasing and wonderfully akin to the human Mind; it enables the philosopher to indulge his own tastes, assume the principles he likes, and proclaim them as truths. Should anything adverse in experience arise, Synthesis easily polishes it away, represses, or removes it. We are easily beguiled into the ideal games of Synthesis; the race is easy. We fix our goal, and bound between it and the starting place.

"Synthesis is easy and agreeable; but it is not the way that leads to truth. Could any one tell me by Synthesis, or *à priori*, what is contained in the Body? Could any one without experience predict that it contained a heart, liver, kidneys, arteries, mesentery, and a myriad other things?

"Alas! through Synthesis we are often so puffed up with self-conceit that we fancy we are in the sky when we are squatting on the earth, in the light when we are in the dark, and at the inmost when we are at the outmost.

Synthetic reasoning is the source of the insanities of the human Mind.

"The Mind absorbs through the Senses all the materials on which it reasons. We are born in complete ignorance, and in process of time our Senses are opened; through them impressions are received and sublimated into ideas, which by Reason are methodized into doctrines. This is Man's only way of attaining truths so long as his Soul abides in the Body.

"In fact, Synthesis is nothing but a poor, precocious and vague Analysis; it gives out no more than has crept into the Intellect by the Senses, and to a fragment of experience, frequently distorted, would subdue universal experience. Whence come opinions, hypotheses, theories, systems.

"These monstrous hypotheses are born, have their day of glory, grow old, die, and are forgotten; but from their ashes broods of new ones spring, which walk as spectres through the earth, and like enchantresses distract the human Mind perennially. Hence errors, mental darkness and strife, scholastic contentions over straws, and the flight and exile of truths."

What an excellent piece of self-criticism have we here! Whilst reading the *Principia*, the *Infinite* and the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* we might have vented our weariness in terms like these. Nevertheless, the expression of revulsion against theory goes to an unwarrantable extreme; it is like an out-and-out curse of wine in the suffering and disgust after a night of excess.

Inductive Method.

"So much for Synthesis," he continues, "now for Analysis.

"Analysis commences from effects and phenomena and mounts to causes and causes of causes. It searches for facts, collects them from every quarter, and reduces them to order. Analysis invokes all the Sciences. Thus helped, the Mind founds and rears her palace, not in the Air, which is not her element, but on the solid Earth.

"Analysis is the only open way to truths for us earth-

born men ; but verily it is a long and toilsome road ; for as all truths are related, to attain thorough knowledge of one we must needs make acquaintance with many. We must court all the Muses.

“ When at length by Analysis we have attained the principles of things, we may then advocate them ; and from the mountain of Principle sit and contemplate the realm of Experience. Yet when we have done our utmost, there will remain many things hid in obscurity ; for, while the Mind is buried in the Body, it can never rise wholly above the mists of the Senses.

“ We are now in possession of vast stores of experimental knowledge, lying dead and unused. Let us then gird up our loins for the work. Experience is at our side with a full horn of plenty. The nine Virgins are present with the riches of nearly two thousand years. Nor do I think we ought to wait any longer, lest haply experimental knowledge should be overtaken by age, night and oblivion, and the Arts and Sciences be carried to the tomb ; for, unless I mistake the signs of the times, the World’s destinies are tending thitherwards. All things at the present day stand provided and prepared and await the light. The ship is in the harbour, the sails are swelling, the east wind blows ; let us weigh anchor and put forth to sea.”

The order pursued in the *Animal Kingdom* is the same as in the *Economy*. First is premised a copious selection of facts from the Anatomists on the organ under consideration, and then follows Swedenborg’s own induction, sometimes as rich in metaphor and analogy, observation and suggestion, as Bacon’s *Essays* themselves—bits of writing which he never elsewhere equalled.

He only published three volumes of his great undertaking.

The First Part appeared at Amsterdam in 1744. It treats of the Viscera of the Abdomen, and consists of chapters on the Tongue, Mouth, and Fauces as the thresholds of the abdominal regions, on the Pharynx, Stomach, Intestines, Mesentery, Thoracic Duct, Glands, Liver, Pancreas, Spleen, Kidneys, Bladder, and Peritonæum.

The Second Part likewise appeared at Amsterdam in 1744. It treats of the Viscera of the Thorax, and is composed of Chapters on the Nose, Larynx, Trachea, Lungs, Pleura, Thymus Gland, and Diaphragm.

The Third Part appeared in London in 1745. It treats of the Skin and the Sense of Touch, Organic Forms generally, the Sense and Sensorium of Touch specifically, the Use of Touch, and Sense of Taste.

This Third Part was the last of his physiological publications. The work he had mapped out for himself he never completed; yet his manuscripts prove that he had advanced far beyond the point where he bade farewell to the printer; among them is a work on the Brain of upwards of a thousand pages, besides treatises on other portions of the Body, some of which have been printed. I shall not cumber these pages with their enumeration: they will be found in a catalogue at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WORSHIP AND LOVE OF GOD.*

THE *Worship and Love of God*, published in London in 1745, would appear to have been written several years preceding that date. It has a closer affinity with the *Principia* of 1734 than with the *Animal Kingdom* of 1744, though annotated with the later thought. In the *Principia* Swedenborg worked out Creation as far as Paradise, and in the *Worship and Love of God* he takes up the thread of his story and tells us how Plants and Animals and Adam and Eve were brought into being. He thus opens his enterprise—

* *Pars I. De Cultu et Amore Dei; ubi agitur de Telluris Ortu, Paradiso et Vivario, tum de Primogeniti seu Adami Navitate, Infantia et Amore.* Londini, 1745.

Pars II. De Conjugio Adami, et de Anima, Mente Intellectuali, Statu Integritatis, et Imagine Dei. Londini, 1745.

"Walking alone in a pleasant grove in autumn for the purpose of composing my thoughts, I grew sad as I observed the falling leaves flying around, and began to consider whether all things do not pass through similar vicissitudes; thus whether it is not the same with ourselves as with forests; for we too commence in a kind of spring and pass through summer to decay. Nor is this the case only with individuals, but likewise with communities. Humanity has had its gold and silver ages, which have changed to iron and will moulder to clay.

"The wise Ancients clearly perceived from the analogy of Nature, that Man must have had his spring when Earth was a Paradise fanned with zephyrs and warmed with a gentle and considerate Sun."

Swedenborg too would revive and contemplate this Paradise with the mirrors of analogy—

"Nevertheless without the favour of the Supreme Deity, from whom all truths enter our understandings, inquiry would be vain; wherefore let us supplicate His presence and aid."

The Sun and his Children.

"There was a time when the Sun was overspread with effluvia, which condensed about him like the white of an egg. On the surface of this exhalation, a crust formed like the shell of an egg. Thus hemmed in, he burned to be delivered. At last he gathered force, and rent the envelope into as many pieces as there are Planets.

"The pieces hung round the burning bosom of their father, sucking as it were at his teats. Then he began to send forth other exhalations which condensed into Ether and enwrapped the Planets like swaddling clothes.

"Seven children, seven Planets,* were in this way born

* On this statement has been hung the absurd story that Swedenborg foretold the existence of Uranus, the seventh Planet, discovered by Herschel in 1781. "The Sun and Seven Planets" had been talked about, from the mystical significance of the number seven, from the days of Pythagoras. Sometimes the Sun was reckoned the seventh, sometimes the Moon, and some conjectured the existence of a seventh in the inordinate space between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter—a speculation justified in the subsequent

from the Sun. Each according to its bulk and weight receded at a quicker or slower pace from the natal centre. Some brought with them from their parent little orbs as servants. Ours brought only one handmaid called the Moon, that she might reflect the glory of the Sun upon her face in the night."

Origin of the Vegetable Kingdom.

The Earth in its first state was a mass of fluent principles boiling furiously in the Sun's glare. Innumerable changes were requisite to condense them to water, salt and soil. A scum gathered on the surface of the seething sphere, which thickened to firmness, and was marked only by steaming rivers.

Whilst the Earth was near the Sun, her years scarcely equalled one of our months; but days and years lengthened as she retreated. Once she revolved in the orbit of Mercury, and once in that of Venus; yea, there is not a line between her present orbit and the Sun which she did not traverse.

In these short years of quick recurring seasons she dwelt in perpetual spring. Seeds developed in the freshly formed soil and sprang into countless varieties of herbs. The flowers of some were marked with stars picturing the heavens, and others reflected the sun flaming with his rays.

Shrubs succeeded herbs and trees shrubs, and finally there appeared that delightful garden called Paradise, through which twined rivers between banks of violets in everglades.

Origin of the Animal Kingdom.

The Sun reached the limit of his power in the perfection of the Vegetable Kingdom.

discovery of the troop of planetoids. To settle the question, if there be any, that Swedenborg had no peculiar meaning or credit in the mention of Seven Planets, I need go no further than a book now on my table, Carlyle's *History of Frederick the Great*. At Reinsburg, Prince Frederick's residence, writes Mr. Carlyle, "the moat bridge had upon it Seven Statues representing the Seven Planets, each holding in her hand a glass lamp in the form of a globe." Vol. II., p. 69. That was in 1739.

Here Swedenborg introduces a superior force—the Spiritual Sun.

This Sun is perfectly distinct from the natural Sun, which is its dependent and servant. It is to the inner side of Creation what the Natural Sun is to the outer.

The Spiritual Sun formed eggs in the tender leaves of herbs, which the heat of the Natural Sun hatched into animalculæ, worms and caterpillars, from which arose swarms of insects and butterflies whose wings of gorgeous dye fanned the flowers in rivalry of their glories.

Shrubs next twisted their officious twigs into nests in which birds' eggs appeared, and as many kinds flew forth as there were varieties of shrubs. Their plumage irradiated the garden: some had heads crowned and crested as if with gems, and in their tails shone the aurora, stars and rainbow.

Lastly, quadrupeds were hatched from eggs developed in trees; some bearing in their horns proofs of their descent from the forest.

Thus insects were bred from herbs, birds from shrubs, and beasts from trees.

In like manner aquatic vegetation gave birth to aquatic animals: first turtles and shell-fish; then fish with fins, which are in the water what birds are in the air; and lastly amphibious reptiles.

A fully garnished world now awaited its King. For his touch was the balmy temperature; for his smell the fragrance of a wilderness of flowers; for his mouth fruits of exquisite flavour; for his ear the song of birds; for his eye the majesty of the firmament and the loveliness of earth. All longed for Man; for him who was the first in the infinite intuition of the Deity, but the last in His creation, its epitome and crown. All things languished for some being who could return worship and love to the Creator for himself and for them.

The Birth of Adam.

There was a very Paradise in Paradise. In its centre grew a fruit tree which bore a small egg wherein Nature had collected her rarest powers for the initiament of a consummate body. The tree was the Tree of Life.

The egg was not as yet fecundated; Nature had only gathered into it, as into a sacred little ark, her most precious treasures, and provided it with such noble furniture as a bride prepares for her bed-chamber.

There the Supreme Mind met her, and infused a Soul into the egg by means of the Spiritual Sun.

The branch of the Tree of Life which bore the precious egg, unfolded into a soft and easy nest covered with thin bark and leaves. The adjacent trees instilled their sap into the roots of their honoured neighbour, rejoicing that they were permitted to be helpful. The Sun durst not approach with his hot beams save through the mitigation of a circle of translucent apples. The air breathed with gentle fear among the leaves. The young shoots of the surrounding trees knit themselves into a cradle for the babe, which was lined with cotton wafted from cotton trees by serviceable winds.

Nor was Nature alone urgent with all her aids; Heaven also was propitious. Spiritual Minds were let down to second and direct her offices, and drive off any fierce animals which might leap the fence of the sacred grove, by striking them inwardly with terror.

As time elapsed the egg-bearing bough declined towards the cradle; the egg cracked, and baby man dropped into the cotton.

The Spiritual Minds or Essences [a kind of intellectual gases, which at this time was Swedenborg's notion of Angels] resolved to institute a festival in celebration of Adam's birth-day. Wherefore they contrived a dance, never before sported in the Heavens. It consisted of revolutions and mutual influxes in spiral windings. They ran up from a circumference to a centre in such a way, that every one felt himself the inmost of the centre. Nor was this all. Ravished with delight, they broke out from the centre into a new rotation and then back again, in emulation of the infinite. They felt in this sport not as if they were many, but as if they were one; each burned with the joy of all. They presented the Babe to the Supreme Deity, who recognized them with favour. Then bursting forth under the

fervour of His approbation, they again unwound themselves and twined and glided into one another in marvellous fluxions.

Naked and beautiful as a god, the Babe reclined in his cradle sucking the ends of branches of the Tree of Life, which nourished him with milk; sometimes lying on his back whilst the milk dropped into his open mouth. When he slept, his little hands were raised closely folded towards heaven. By and bye he crept out of bed and grasped the flowers, pleased with their colour and odour. His ear awoke to the music of the birds. Nothing gratified his senses which did not minister to the growth of his mind and body.

The Babe could not walk, but crawled. To get him on his feet, his Soul contrived various and pretty tricks. She turned his eyes on grapes hanging aloft, and inspired a desire to touch and eat. Celestial Genii added their divine cunning to these incitements of the Soul. They represented garlands and nosegays over his head; they induced him to fancy he saw infants, as so many little brothers, winged and flying rapidly, and as he sprang to play with them, they retreated; then the Genii made him imagine he had wings to fly after them.

All this was accomplished under the influence of the Supreme Deity. He is all in all; by Him we live, and living act.

Thus far Swedenborg's book has some fascination, notwithstanding a heavily florid style; but having, with the due enterprise and long-suffering of a biographer, gone over its subsequent pages descriptive of the education of Adam, I can advise no reader bent on pleasure to cross its sandy flats.

Adam's Education.

He describes Adam's mind as an Olympus in the Brain. In its highest or inmost chambers dwells the Soul; in its middle chambers, Intelligences or Wisdoms; and in its lowest, Sciences or Knowledges.

He sets these faculties in Adam's head, debating with Spiritual Essences, instructing Adam in the blessedness

which attends the rigid subordination of the lower faculties to the higher; and warning him of the anarchy and darkness which ensue when Science dethrones Wisdom.

For instance, Adam *felt* that he lived of himself as an independent existence; and the Sciences, which were the mere registers of his sensation, were quite ready to attest that his *feeling* was fact. Here Wisdom intervened and proved, that whilst it was necessary and inevitable that he should *feel* self-existent and independent, yet the *reality* was the inverse of the *feeling*; for he ought to be aware, that but for the play of Nature on his Senses, he could never have attained consciousness, and but for the instant presence of the Deity in his Soul, he could not exist for a moment.

Swedenborg thus gives us an idea as of a veil with God on one side and Nature on the other. In proportion as the veil is pierced and God and Nature enter into congress, Man is created, because God is incarnated. The Man becomes in little and apparently what God is infinitely and positively.

The second part of the *Worship and Love of God* is not always bound up with the first, and copies of it are difficult to obtain. It is merely a continuation concerning Eve.

Eve's Birth and Breeding.

There was a grove some furlongs from Adam's, and its perfect duplicate. Adam strolled into the grove and fell asleep under its Tree of Life, which bore an egg. A beautiful nymph appeared to him in a dream. He tried to clasp her in his arms, when like a cloud she glided away. In attempting to catch her, he so irritated the parts about his thorax, that he felt as if a rib had sprung out of place. After some effort he caught the maiden and covered her cheeks and lips with kisses, when he suddenly awoke and found he had been dreaming.

He little knew that he had embraced the branch at his breast in his sleep, and had pressed the egg to his lips, thereby infusing into it a soul from his own.

In due season Eve was hatched. She was tended by

Spiritual Essences, and instructed in all mysteries regarding Soul, Wisdom, Science, cortical and cineritious substances of the Brain, Animal Spirits, Nerves, Veins, Fibres, Forms and Vortices; whereunto we are assured, "Eve listened with rapturous delight," and asked for more in sentences after this pattern—"I pray you, instruct me whether creation descends from a centre in perpetual spirals, expanding as it descends." The Essences reply in corresponding style, "Eve snatching up the words with greedy ears."

Eve meets Adam.

One day the Essences opened out to her about Adam, and ended saying—

"He is not far off; we see him, but he does not see us; he is looking towards thee, so turn thy head aside; let him come and court thee with humble entreaty. Thou art to be the partner of his life and bed; he is assigned to thee by Heaven; this is your wedding-day; the hour of union is at hand."

Connubial Essences at this instant drew her hair, which hung in ringlets round her neck, through a golden circlet, and fastened it in a knot; they placed a crown of diamonds on her head; and adorned her with a few simple articles suited to her radiant beauty.

Adam had made many attempts to discover the grove where he enjoyed his ravishing vision, and his failures had begun to cloud his life with restlessness and care. In pursuing his search on this happy day he spied the creature of his dream in very flesh. "I see clearly she is mine," he exclaimed, "for she is from my own bosom and from my own life."

Eve caught a glimpse of Adam. A blush suffused her countenance, and her life sparkled in a strange and delicious flame of love. Tinged like a rose, she stood a naked image of celestial grace.

The Essences beckoned Adam on. They touched, embraced, conversed, and became the parents of all living.

"Of course Swedenborg wrote all this as fiction," says the

reader. There is no sign that he did; nay, my own conviction is, that he believed every word of it as sincerely as he ever believed anything. We have noticed his proneness in the *Principia*, the *Infinite*, and the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* to set forth his fancies in full detail as certainties; and the *Worship and Love of God* is only a more astonishing display of the practice. Many who may read with composure and admiration his account of the manufacture of the Elements from Points of Force, and of Earth from Water, will start at the notion that he was in earnest in describing the creation of Plants, Insects, Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, and finally of Adam and Eve; but there is no reason why the Intuition which could evolve the story of the former should hesitate about the latter.

CHAPTER X.

RETROSPECT.

WE have now gone over Swedenborg's doings up to 1743-45, or his fifty-fifth year, and ere we pass the gate that leads to another country, to new scenes and new pursuits, let us pause awhile and glance over the ground we have traversed.

Had he died at this juncture, it is not likely his name would have existed outside the catalogues of libraries. In his own day his writings met with little notice. Literary celebrity was then largely dependent upon social influence, and of social influence Swedenborg had none to speak of beyond Sweden. When he had written a book in Stockholm he hastened to Amsterdam or Leipsic to print it. He presented a copy to a learned man here and a learned man there, who sent him a letter of thanks and praises, and then shelved and forgot it. This done, he left all else to the enterprise of his bookseller, and relapsed into the solitude of business, study and travel. Had he been professor in some German university, and lived under the stimulus of contro-

versy, he might have divided philosophic empire with Christian Wolf. It is true, he was bountifully aided for a season by the purse and patronage of the Duke of Brunswick, but to keep writings like his before the eye of the world required persistent personal activity, and the service of a clique of admirers as *claqueurs*.

The practical parts of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* were not altogether neglected. The chapters on the conversion of iron into steel were reprinted at Strasburg in 1737; and the treatise on iron was translated into French by Bouchu, and published at Paris in 1762 in the magnificent *Description des Arts et Metiers*; and Cramer in his *Elements of the Art of Assaying* owns, that Swedenborg has "given the best accounts, not only of the methods and newest improvements in metallic works in all places beyond the seas, but also of those in England and the American colonies."

Pleasant also at this day it is to find Dr. Percy reviving and indicating Swedenborg's peculiar claim to the attention of metallurgists. He writes—

"The metallurgical works of this remarkable man seem to be very imperfectly known—at least they are rarely, if ever, quoted; and yet none are, in my judgment, more worthy of the attention of those interested in the history of metallurgy. They form two tolerably thick folio volumes, copiously illustrated with copper-plate engravings, and magnificently printed." *

Swedenborg was unfortunate in writing in Latin. Philosophy had largely passed out of the hands of professional students, to whom of old it had been an exclusive possession; and it was cultivated by men and women who either did not read Latin, or read it under difficulty and without delight. Berkeley's idealism, Hartley's vibrations, Butler's *Analogy*, Hume's scepticism, Reid's common-sense, Jonathan Edwards's predestination, Condillac's sensationalism, Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* were all introduced to the world about Swedenborg's time; and unquestionably they owed much of their acceptance and repute to their promulgation in living tongues.

* *Metallurgy*, by John Percy, M.D., Part I., p. 439. London, 1861.

Whilst it would be idle to speculate upon the popularity which Swedenborg might have attained had he endured the critical friction of London or Paris, and learned how to address himself to the tastes and understandings of their literary and scientific coteries, we may yet assert, that had his writings been published in English or French, it is not probable they would have had any very great success. They embody no marked, nor clear, nor new, nor extreme doctrine. Berkeley, Hartley, and Condillac set forth principles which could be laid hold of, or at least gossiped about, by everybody; but it would be difficult to formulate what Swedenborg taught. Wolf had anticipated him, by his own admission, in much that was peculiar in the *Principia*; the *Infinite* was little more than a promise and a guess; and he blighted and superseded the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, almost as soon as published, by the Prologue to the *Animal Kingdom*.

From a literary point of view these writings of Swedenborg merit slight praise. There are not wanting passages which may be read with pleasure; but as a whole they are diffuse, iterative, and confused. There is frequently no more reason why you should commence reading from the beginning of one of his chapters than from the middle; and it is only after much wandering over his pages, and bringing distant parts into contact, that you succeed in mastering his drift and meaning. I should suppose he wrote rapidly and without revision, and thus punished his readers for his own ease. When he does take pains and attempts eloquence, his style becomes heavy and formal and his imagery lumbering. He lacked, in short, that rare art which marshals ideas in such fine order, that they march straight from the mind of the teacher into the mind of the taught.

Forgotten as soon as published, Swedenborg's writings anterior to 1745 suffered resurrection in English in 1845. In that year *The Swedenborg Association* was formed in London for their revival. Translations of his several works were made under the scholarly editorship of Dr. Wilkinson, the Rev. Augustus Clissold, and Mr. Strutt. Nothing was

left undone to give them a fair chance of life; but the event proved they had been raised from the grave to endure the pain of a second death. The editions of a thousand copies after twenty years of advertising remain unexhausted. The fervour of the Associates died out as the public remained deaf to their entreaties for attention. Purchasers tried to read the glorified volumes, but, making little progress in their insipid substance, placed them in the book-case to await that more convenient season which seldom comes to books once tasted and set aside. Beyond the translators, I question whether more than a dozen people ever struggled through Mr. Clissold's edition of the *Principia* or Dr. Wilkinson's of the *Animal Kingdom*. Amongst many ready to swear to their supreme excellence, I have searched in vain to find more than two or three who, on pressure, could own to any intimate familiarity with their contents.

In speaking in this strain of these writings, I am aware I am running counter to some opinions of which Mr. Emerson has been the popular exponent; and perhaps I cannot deal more fairly with my reader than by citing his statements.*

"Swedenborg," says he, "printed these scientific works in the ten years from 1734 to 1744, and they remained from that time neglected: and now after their century is complete, he has at last found a pupil in Dr. Wilkinson, a philosophic critic with a co-equal vigour of understanding and imagination comparable only to Lord Bacon's, who has produced his Master's buried books to the day, and transferred them with every advantage from their forgotten Latin into English, to go round the world in our commercial and conquering tongue. This startling re-appearance of Swedenborg after a hundred years in his pupil, is not the least remarkable fact in his history. Aided, it is said, by the munificence of Mr. Clissold, and also by his literary skill, this piece of poetic justice is done. The admirable preliminary discourses with which Dr. Wilkinson has enriched these volumes, throw all the contemporary Philosophy of England into the shade, and leave me nothing to say on their proper grounds.

* From his Lecture on *Swedenborg, the Mystic*, delivered in various towns in this country in 1847, and printed in *Representative Men*, a well-known book.

"As happens in great men, Swedenborg seemed by the variety and amount of his powers to be a composition of several persons, like the giant fruits which are matured in gardens by the union of four or five single blossoms.

"The genius which was to penetrate the Science of the Age with a far more subtle Science, to pass the bounds of space and time, to venture into the dim Spirit-Realm, and attempt to establish a new Religion in the World—began its letters in quarries and forges, in the smelting-pot and crucible, in ship-yards and dissecting-rooms.

"No one man is perhaps able to judge of the merits of his works on so many subjects. One is glad to learn that his books on Mines and Metals are held in the highest esteem by those who understand these matters. It seems that he anticipated much Science of the nineteenth century; anticipated in Astronomy the discovery of the seventh Planet*—but unhappily not also of the eighth; anticipated the views of modern Astronomy in regard to the generation of Earths by the Sun; in Magnetism, some important experiments and conclusions of later students; in Chemistry, the Atomic Theory; in Anatomy, the discoveries of Schlichting, Munro, and Wilson; and first demonstrated the office of the Lungs.†

"A colossal Soul, he lies abroad on his times uncomprehended by them, and requires a long focal distance to be seen; suggests, as Aristotle, Bacon, Selden, Humboldt, that a certain vastness of learning, or *quasi* omnipresence of the Human Soul in Nature is possible. One of the mastodons of literature, he is not to be measured by whole colleges of ordinary scholars. His stalwart presence would flutter the gowns of a university. Our books are false by being fragmentary; their sentences are *bon mots* and not parts of natural discourse, or childish expressions of surprise or pleasure in Nature. But Swedenborg is systematic and respective of the world in every sentence: all the means are orderly given; his faculties work with astronomic punctuality; and his admirable writing is pure from all pertness or egotism.

* This I have shown to be a mistake.

† For most of these assertions I have been unable to discover any proof.

"Malpighi's maxim, that 'Nature exists entire in leasts,' is Swedenborg's favourite thought. This fruitful idea furnishes a key to every secret. What was too small for the eye to detect was read by the aggregates; what was too large, by the units. There is no end to the application of the thought.

"The doctrine is a very ancient one. Hippocrates taught that the brain was a gland; Leucippus, that the atom may be known by the mass; and Plato, that the macrocosm may be seen in the microcosm.

"Thus was he apt for cosmology, for size was of no account to him. In the magnetism around an atom of iron he saw the power which sends Sun and Planets spinning in their courses.

"The *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* is one of those books which by the sustained dignity of thinking is an honour to the human race. He had studied spars and metals to some purpose. His varied and solid knowledge makes his style lustrous with points and shooting spicula of thought, resembling one of those winter mornings when the air sparkles with crystals.

"The *Animal Kingdom* is a book of wonderful merits. It was written with the highest end—to put Science and the Soul, long estranged from each other, at one again. It was an Anatomist's account of the Human Body in the highest style of poetry. Nothing can exceed the bold and brilliant treatment of a subject usually so dry and repulsive."

The ascription to Swedenborg of scientific discoveries has grown common, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Emerson has given it a world-wide currency. Mr. Kingsley affords a striking instance of the facility with which popular writers enlarge and propagate a fiction of this kind once set afloat. In a review of Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics** he remarks—

"The world only knows Swedenborg as a dreaming false

* *Fraser's Magazine*, Sept., 1856. Mr. Kingsley has reprinted the article in his *Miscellanies*.

prophet, forgetting that even if he was that, he was also a sound and severe scientific labourer, *to whom our modern physical science is most deeply indebted.*"

Now if Swedenborg is to be protected from unjust censure he must likewise be saved from indiscreet praise. The daw which decked itself in peacock's feathers had its own plucked out along with the peacock's; untrue eulogy is certain to provoke untrue depreciation. That "our modern physical science is most deeply indebted to Swedenborg," is an assertion for which there is not a tittle of evidence. His scientific works fell as dead from the press last century as they did at their resurrection in this. Whether the pages of the *Principia* and the *Animal Kingdom* may not harbour many a hint which like pollen falling on the duly prepared scientific mind might issue in precious fruit, I cannot say; as yet we are ignorant of any such result.

Swedenborg was a scientific speculator; he did not experiment much, but reasoned on the experiments of others. His complaint indeed was, that mere observation had advanced far ahead of doctrine, and that men of science had lost themselves in a maze of unconnected facts. His constant purpose was to reduce the chaos of knowledge to wisdom, or to evolve therefrom some doctrine which might be of use to mankind. He is therefore to be estimated as a Theorist; and save as a Theorist he exhibits no claim to distinction. It would be a tedious, and too surely an unreadable paper, which should discuss Swedenborg's theories and show wherein he agreed with, differed from, and excelled the Philosophers of his day; how far his various notions seem sound and unsound; and how far at accord and discord with his own later views. For ourselves we confess, our interest in these books of his is wholly biographic; and did we not care for Swedenborg, nothing could have tempted us into their depths. With few and meagre details of his life thus far, we track his every sentence for some knowledge of the man, and are thankful for the slightest hints which help us to realize his character.

Reticent and impersonal are his writings. He wanted

none of his father's assurance, but, bred in a better school, his tongue did not wag so freely, and he knew how to keep himself and his affairs decently in the background. He was clearly self-possessed, prudent, wary. He would not speak readily; but when silence was broken, copiously, slowly and impressively. A slight impediment in his speech would be a secondary reason for deliberate utterance.

A punctual, orderly and careful Assessor. He understood mining and smelting thoroughly, and in all his writings and manuscripts we observe the signs of a practised clerkly hand. In the matter of money he was well off by inheritance more than by office; and on him Polonius's counsel—

“Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry”—

would be wasted. In all his concerns we have a sense of shrewdness and thrift; not of parsimony, but of a wise economy which wasted nothing and spared nothing. His habits were simple and orderly, and of any extravagance in speech or conduct we may safely conjecture he was uniformly guiltless. He confesses, as we shall shortly see, his passion for women; but that too, we must believe, was subordinate to prudence.

Of wit and humour we nowhere find any trace. No jest and no playfulness ever enliven his pages. Of poetic imagination he is equally destitute. Perhaps his many theories culminating in his *Worship and Love of God* may be quoted in disproof; but surely ineffectually; for, granting that Nature had a beginning, in what more prosaic manner could that beginning be conceived than in his description? He had unquestionably great constructive power, but it was the power of the mechanist, and not of the poet or artist. Again, we find in him no vehemence, anger, or hatred; no sarcasm, contempt, or fretfulness. He has of course his likes and dislikes, or rather his assents and dissents, but they are manifested in a placid and passionless style. Of envy he appears to have been utterly free; a malignant or a flippant sentence we shall in vain look for through all his books. If he desired fame, he never left the path of good

sense to look for it ; and of any eccentricity, or any clap-trap for the sake of attention or admiration he was simply incapable. A man thus guarded and correct, with a small heart under the government of a large head, may command respect wherever he moves, but the joys and sorrows of true human fellowship he can never feel. It is therefore without surprise, that I discover no friendships in Swedenborg's life. His most intimate intercourse appears to have been with his brother-in-law, Archbishop Benzelius, and that never went deeper than a mild intellectual regard.

Unloved in his lifetime, it would be as hopeless as it would be insincere in me to try to conjure up any sentimental affection for him a century after his death. My admiration of Swedenborg is wholly intellectual. He seems to me one of the finest specimens of the Achromatic Mind that biography reveals. To use one of his own phrases, he was a Love of Truth. Truth, for its own sake, he sought through all his years with a placid, deep-flowing and irresistible persistency. The desire for fame, or gain, or vengeance has provoked many a head into brilliant action ; but in him such passions were either weak or dormant.

From his cradle he was a seeker, "which sect," says Oliver Cromwell, "is next best to that of a finder." His childhood was full of queries as to what were the ties between God and Man, but school and college turned his eyes out on Nature, and left little inkling of the hidden spiritualist. He turned his energies on mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, geology, metallurgy, magnetism, astronomy, and a thousand devices and speculations connected therewith. This lasted until his forty-fifth year, when contact with Philosopher Wolf set him dreaming about the Infinite and the Human Soul. Dreary Wolf and his school were content to speculate on the Soul as "the inmost and subtlest part of the Body ;" but if it be so, said the more practical Swedenborg, let me search it out and demonstrate it to the very senses. From that time, 1734, he gave himself no rest for eleven years, to 1745, in a chase after the Soul ; and though his quest was necessarily bootless, vast was the knowledge acquired in the process. He read himself up in

Anatomy with a thoroughness and intelligence of which his books and manuscripts are the amazing proofs; and these records of eleven years' arduous scholarship, commenced and carried on in middle life, manifest to a discerning eye, the easy and gigantic grasp of an imperial intellect.

In Swedenborg's works we do not find delicacy, but power; not finish, but size. We behold in him a Titan, and no Apollo. All that he did was large and rough. Not any of his doctrines is rounded into completeness, or fortified so as to meet the aggression of ordinary questions. I do not say that many of his positions may not be held and defended; but if they are, it must be with the aid of lines supplementary to his own. The fact is, the truths he saw he was as unable to set forth in fair logical as in fair rhetorical trim. He tumbled out his ideas, instead of setting them out; or more correctly, he tried to set them out, but with a success little better than if he had tumbled them. Something of this disorder and incompleteness may be charged against his self-satisfaction and his solitary life. He was content to test his work by his own eye, and neither sought nor cared to have the verdict of others.

His years thus far show a giant's labour, but done in a giant's time and with a giant's composure. There was nothing of precocity, fever, or haste in any of his doings. Like the oak, if he was a giant, he grew slowly. He had done little up to 1722, his thirty-fourth year, beyond pamphleteering, in which he aired a few of his more ambitious devices and speculations. From that date he lay quiet for eleven years, at the end of which he amply accounted for his long silence, in the three folios of *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. After that he again lay quiet for seven years, when he commenced to put forth his studies on the *Animal Kingdom*. These were heavy works, but they were executed in ample and correspondent time.

Although none of these writings may have any peculiar interest for us, yet whoever studies them in the series of their production cannot fail to observe a mind growing slowly and surely, and winning increase of strength and

insight year by year whilst working inwards from Stones and Iron through Flesh and Blood to Soul and Spirit. I have heard them called with some pertinence Swedenborg's copybooks. As such they evidence a valiant scholar who glorified himself in no achievement, but ever used the last as a stepping stone to something higher. No applause, no difficulty overcome, ever tempted him into the delusion that he had attained final excellence. He sought a settlement on the rock of Truth, and on nothing else could he long rest. Often in sight of a mere fog-island, he thought he discerned a place of rest; more than once he commenced to build on the sand; but he was ever first to discover his mistake and arise and renew his quest for an everlasting foundation. Of this single-heartedness there is no finer instance than the courage with which he discredited and set aside "the anguish and the sweat of years" in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, and commenced his task anew in the *Animal Kingdom*. The very simplicity and unconsciousness with which the deed was done has hidden its grandeur from those who might have noticed it, had it been effected with wail of trumpets or vain-glorious miséréré.

In the days when he was writing the *Animal Kingdom*, it is evident his mind was entering into its summer time. There is a richness and a mystic promise in many of his sentences which we take for sure signs that the beams of the Heavenly Sun had begun to strike through the air of his Soul, and that the rewards of the patient culture of half a century were nigh. Sometimes hid in a note, as it were under leaves, we come upon some choice thoughts which remind us more of the grapes of Eshcol than the herbs and the onions of Egypt.

Arrested in the midst of his studies of the Human Body, Swedenborg arose to other duties, and left the writings of his early and middle life in the dust of forgetfulness, never more referring to them. So complete was his silence, that some who were the acquaintances of his latter age appear to have been ignorant that he was ever anything but a theological author.

As Swedenborg's after-career was wholly that of a spiritualist, questions naturally arise as to what were his religious opinions previous to the time of change.

We have read his own account of his pious childhood; how his earliest thoughts were turned to things unseen and eternal; how he was reared in a household where faith in God and Spirits ran out into ordinary talk and experience; and where father and mother regarded him as a wonder, and vowed that the very Angels spoke through his mouth. This state he describes as extending to his twelfth year, but there stops and leaves us to our own conjectures. Whilst there is not an irreverent word in any of his books or letters, yet from their general tone I conclude that his college life dissipated the serious and heavenly spirit of his childhood, and that through manhood he led an ordinary, not a religious life.

On him the malign breath of scepticism seems never to have passed. His healthy mind was as far from questioning the Divine Being and Government as his lungs the air or his eyes the sunshine. In an age when contempt or indifference or doubt about religion was deemed a note of the Philosopher, his belief in God and Revelation was ever frankly and heartily confessed. "Without the utmost devotion to the Supreme Being, no one," he testified, "can become a complete and truly learned Philosopher; for true Philosophy and contempt of the Deity are opposites."* Indeed, the passages in which he rises into any tender eloquence are those wherein he utters his sense of the entire dependence of Creation on the Divine Life.

We have seen too that he undertook his search for the Soul for the sake of Unbelievers; "for those who compare themselves to brutes, and think that they shall die as brutes, and thus rush fearlessly into wickedness." He advised them who were gifted with Divine Faith to abstain from his books as useless, and admitted "that whoever believed Revelation implicitly, without consulting the Intellect, was the happiest of mortals, and the nearest to heaven."†

This aim and these expressions have been construed into

* *Principia*, in 1734.

† *Regnum Animale*, in 1744.

proofs that Swedenborg was "a religious man," but with obvious inefficiency. There is no sign that in his manhood religion was anything deeper than an intellectual conviction. Lord Brougham has written eloquently on Natural Theology but we should smile at any one who should therefore attempt to register Brougham among saints. So likewise, futile is the endeavour to diffuse over Swedenborg an odour of sanctity because in his speculations he had the good sense to take the theistic side.

It is very clear that he was not a technical theologian. Nothing is more noticeable than the slight influence orthodox divinity had on the operations of his mind. We have seen in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* that he denied the resurrection of the body, and in the *Principia* and *Worship and Love of God* that he wrote as if ignorant of Moses and creation in six days. It may appear incredible, but I apprehend that he pursued his speculations in complete unconsciousness, that had he been tried in any Catholic or Protestant court, he would have been pronounced a heretic. Though a Bishop's son, he had never been correctly grounded in the Lutheran faith; and I am afraid, that had a committee of sound divines sat as inquisitors into his father's creed, they would have been compelled to render a dismal report. Few can have any idea of the depth of stupor in which, last century, the Swedish Church lay sunk. Its priesthood had become a mere corporation for reading so many prayers for so much money, and they had all the aversion of worldliness and sloth to any pious activity. Hence their jealousy of Bishop Svedberg, who would keep stirring and waking sleeping dogs with the most irritating obstinacy. As a consequence, theology in any living sense was uncultivated, and the laity were left in as profound ignorance of their Bibles as if they had been Papists. Gentlemen disdained the taint of religion, and would have been ashamed to be caught church-going. We therefore need scarcely feel surprise that Swedenborg should speculate on Creation without any sense of the danger under which a Philosopher in England would have laboured.

That up to this period he was innocent of much theology

he does not however leave to surmise. In 1767 Dr. Beyer wrote, asking his opinion concerning the writings of Jacob Behmen: he replied—

“I have never read them. I was prohibited * reading dogmatic and systematic Theology before Heaven was opened to me; for, if I had, false doctrines and notions might easily have been sown in my mind, which only with much difficulty could afterwards have been rooted out.”

It is often asked how much of his Philosophy did Swedenborg carry over to his Theology, and it is a question difficult to answer with precision. His Philosophy itself was in slow but constant transition, and in 1744 many of the opinions of 1734 had been altered or repudiated. We shall find much in his later writings which will remind us of his earlier, but the threads are so intertwined and modified in the new texture, that dissection usually ends in destruction or mystification.

For example, of a grand revelation of his second life, the Doctrine of Correspondences, we have hints in the *Principia* and full expression in the *Economy* and *Animal Kingdom*; but his first notion of Series and Degrees in Creation was of rarity and density, of the Sun and the Human Soul at the inside being only a finer form of earth under foot. Gradually he introduces various discriminations into his first rude thought, until in his conception of Suns of Spirit and Nature he mastered the secret order of the Universe. In the *Animal Kingdom* the truth about the connection of the Unseen with the Seen is expressed in remarkable perfection. He writes—

“In our Doctrine of Representations and Correspondences we shall treat of these Symbolical and Typical Representations which occur throughout Nature, and which correspond so entirely to Supreme and Spiritual Things, that one could swear the Physical World was purely symbolical of the Spiritual World; insomuch that if we choose to express any Natural Truth in Physical Terms and convert

* Meaning simply, I suppose, that he did not. In his neglect of Theology he discerned the Divine will and purpose; as, in like manner, we may find true of our own willing and unwilling omissions.

these into corresponding Spiritual Terms, we shall elicit a Spiritual Truth in place of the Physical. I intend hereafter to produce examples of such Correspondences with a Vocabulary." *

The examples of Correspondences with the Vocabulary was never published, but among his manuscripts there is a draft of a work, which after his death was printed as *A Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries*. It is worth very little, and is not up to the light of the paragraph quoted.

It would be easy to prolong this talk, but on the heights at the end of our journey we shall view to better advantage the lowlands on whose borders we tarry. Let us then arise and move onwards. Swedenborg waits to conduct us behind the curtain which screens the Outer and Lower from the Inner and Upper World.

CHAPTER XI.

DAWN OF A NEW LIFE.

NOT without many presages did the Spiritual World open to Swedenborg. From his childhood, when on his knees at prayer, his breath was curiously holden within him, strange lights from the Sun of another country had from time to time broken through darkness.

"For many years before his mind was opened and he was enabled to speak with Spirits, there were not only dreams informing him of the matters that were written, but also changes of state when he was writing, and a peculiar extraordinary light in the writings. Afterwards there were many visions when his eyes were shut; light miraculously given; Spirits influencing him as sensibly as if they touched his bodily senses; temptations also from evil Spirits, almost

* *Animal Kingdom*, Vol. I., p. 451.

overwhelming him with horror; fiery lights; words spoken in early morning; and many similar events.”*

“Flames of various sizes and of different colour and splendour were seen by him, and this so often, that for several months when writing a certain work, scarcely a day passed in which there did not appear before him flames as vivid as those of a common fire, which were so many attestations of the truth of what he was writing: and this was before the time when Spirits began to speak with him as man with man.”†

On the 21st of July, 1743, he left Stockholm for Amsterdam, to print the *Animal Kingdom*. His Diary‡ at the outset is a dry record of his route through Germany, ending at Harlingen on the 20th of August. Some blank leaves and the fragments of three or four torn out, follow. When the entries are resumed, it is in this extraordinary style—

“Dreamed of my youth and the Gustavian family.

“Of the beautiful palace in Venice.

“Of the white cloud in heaven in Sweden.

“Of one that lay in boiling water in Leipsic.

“Of my delights during the night.

“I wondered that nothing more was left me to do for my renown. Also, that I had no desire for women, as I had had all through life.

“How I withstood the Spirit and then favoured it.

“How since I came to the Hague my interest and self-love in my work have subsided.

“How my inclination for women, which had been my strongest passion, so suddenly ceased.

“How through all the time I had sound sleep in the nights, which was more than kind.

“How I saw hideous spectres moving in their shrouds.

“How a woman lay at my side as if I were awake. I wished to know who she was. She spoke softly; said she

* From Swedenborg's *Spiritual Diary*, No. 2,951, wherein he frequently writes thus impersonally.

† From his *Adversaria* on Genesis and Exodus.

‡ Discovered and printed in 1859: see chronological catalogue in Appendix.

was pure, but she had a bad smell. I believe she was my guardian angel, because then the temptation began."

If extent of manuscript be proof, at no time did Swedenborg work harder than at the present. Let it be repeated and noted, that he published the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* in 1741, and, dissatisfied with its method, shortly after disowned it: he recommenced his search for the Soul, and somewhere between 1741 and 1745 produced the great mass of matter styled the *Animal Kingdom*, and written in many parts with unaccustomed vigour and concentration. Those therefore who assert, that his visions began in an overwrought brain, have so much evidence in their favour.

We now come to the first date after an interval of six months: the cross signifies the night between the evening and morning of each day.

"24 × 25 *March*.—I stood beside a machine moved by a wheel. The spokes entangled and forced me upward, and there was no escape.

"25 × 26.—I wanted medicine for my disease. I got a number of pence to buy it with. I took half of them, and selected some from the other half; but gave all back again. The man said he would buy me something for my cure. This signifies my corporeal thoughts as coins wherewith I tried to cure myself; but it was of no use.

"3 × 4 *April*.—I appeared to ride off on horseback, and it was shown me whither I should go; but wherever I looked it was dark, and I lost myself in the darkness. It became light, and I perceived I had gone astray. Saw the way I ought to go, through forests and groves, and beyond them the sky. I awoke. Then came thoughts of present and eternal life, and all seemed full of grace. I burst into tears because I had loved Him so little, but rather angered Him continually—He who had led me and at last shown me the path to the kingdom of grace.

"6 × 7 *April*.—N.B., N.B., N.B. I went to Delft, and all day continued in deep spiritual thought, deeper and lovelier than I had ever experienced. It was the work of the Spirit.

"Half an hour after I had gone to bed, I heard a tumbling

noise under my head. I thought it was the Tempter going away. Immediately a violent trembling came over me from head to foot with a great noise. This happened several times. I felt as if something holy were over me. I then fell asleep, and about twelve, one, or two the tremblings and noise were repeated indescribably. I was prostrate on my face and wide awake. I perceived I was thrown down, and wondered what was meant."

In what follows we shall understand the *Nota Bene* set thrice over the entry.

"I spoke as if awake, but felt these words put into my mouth—

"'Thou almighty Jesus Christ, who by thy great mercy deigns to come to so great a sinner, make me worthy of thy grace.'

"I kept my hands together in prayer, and a hand pressed them firmly. I continued praying, saying—

"'Thou hast promised to have mercy upon all sinners, and thou canst not but keep thy word.'

"At that moment I sat in His bosom and saw Him face to face. It was a face holy and beyond description: He smiled: and I believe His face was like this whilst on earth.

"He asked whether I had a certificate of health. I answered, 'Lord, thou knowest better than I.'—'Do then,' He said, which signified, as far as I could make out, to love Him really, or do what I had vowed. God give me grace to do so! I saw it exceeded my own power, and I awoke trembling.

"Again I came into a state neither sleeping nor waking. I thought, what can this be? Have I seen Christ, God's Son? It would be sinful to doubt, yet we are commanded to try the spirits.

"I found I had been purified, soothed and protected by the Holy Spirit throughout the night, and that I had fallen on my face and prayed, not from myself, for the words were put into my mouth, and all was holy.

"Wherefore I concluded it was the Son of God who came down with a noise like thunder, who stretched me on the ground, and evoked the prayer.

"So I cried for mercy : I could not utter more: yet afterwards I prayed for love which is Jesus Christ's and not my own.

"All the while tremblings came over me.

"At daybreak I fell asleep, and it came into my mind, how Christ unites himself to mankind. My thoughts were holy and unsearchable: I cannot write what passed: I only generally know I had such thoughts.

"7 × 8 *April*.—Somebody at table asked whether any one could be melancholy who had plenty of money. I laughed inwardly at the question. Had it been addressed to me I should have answered, that one who has abundance may not only be melancholy, but suffer melancholy in the highest degree. I wondered how any one could put such a question.

"I can the better testify on this head, for, by the grace of God, abundance of all I require has been allotted me. I can live in plenty on my income, can accomplish whatever I desire, and have a surplus.

"Saw a bookseller's shop, and thought immediately that my books would do more than others.

"All the while I am in society, and no one sees the least change in me, which is of God's mercy. I am not allowed to speak of the high grace which has fallen to my lot. I perceive it would set people thinking and talking for and against me, and nurture my self-love.

"8 × 9 *April*.—A dog appeared on my knee. I wondered because it talked and asked about its former master Swabe. I woke and called on Christ for mercy because of the pride I cherish.

"10 × 11 *April*.—I slept upwards of eleven hours, and throughout the morning was in my usual state of inward delight.

"I am still weak in mind and body, for I know nothing but my own unworthiness and wretchedness, which torments me.

"13 × 14.—Saw my sister Hedwig, with whom I would have nothing to do, which signifies that I ought not to busy myself with the Animal Economy, but leave it.

"All day I was in double thoughts, which tried to destroy the spiritual life by scoffing: the temptation was very strong. By the grace of the Spirit I succeeded in fixing my mind on the cross and on Christ crucified. As often as I did so, the double thoughts subsided. God be praised, who gave me such a weapon! May God grant that I may always have my crucified Saviour before my eyes! I dare not look upon my Jesus, Him I had seen, for I am an unworthy sinner."

Probably the reader considers this tedious stuff, yet we are skipping freely over extensive passages; and if we would appreciate Swedenborg's condition, must endure even more.

"14 × 15 *April*.—I seemed to move quickly down a staircase. I only lightly touched the steps, but reached the bottom safely. There came a voice from my dear father, 'You are creating alarm, Emanuel!' He said it was wrong, but would let it pass. This denotes that yesterday I had made too free use of the cross of Christ.

"Dr. Morsus appeared to be courting a handsome girl. She let him do what he liked with her, and I joked with her because of her easy consent. She was a handsome girl, and grew taller and prettier. This means that I should obtain information and meditate about the muscles.

"I had an extraordinary deep sleep for twelve hours. When I awoke I had the crucified Jesus and His cross before my eyes. The Spirit came with high, holy and ecstatic power and raised me higher and higher, so that had I ascended farther I should have dissolved in joy.

"17 × 18 *April*.—I had horrible dreams: how an executioner roasted the heads which he had struck off, and hid them one after another in an oven which was never filled. It was said to be his food. He was a big woman who laughed, and had a little girl with her.

"I was now and then in interior anxieties, and sometimes in despair, though assured of the forgiveness of my sins. I slept more than ten hours in the night. By God's grace I have had preternatural sleep throughout the half year.

"18 × 19 *April*.—I do not know if it be not the highest gift to be kept from meddling with Faith. However the

Lord permits some to have intellectual assurances preceding Faith. Happy are they who believe and do not see! This I have clearly written in the Prologue to the *Animal Kingdom*.

"19 × 20 *April*.—I rose wholly God's; God be thanked and praised! I will not be my own.

"21 × 22 *April*.—As to the luxury, riches and honours at which I had aimed, I now think them empty vanities, and that he is happier who has none of them and lives contented.

"22 × 23 *April*.—In the morning I had horrid thoughts: the Evil One had got hold of me, yet I had confidence he was outside of me and would let me go. I then fell into damnable thoughts, the worst that could be. At last Jesus Christ was presented to my interior sight, and the influence of the Holy Spirit came over me, and I knew the Devil had gone away.

"The day after this I was now and then in combat with double thoughts. In the afternoon I was mostly in pleasant spirits and thought of God, though I was in worldly business. I was then travelling to Leyden.

"24 × 25 *April*.—I was through the whole night, nearly eleven hours, neither asleep nor awake, in a curious trance. I knew I was dreaming, but my thoughts were kept bound, which made me sweat.

"25 × 26 *April*.—A woman and a man appeared sitting in a boat ready for sail. He had a cap which I took from him. He led me to a beautiful room where there was some wine. It signifies perhaps that I shall take my work to England."

Erotic entries are frequent; some so pronounced as to be fit only for a medical journal; which set forth at length, would doom this biography to existence under lock and key in judicious households.

"26 × 27 *April*.—A married woman desired to possess me, but I preferred an unmarried. She was angry and chased me, but I got hold of the one I liked. I was with her and loved her: perhaps it signifies my thoughts.

"There was a woman with much and beautiful property,

in which we walked, and she wished to marry me. It is Piety, and I think also Wisdom, who owned the estate. I was with her, and showed her my love in the usual way: it appeared to be before marriage.

"It was shown me that I ought not to pollute myself with books concerning Theology and kindred matters; because all this I have in God's Word and from the Holy Spirit.

"30 *April* × 1 *May*.—My deceased brother Eliezer appeared to be with me. He was attacked by a boar which laid hold of him and bit him. I tried to drag the boar down with a hook, but was not able. After this I went up and saw him lying between two boars which were eating his head, and he got nobody to help him. I ran past. I believe it signifies that the day before I had indulged too much in eating, and consumed abundantly, which is a work of the flesh and not of the Spirit; it is living like swine, which Paul forbids."

The next entry records his departure from the Hague on the 13th of May for England—

"At Harwich, on my arrival in England, I slept only a few hours, but there appeared much which may have reference to my work here. It was the 4 × 5 May according to the English Calendar."

The entries in England are even more mysterious than those in Holland, and it is often difficult to distinguish between transactions in bed and out of doors. The English part commences—

"I lost a bank note and the finder got 9d. for it. Another found a similar note and sold it for 9d. I joked, saying it was only mock piety; probably it shows of what quality people are in England, part of them honest, part dishonest.

"5 × 6 *May, in London*.—I got blows from a big man, which I took to account. Then I was told to sit on a horse and ride at the side of the carriage, but the horse turned his head, took hold of my head, and held it. I do not know what it means. I suppose I have done some wrong to a devout Shoemaker, who had been with me on my journey,

and at whose house I then had lodgings, or that I have neglected my work."

The combination of the celestial and sensual in the succeeding paragraphs might be thought incredible under any voucher but his own—

"19 × 20 *May*.—I intended going to the Lord's Supper in the Swedish chapel, but just before I fell into many corrupt thoughts; my body is in continual rebellion, which was represented to me by froth to be wiped away.

"The preceding day I enjoyed internal quiet and content in my lot as appointed by the Lord. I felt the strong work of the Holy Spirit and a pleasure as of paradise throughout my body.

"I nevertheless could not refrain from going after women, though with no intention of committing acts, especially as in my dreams I saw it was so much against the law of God. I went to certain places with Professor Ohlreck. In one day I was twice in danger of my life, and had God not been my protector I should have been killed. Particulars I refrain from describing.

"However the inward joy continued so strongly, especially when I was alone, that it might be likened to heaven in earth. I hope to keep this joy as long as through the Lord's grace I walk in pure ways: as soon as I turn aside and seek delight in worldly things the joy disappears."

We now reach a bit of indubitable ground in the centre of London—

"19 × 20 *May*.—By several providential leadings, I was brought to the church of the Moravian Brethren, who regard themselves as the true Lutherans. They tell each other they feel the operation of the Holy Spirit, and trust only in the grace of God and the blood and merits of Christ. They are simple-minded in their doings. I shall say more about them another time, for as yet I am not permitted to enter into brotherhood with them. Their church was represented to me three months before, just as I have seen it since, and all the Brethren were dressed as clergymen."

Here the Diary breaks off until the 11th of June, that is, for three weeks. In the interval we may set forth a curious

memorial relating to this juncture. Let it be noted that Swedenborg was lodging at the house of one Brockmer in Fetter Lane, which lane connects Holborn with Fleet Street, and in which the Moravian meeting-house was and remains situated.

Our story is derived from the Rev. Aron Mathesius,* who in 1768 (four-and-twenty years after our present date) came to London to officiate in the Swedish Chapel. Hearing much of Swedenborg's spiritualism, which he is said to have held in high contempt, through accident or search he came across Brockmer, who was still living in Fetter Lane, and led him off to the house of Mr. Burgman, the Minister of the German Church in the Savoy, and in Burgman's presence drew from Brockmer's lips the statement we subjoin.

Mathesius gave John Wesley a copy, which he printed in his *Arminian Magazine* (No. for January, 1781). He introduced it to his readers with this preface—

“An Account of Baron Swedenborg.”

“The following account of a very great man was given me by one of his own countrymen. He is now in London, as is Mr. Brockmer also, and ready to attest every part of it. In the Baron's writings there are many excellent things: but there are many likewise which are whimsical to the last degree. And some of these may do hurt even to serious persons whose imaginations are stronger than their judgments.”

* Rev. Aron Mathesius, born 1736. Studied at Upsala. Came to London, 1768, and officiated in the Swedish and Danish Chapels. Was appointed Minister of the Swedish Church and Chaplain to the Embassy, 1773. Resigned in consequence of ill-health and returned to Sweden, 1784. Married 1789: his son and daughter were alive in 1852. Appointed Rector of Foglas in Skara, 1805. Died 1809, aged 73—*Anteckningar rörande Svenska Kyrkan i London, af G. W. Carlson. Stockholm, 1852, p. 153.*

In revenge for the publication of Brockmer's story, some of Swedenborg's adherents set afloat a report that Mathesius himself went mad “and continued insane through the remainder of his life.” The facts of his career are a sufficient answer to the calumny. The same people say, Mathesius was Swedenborg's “personal and violent enemy.” There is no evidence that the two men ever came in contact. Mathesius had no belief in Swedenborg's clam and doctrine, and this incredulity was in all likelihood the extent of his aversion.

We print a translation from the Swedish of Mathesius—

Brockmer's Story.

"In the year 1743 [1744] one of the Moravian Brethren, named Seniff, made acquaintance with Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg while they were passengers in a post-yacht from Holland to England. Mr. Swedenborg, who was a God-fearing man, wished to be directed to some house in London where he might live quietly and economically. Mr. Seniff brought him to me, and I cheerfully took him in.

"Mr. Swedenborg behaved very properly in my house. Every Sunday he went to the church of the Moravian Brothers in Fetter Lane. He kept solitary, yet came often to me, and in conversation expressed much pleasure in hearing the Gospel in London. So he continued for several months, approving of what he heard at the chapel.

"One day he said he was glad the Gospel was preached to the poor, but complained of the learned and rich, who, he thought, must go to Hell. Under this idea he continued several months. He told me he was writing a small Latin book, which would be gratuitously distributed among the learned men in the universities of England.

"After this he did not open the door of his chamber for two days, nor allow the maid-servant to make the bed and dust as usual.

"One evening when I was in a coffee-house, the maid ran in to call me home, saying, that something strange must have happened to Mr. Swedenborg. She had several times knocked at his door without his answering or opening it.

"Upon this I went home, and knocked at his door, and called him by name. He jumped out of bed. I asked him if he would not allow the servant to enter and make his bed. He answered, No, and desired to be left alone, for he had a great work on hand.

"This was about nine in the evening. Leaving his door and going up stairs, he rushed after me, making a fearful appearance. His hair stood upright, and he foamed round the mouth. He tried to speak, but he could not utter his thoughts, stammering long before he could get out a word.

"At last he said, that he had something to confide to me privately, namely, that he was Messiah, that he was come to be crucified for the Jews, and that I (since he spoke with difficulty) should be his spokesman, and go with him to-morrow to the Synagogue, there to preach his words.

"He continued, I know you are an honest man, for I am sure you love the Lord, but I fear you do not believe me.

"I now began to be afraid, and considered a long time ere I replied. At last I said, You are Mr. Swedenborg, a somewhat aged man, and, as you tell me, have never taken medicine; wherefore I think some of a right sort would do you good. Dr. Smith is near, he is your friend and mine, let us go to him, and he will give you something fitted for your state. Yet I shall make this bargain with you—if the Angel appears to me and delivers the message you mention, I shall obey the same. If not, you shall go with me to Dr. Smith in the morning.

"He told me several times the Angel would appear to me, whereupon we took leave of each other and went to bed.

"In expectation of the Angel I could not sleep, but lay awake the whole night. My wife and children were at the same time very ill, which increased my anxiety. I rose about five o'clock in the morning.

"As soon as Mr. Swedenborg heard me move over-head he jumped out of bed, threw on a gown, and ran in the greatest haste up to me, with his night-cap half on his head, to receive the news about my call.

"I tried by several remarks to prepare his excited mind for my answer. He foamed and cried again and again, But how—how—how? Then I reminded him of our agreement to go to Dr. Smith. At this he asked me straight down, Came not the vision? I answered, No; and now I suppose you will go with me to Dr. Smith. He replied, I will not go to any Doctor.

"He then spoke a long while to himself. At last he said, I am now associating with two Spirits, one on the right hand and the other on the left. One asks me to follow you, for you are a good fellow; the other says I ought to have nothing to do with you because you are good for nothing.

"I answered, Believe neither of them, but let us thank God, who has given us power to believe in His Word.

"He then went down stairs to his room, but returned immediately, and spoke, but so confusedly that he could not be understood. I began to be frightened, suspecting that he might have a penknife or other instrument to hurt me. In my fear I addressed him seriously, requesting him to walk down stairs, as he had no business in my room.

"Then Mr. Swedenborg sat down in a chair and wept like a child, and said, Do you believe that I will do you any harm? I also began to weep. It commenced to rain very hard.

"After this I dressed. When I came down I found Mr. Swedenborg also dressed, sitting in an arm-chair with a great stick in his hand and the door open. He called, Come in, come in, and waved the stick. I wanted to get a coach, but Mr. Swedenborg would not accompany me.

"I then went to Dr. Smith, Mr. Swedenborg's intimate friend, and told him what had happened; and asked also that he would receive Mr. Swedenborg into his house. He had however no room for him, but engaged apartments for him with Mr. Michael Caer, wig-maker, in Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields, three or four houses from his own.

"Whilst I was with Dr. Smith, Mr. Swedenborg went to the Swedish Envoy, but was not admitted, it being post-day. Departing thence, he pulled off his clothes and rolled himself in very deep mud in a gutter. Then he distributed money from his pockets among the crowd which had gathered.

"In this state some of the footmen of the Swedish Envoy chanced to see him, and brought him to me very foul with dirt. I told him that good quarters had been taken for him near Dr. Smith, and asked him if he was willing to live there. He answered, Yes.

"I sent for a coach, but Mr. Swedenborg would walk, and with the help of two men he reached his new lodging.

"Arrived there, he asked for a tub of water and six towels, and entering one of the inner rooms, locked the door, and spite of all entreaties would not open it. In fear

lest he should hurt himself the door was forced, when he was discovered washing himself, and the towels all wet. He asked for six more.

"I then went home, and left six men as guards over him. Dr. Smith visited him and administered some medicine, which did him much good.

"I then went to the Swedish Envoy, told him what had happened, and required that Mr. Swedenborg's rooms in my house might be sealed. The Envoy was infinitely pleased with my kindness to Mr. Swedenborg, thanked me very much for all my trouble, and assured me that the sealing of Mr. Swedenborg's chambers was unnecessary, as he had heard well of me, and had in me perfect confidence.

"After this I continued to visit Mr. Swedenborg, who at last had only one keeper. He many times avowed his gratitude for the trouble I had with him. He would never leave the tenet however that he was Messiah.

"One day when Dr. Smith had given him a laxative, he went out into the fields and ran about so fast that his keeper could not follow him. Mr. Swedenborg sat down on a stile and laughed. When his man came near him, he rose and ran to another stile, and so on.

"When the dog-days began, he became worse and worse. Afterwards I associated very little with him. Now and then we met in the streets, and I always found he retained his former opinion."

Mathesius adjoins this testimony to his copy—

STORA HALLFARA, 27th August, 1796.

"The above account was word by word delivered to me by Mr. Brockmer, an honest and trustworthy man, in the house and presence of Mr. Burgman, Minister of the German Church, the Savoy, London, while Swedenborg lived.

"ARON MATHESIUS."

Plainly a straightforward and well-authenticated story, fitting into the incoherences of the Diary with singular

credibility, and full of touches characteristic of a timid, prudent and credulous London lodging-house keeper. Attempts have been made to discredit the narrative, but altogether in vain. Some zealous Swedenborgians visited and cross-questioned Brockmer in 1783 (forty years after the events), but they had to leave the case very much as they found it. Whatever their verdict, their bias would have made it suspicious; but we are able to produce a voucher which ought to settle every cavil as to the general accuracy of Brockmer as delivered by Mathesius. The Rev. Francis Okely, a Moravian, was personally acquainted with Swedenborg, and was favourably disposed to his teaching. He writes—

“There is no denying that in the year 1743 [1744], when Swedenborg was first (as he said) introduced into the Spiritual World, he was for awhile insane. He then lived with Mr. Brockmer, as Mr. J. Wesley has published in his *Arminian Magazine* for January, 1781. . . . As I rather suspect J. W.’s narratives, they being always warped to his own inclination, I inquired of Mr. Brockmer concerning it, and have found all the main lines of it truth.”*

Okely’s hesitation about Wesley’s veracity was not without warrant; for in apparent oblivion of what he had printed in 1781, he entertained the readers of the *Arminian Magazine* in 1783 with the following creation of his lively imagination—

“Many years ago the Baron came over to England, and lodged at one Mr. Brockmer’s, who informed me (and the same information was given me by Mr. Mathesius, a very serious Swedish clergyman, both of whom were alive when I left London, and I suppose are so still), that while he was in his house he had a violent fever, in the height of which, being totally delirious, he broke from Mr. Brockmer, ran into the street stark naked, proclaimed himself the Messiah, and rolled himself in the mire. I suppose he dates from this time his admission into the society of Angels. From

* From the Rev. Francis Okely’s *Reflections on Baron Swedenborg’s Works*, printed in the New York *New Jerusalem Messenger*, 28th Dec., 1861.

this time we are undoubtedly to date that peculiar species of insanity which attended him, with scarcely any intermission, to the day of his death."

Brockmer of course repudiated this fiction as soon as he heard it: Swedenborg had no fever in his house, nor did he rush into the street stark naked and proclaim himself Messiah. This melancholy instance of Wesley's loose habit of testimony might have been passed over, but his fiction has been artfully shuffled with the true relation of Mathe-sius, and Brockmer's repudiation applied to both: hence I am bound to be explicit.

Swedenborg, it is said, wished Brockmer to accompany him to the Synagogue as his spokesman; and, from an anecdote preserved by Benedict Chastanier,* it would appear he opened some sort of communication with the Jews—

"One day Swedenborg in his lodgings fell into a swoon or ecstasy or rapture in the presence of two Jews. They, profiting by his absence of mind, stole his gold watch. Awakening, Swedenborg quickly discovered that his watch had been taken from under the bolster of his bed, and at once asked the Jews to give it up. 'Do you not know,' said they, 'that in your trance you took your watch, went into the street, and threw it into the gutter?' Swedenborg contented himself in answering, 'My friends, you know what you say is false.' Being afterwards advised to give the thieves up to justice, he answered, 'It is not worth the trouble. By this action these good Israelites have wronged themselves more than me. The Lord have mercy on them!' An answer right worthy of Swedenborg."

We resume our readings from the Diary.

"1 × 2 *July*.—Violent shudderings came over me, as when Christ showed me His divine mercy. One fit followed another ten or fifteen times.

"21 × 22 *July*.—In vision I saw much gold; the air was full of it. Thereby is signified that the Lord will provide all I want in spiritual and worldly things whenever I cast my cares on Him.

* In Preface to *Tableau de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Eglise de la Nouvelle Jérusalem*. Londres, 1786.

"22 × 23 *July*.—I appeared to take a high flight and came down when I grew tired. I saw a beautiful drawing-room with a very fine tapestry on the walls, all of one piece. It signifies what I had in my mind yesterday—that if we leave Christ to care for us in spiritual and worldly things, all is done. I saw a boy running away with one of my shirts. It may mean I had neglected to wash my feet."—Can this have any reference to the washing at Dr. Smith's?

"30 *July* × 1 *August*.—I was a long time in holy shudderings whilst in deep sleep. I thought I might see something holy. I appeared to be thrown on my face, but am not certain.

"In expectation I waited for a procession of horses. They came of a light yellow colour, beautiful large horses. Afterwards more came to me; coach-horses, fat, large and handsome, decorated with lovely harness. This signifies the book I have now begun on the Cerebrum. Thus I learn that I have God's assistance in it, which greatly aids me.

"26 × 27 *August*.—I was much oppressed with my sins, which it seemed had not been forgiven, and which hindered me from the Lord's Supper. Then I seemed to be relieved. In the night the soles of my feet appeared to be quite white, which signifies that my sins are forgiven, and that I am once more welcome.

"21 *Sept*.—Before I slept, I had much thought on what I was writing. It was said to me, 'Hold your tongue or I will strike you.' I saw a man sitting on ice, and was afraid. I was as in a vision. I restrained my thoughts, and had the usual shudderings. All this implied that I should not work so long, especially on Sunday, or perhaps in the evening.

"6 × 7 *Oct*.—Something was told me about my book. One said the *Worship and Love of God* was a divine book. . . . I seemed to see the Czar Peter and other great Emperors, who despised me because I had half sleeves.

"Very easily is man deceived by Spirits, who draw near and flatter and coincide with his desires. Affections are represented by Spirits; yea indeed, by Women.

"12 × 13 *Oct*.—In vision fine bread was presented to

me. It is a sign the Lord Himself will instruct me, since I have now for the first time come into the condition that I know nothing, and all preconceived judgments are taken away. This is the beginning of instruction, namely, first to be a child, and so be nursed up in knowledge. Such is now my case.

"13 × 14 Oct.—Among other things it was told me, that for the last fortnight I have been growing much handsomer, and have become like an Angel. God grant that it may be so!

"18 × 19 Oct.—A big dog, which I thought was chained, flew at me and bit my leg. One closed his terrible jaws, and kept him from further mischief. It meant that the day before I had heard an oration in the College of Surgeons, and desired I should be named as the one who best understood Anatomy. Yet I was glad it did not happen.

"26 × 27 Oct.—I seemed to be with Christ and conversed with Him without ceremony. He borrowed a little money from another, about five pounds. I was sorry He did not borrow of me. I took two pounds, of which methought I let one drop, and then the other. He asked, what it was. I said, 'I have found two,' one being probably dropped by Him. I offered and He took them. In such an easy manner did we seem to live together. It was a state of innocence.

"Christ said I ought not to undertake anything without Him.

"In the morning when I awoke, there came upon me the same kind of giddiness or swoon which I had six or seven years ago at Amsterdam when I began the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, but much more subtile, so that I appeared to be near death. It came on as soon as I saw daylight, and threw me upon my face, but passed off by degrees, while short doses of sleep overcame me. It soon passed away.

"It signifies that my head is cleared and purified from things which hinder thought. The same happened in the former case, whence I acquired greater penetration, especially when writing.

“This was also represented to me in that I appeared to write in a delicate hand.”

On page 99 of the manuscript Diary there are only the last four words. Several blank pages then intervene, and the mysterious record closes with this entry—

“11 × 12 [No month given]—I left Ohlreck. On the way there was deep water, and I walked on a very narrow path along the margin. It seemed to me I ought not to go into the deep water. A rocket burst over me, showering forth beautiful sparks. Perhaps it means love for what is high.”

It is disappointing that Swedenborg records so little concerning his intercourse with the Moravians. Their chapel in Fetter Lane escaped the great fire of 1666, and exists an untouched specimen of the quaint ugliness of the Puritan meeting-house. From its pulpit Richard Baxter “preached as a dying man to dying men, as though he might never see them more.” In it Wesley, in 1738, formed his first Society, which was joined by so many Moravians that they swamped his influence and overruled his councils. This, he was not the man to endure. He wrestled with the invaders; he charged them holding false doctrine; he denounced them as Antinomians; but in vain. They maintained, “That Believers are no more bound to do the works of the law than the subjects of the King of England are bound to obey the laws of the King of France.” The mass of the Society became estranged from him, and he resolved to withdraw. After a serious address on Sunday, 20th July, 1740, in which he told them their opinions were flat contrary to the Word of God, he took his leave, drawing only some score of members after him.

After Wesley's departure the Moravians prospered abundantly, teaching Salvation by Faith Alone in the most superficial forensic sense. It is indeed to be regretted that in this pernicious school, Swedenborg received his early impressions of Protestant theology. Many of his subsequent misconceptions thereof may be referred to the conversation and preaching of the United Brethren in Fetter Lane

when his mind was awakening to an interest in theological matters.

The Diary ends with October, 1744, and at the beginning of 1745, Nourse, a London bookseller, published the third part of the *Animal Kingdom* and the *Worship and Love of God*. I cannot discover that they met any notice whatever: the *Gentleman's Magazine* merely registers their appearance.

Swedenborg usually dated his seership from 1745, probably regarding the experiences we have been perusing as the painful preliminaries to the great change whereby Heaven and Hell became familiar to his eyes.

From him we have no description of the momentous event of 1745, but from his friend, Robsahm, we draw the following—

“I inquired of Swedenborg where and in what manner his revelations began. He said—

“‘I was in London and dined late at my usual quarters, where I had engaged a room in which to prosecute my studies in Natural Philosophy. I was hungry and ate with great appetite. Towards the end of the meal, I remarked a kind of mist spread before my eyes, and I saw the floor of my room covered with hideous reptiles, such as serpents, toads, and the like. I was astonished, having all my wits about me, being perfectly conscious. The darkness attained its height and then passed away. I now saw a Man sitting in the corner of the chamber. As I had thought myself alone, I was greatly frightened, when he said to me, ‘Eat not so much.’ My sight again became dim, but when I recovered it I found myself alone in my room. The unexpected alarm hastened my return home. I did not suffer my landlord to perceive that anything had happened, but thought over the matter attentively, and was not able to attribute it to chance or any physical cause.

“‘The following night the same Man appeared to me again. I was this time not at all alarmed. The Man said—‘I am God, the Lord, the Creator, and Redeemer of the World. I have chosen thee to unfold to men the Spiritual

Sense of the Holy Scripture. I will myself dictate to thee what thou shalt write.'

"'The same night the World of Spirits, Hell and Heaven, were convincingly opened to me, where I found many persons of my acquaintance of all conditions. From that day forth I gave up all worldly learning, and laboured only in spiritual things, according to what the Lord commanded me to write. Thereafter the Lord daily opened the eyes of my Spirit to see in perfect wakefulness what was going on in the other World, and to converse, broad awake, with Angels and Spirits.'"

Dr. Beyer gives another account. He writes—

"The report of the Lord's personal appearance before the Assessor, I heard from his own mouth when he was an old man. He said, that he saw Him sitting in purple and in majestic splendour near his bed, whilst He gave him commission what to do. I asked him how long this appearance continued. He replied, that it lasted about a quarter of an hour. I also asked him whether the vivid splendour did not pain his eyes, which he denied. . . In respect to the extraordinary case of the Lord appearing to him, and opening, in a wonderful manner, the internal and spiritual sight of His servant, so as to enable him to see into the other World, I must observe, that this opening did not occur at once, but by degrees."

Evidently these relations refer to different experiences. That to Beyer might almost stand for a version of the Divine Vision at Delft, April 6 × 7, 1744. That to Robsahm meets with but partial confirmation under Swedenborg's own hand, in the following statement—

"A vision in the day time: of those who are devoted to conviviality in eating, and indulge their appetites."

"In the middle of the day at dinner an Angel spoke to me, and told me not to eat too much at table. Whilst he was with me, there plainly appeared to me a kind of vapour steaming from the pores of my body. It was a most visible watery vapour, and fell downwards to the ground upon the carpet, where it collected, and turned into divers vermin, which were gathered together under the table, and

in a moment went off with a pop or noise. A fiery light appeared within them, and a sound was heard, pronouncing, that all the vermin that could possibly be generated by unseemly appetite, were thus cast out of my body, and burnt up, and that I was now cleansed from them. Hence we may know what luxury and the like have for their bosom contents. 1745. April." *

Most readers of this Chapter will be ready to exclaim, The man had gone mad!—an opinion I am careless to contest. I freely admit—for it would be sheer perversity to do otherwise—that a production like the *Diary of 1744* would be held a sufficient warrant for the consignment of any man to a lunatic asylum; but, having made this admission, I do not see that we have made the slightest advance towards a comprehension of the case. It is only pert scientific ignorance which imagines, that Swedenborg's life and writings for seven and twenty years subsequent to 1745 are accounted for by asserting, that he was out of his mind in 1744. Not all the jargon gathered from the most approved treatises of the most enlightened "mad Doctors" will avail to impose such a conclusion on any intellect in which common sense is stronger than scientific credulity.

Considering that Swedenborg was at this time at the crisis of a great physical and mental change, I have no surprise to spare for any aberration in his behaviour. He was staggering confused in an access of new light. As Carlyle says, "Such transitions are ever full of pain: thus the eagle when he moults is sickly; and, to attain his new beak, must harshly dash off the old one upon the rocks." We ought to remember what an assemblage of delicate conditions are requisite to the perfection of sanity of mind, and how the absence of one, or the slight derangement of a few, seriously affects it. In this respect the question is more easily raised than answered, Whether indeed anybody is sane. We all know how a dyspeptic stomach blackens,

* From his *Spiritual Diary*, No. 397. The entry was not made at the time, in 1745, but more than two years afterwards, on Christmas Day, 1747.

and how a bottle of wine glorifies the world, and how the thoughts of the one state are as folly to the other. The truth perhaps is, that mental like physical sanity, is merely an ideal perfection at which we all aim, and more or less nearly approach, but never attain; and that in some degree we are all crazed, as we are all diseased; but as we are only numbered among the sick when we are worse than ordinary, so we are only reckoned among the mad when our craze becomes offensive or dangerous to our neighbours. I apprehend that in the very nature of things, the change Swedenborg underwent was attended with violent deflections from the centre of sanity; but he is a fool who comes to conclusions in the dust and din and agony of the process, and has neither patience nor forethought to await the result.

Nothing more can I find to tell concerning this second visit of Swedenborg to London. The former took place, it will be remembered, in 1710, when he was a young man of twenty-two. A new generation had arisen during the four and thirty years that had elapsed. George II. was King. Newton, Flamsteed and Halley, Addison, Steele and Defoe had gone to their rest. Johnson was drudging on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and may have glanced over the *Worship and Love of God* and the *Animal Kingdom* if copies were sent for review. Science was not so well represented in 1744 as in 1710. Bradley was Astronomer-Royal. Martin Folkes was president of the Royal Society. Sir Hans Sloane, a hale old man of eighty-four, was living at Chelsea, happy in his museum.

At the beginning of July, 1745, Swedenborg took ship from London for Sweden, and arrived in Stockholm on the 7th of August, after an absence of two years.

During the voyage his visions ceased.

CHAPTER XII.

CALLED TO A NEW WORK.

SWEDENBORG resumed the duties of his Assessorship. Thus passed the last months of 1745, the whole of 1746, and the beginning of 1747.

He commenced to learn Hebrew, and read the Old Testament through once or twice in the original. As he read, and as the wisdom of the Word was opened to him, he committed his perceptions to paper. These *Adversaria* abound in wavering and indistinct views, which subsequent reflection decided or corrected. Ranging from Genesis to Jeremiah, they form nine volumes, each containing about as much matter as the present work.* The whole was produced within two years; the last paragraph is dated 9th February, 1747.

He now felt he had entered upon a vocation which no longer permitted him to discharge his duties to the Board of Mines, and in 1747 he obtained permission to retire: in consideration of his thirty years' service his full salary was continued as a pension.

To the Rev. Thomas Hartley, in 1769, he wrote—

“My sole view in this resignation was, that I might be more at liberty to devote myself to the new function to which the Lord had called me. A higher degree of rank was offered me, but this I declined, lest it should be the occasion of inspiring me with pride.”

At the risk of some anticipation of the narrative, we must here pause awhile, that we may obtain a correct idea of the scope of “that function to which,” as he testifies, “the Lord had called him.” His declarations on the subject are profuse, one or more being found in almost every book he wrote. Some of these we had better read.

In the letter to Hartley, from which we have just quoted,

* Printed from Swedenborg's manuscript by Dr. Tafel between 1842 and 1854. See Catalogue in Appendix.

after describing his position and estimation in Sweden, he goes on to say—

“Whatever of worldly honour and advantage may appear in these, I hold them in low esteem when compared to the honour of the sacred office to which the Lord Himself has called me, who was graciously pleased to manifest Himself to His unworthy servant, in a personal appearance, in the year 1743; to open my sight to the Spiritual World, and enable me to converse with Spirits and Angels: and this privilege has been continued to me to this day [1769]. From that time I began to print and publish various unknown Arcana, which have either been seen by me or revealed to me, concerning Heaven and Hell, the state of men after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of Scripture, and many important truths tending to salvation and true wisdom.”

In 1749—

“Of the Lord’s divine mercy, it has been granted me to be constantly and uninterruptedly in company with Spirits and Angels, hearing them converse with each other, and conversing with them. Thus I have heard and seen things in another life which are astonishing, and which have never come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered his imagination.”*

Again, in 1768—

“I am aware that many who read these pages will consider them products of my fancy; but I solemnly declare they are not fictions, but truly done and seen, and that I saw what I describe, not in sleep, but in perfect wakefulness.”†

Finally, in his eighty-third year, in 1771, he attests—

“Since the Lord cannot manifest Himself in person, and yet He has foretold that He would come and establish a New Church, which is the New Jerusalem, it follows, that He will effect this by the instrumentality of a Man, who is able not only to receive the Doctrines of that Church in his Understanding, but also to make them known by the Press.

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 5.

† *Conjugal Love*, No. 1.

"That the Lord manifested Himself before me His servant, that He appointed me to this office, and afterwards opened the sight of my spirit, and so let me into the Spiritual World, permitting me to see the Heavens and the Hells, and converse with Angels and Spirits, and this continually for many years, I attest in truth; and further, that from the first day of my call to this office, I have never received anything relating to the Doctrines of that Church from any Angel, but from the Lord alone, while I was reading the Word." *

These sufficiently define the claims which Swedenborg with simplicity and patience iterated for twenty-seven years, from 1745 to his death.

I know right well the scorn with which these statements will be read, and especially by those who are ready to fight like tigers for any shred of miracle within the boards of the Bible. I know how useless it is to urge, that the Scriptures abound with claims marvellous as his; for it is their settled conviction that immediate communion of God and Man ceased with John in Patmos. To invite them therefore to believe, that one who lived less than a century ago, and walked London streets in hat and periwig, was a servant of the Lord and an acquaintance of Angels, is to invite them to become the dupes of a lunatic or impostor. I may assure such readers, that I have no desire to secure the same allegiance for Swedenborg as they render to certain ancient Jews. There are some who believe in Swedenborg just as *they* believe in those Jews, and who fancy God's revelation consummate with his last page in 1772: I have no wish to add to their number. Such rampant faith in limited wonders proves its emptiness in its very terms.

Yet I know with what righteous suspicion the kindest, most reasonable and most liberal souls will view these claims of Swedenborg; for they are not only claims which he shares with Prophets and Apostles, but with all manner of deceivers. As Carlyle observes—

"A poor man in our day has many gods foisted upon him; and big voices bid him, 'Worship or be ——!' in a

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 779.

menacing and confusing manner. What shall he do? By far the greater part of said gods, current in the public, whether canonised by Pope or Populus, are mere dumb Apises and beatified Prize-oxen—nay, some of them, who have articulate faculty, are devils instead of gods. A poor man that would save his soul alive is reduced to the sad necessity of sharply trying his gods whether they are divine or not; which is a terrible pass for mankind, and lays an awful problem upon each man. The man must do it however. At his own peril he will have to do this problem, which is one of the awfulest; and his neighbours, all but a most select portion of them, portion generally *not* clad in official tiaras, can be of next to no help to him in it, nay, rather will infinitely hinder him in it as matters go.”*

“Sharply tried” must Swedenborg be, but how tried? Plainly no debate, however prolonged, outside his writings will ever settle whether he talked with Angels or was sent of God. I read somewhere of an erudite and mathematic assembly engaged in high controversy as to whether a certain shoe would fit a certain foot, when a plain man broke through the learned din, crying, “Why all this pother? Try on the shoe.” The shoe was tried on, and the question was settled in a trice, by its slipping on to the foot with perfect fitness like another skin. So we should have everybody try Swedenborg, not by talk *about* him, but by converse *with* him in those books through which he lives, and in which his claims evermore await the test of fitness (or credibility) with each inquirer’s private judgment.

In the course of these pages it will be my business to frame an exposition of Swedenborg’s teaching, and at its close we may, to better purpose than now, have some talk over the reasonableness of his claims; but, alike for the elucidation of my narrative and for the tempering of prejudice, it may be well to expatiate a little on the meaning of his assertion—

First, That he daily visited the Spiritual World and made acquaintance with its Inhabitants; and—

Second, That he was directly appointed by God to

* *Latter-Day Pamphlets—Jesuitism.*

describe to Men the scenery of Heaven and Hell and the World of Spirits, and the lives of their Inhabitants; and that through him the Lord Jesus Christ makes His second advent for the institution of a New Church, described in the Apocalypse under the figure of the New Jerusalem.

When it is first told any one, that Swedenborg visited Heaven and Hell and talked with Angels and Devils, the statement appears to carry its own confutation. The hearer, assuming that Heaven and Hell are farther off than Australia or Japan, or the Sun or Stars, at once concludes as incredible, that a man in Stockholm, London, or Amsterdam should at the same time be a traveller in those distant regions, and hold converse with the inhabitants thereof.

This ready judgment with which Swedenborg's claim is usually greeted, is a perfect example of Prejudice pure and simple. No comprehension of his statement is attempted; an absurdity is imputed to him, and a scoff follows.

To judge truly we must inquire first, What he meant by the Spiritual World, and next, How he saw into it. When his meaning is understood, it will, I think, be allowed (admitting his doctrine true) that it was no more wonderful that he should see Heaven than that he saw Holland, or, that he should talk with Spirits than that he talked with Swedes.

What is the Spiritual World? Some will answer, it is the Mental World—it is Love, Reason, Memory. Did Swedenborg pretend to see these? He did not. "The Angels," he writes, "cannot see Love with their eyes: they see what corresponds thereto."* Their case is our case: mental affections are as invisible in Heaven as on Earth. They see Love as we see it, in looks, words and deeds, with the difference, that what we see obscurely and grossly, they see clearly and exquisitely.

The Spiritual World, which Swedenborg saw, may be defined as the internal of the Physical World. Now, as Man is the summary of Creation, the substance of the Spiritual World is included in him. Hence we read—

"Man at birth puts on the grosser substances of Nature, his

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 87.

body consisting of such. These grosser substances by death he puts off, but retains the purer substances of Nature, which are next to those that are Spiritual. These purer substances serve thereafter as his body, the continent and expression of his life." *

It is not said what those purer substances are. It might be that unknown to science, there were no names for them. At any rate it is for us to consider the bodies of Angels and Devils as thus constituted, and to think of the purer substances of Nature as the ground, the bases, and the cuticles of the objects of the Spiritual World.

Whilst it is common to speak of the Spiritual World as far away beyond imagination, Swedenborg declares it is within the Natural World, just as the Soul is within the Body—

"The whole Natural World corresponds to the Spiritual World collectively and in every part; for the Natural World exists and subsists from the Spiritual World as an effect from its cause.

"All things in Nature, from the least to the greatest, exist and subsist from Spirit, and both from the Divine.

"Whenever I have been in company with Angels, the objects in Heaven appeared so exactly like those in this world, that I knew no other than that I was on Earth." †

It may be said, Allowing the nearness, union and perfect correspondence of the Spiritual with the Natural World, Where is the space of its existence? and by what Sun is it lighted up?

The finer substances of Nature, it has been observed, form the gross outsides of Spirit; and as we ascend from earthy to ærial existences, and thence to heat, light, and electricity, the notions of space, which we attach to flesh and blood and bricks and mortar, become more and more inapplicable. A man at death escapes from his material body as from a rent or worn-out vesture, yet the corpse is as heavy as when he dwelt therein. "Nature commences from the Sun," but Spirit is above Nature, and our glorious luminary is to the

* *Divine Providence*, No 220, and *True Christian Religion*, No. 103.

† *Heaven and Hell*, Nos. 89, 106, and 174.

Angels "as somewhat of thick darkness." Hence we need not be surprised when informed, that—

"Although all things in Heaven appear to be in place and space exactly as on Earth [with the difference that they are on a smaller scale*], still the Angels have no idea of place and space. As however they see with their eyes as we do, and as objects cannot be seen except in space, therefore in the Spiritual World spaces appear as on Earth, which nevertheless are not spaces, but appearances; for they are not fixed and stationary, but may be lengthened and shortened, changed and varied, and cannot be determined by measure."†

The phenomena of light and other imponderables may suggest many hints concerning the existence of this Inner World, where are all the pleasant appearances of space without the dreary reality whereby long months are fixed between friends in England and Australia; except indeed when they call to their aid one of Nature's finer substances through the electric wire.

"If in the Spiritual World two desire intensely to see each other, the desire at once brings about a meeting. When any Angel goes from one place to another, whether it is in his own city, or in the courts, or the gardens, or to others out of his city, he arrives sooner or later as he is ardent or indifferent, the way itself being shortened or lengthened in proportion."‡

The Spiritual World throughout is perfectly flexible under the minds of its inhabitants. The character of a Spirit is reproduced in everything which surrounds him. Here individuals and nations impress their character on their circumstances: the physiognomist divines the invisible disposition from the visible features, dress, manners and garniture; he discerns the cause in the effects: but in the Natural World, the Spirit is hindered and stiffened in its outcome by the grossness of the element through which it works, and only the stronger and more persistent affections reach the surface. In the Spiritual World every emotion,

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 52.

† *Heaven and Hell*, No. 191, and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 7.

‡ *Heaven and Hell*, No. 192.

every thought instantly appears on the countenance, and diffuses its influence over body, dress, furniture, and landscape. Hence a mind which is a Heaven, repeats itself in external loveliness and order, and a mind which is a Hell, in external ugliness and disorder.

As has been said, there is nothing in Nature which is not first in Spirit, and that all things in Nature are produced from correspondent things in Spirit, it follows as a consequence, that there is a Spiritual Sun which lights the Spiritual World and is the source of our Sun and all the Suns of the Natural Universe—

“They who think only from Nature cannot comprehend that there is light in Heaven, when yet that light far exceeds the mid-day light of Earth. I have often seen it. When I first heard the Angels say the light of Earth is little better than shade in comparison with the light of Heaven, I wondered; but since I have seen it I can testify that it is so. Its whiteness and brightness surpass all description.”*

Such is the constitution of the Spiritual World of which Swedenborg professed himself a denizen: the means whereby he attained the privilege are thus explained.

Terrestrial Man, being a summary of the Universe, comprising in his constitution every degree of Creation, has in him all that an Angel (or Devil) has, *plus* a Material Body. Death strips off that overcoat and reveals the Angel—or Devil. His Body of flesh and blood is transfused in every particle and tissue by a Spiritual Body, whose externals are woven from the finer substances of Nature. Thus he is at once an Inhabitant of Two Worlds. Outwardly he is a subject of the Sun of Nature; inwardly he is a subject of the Sun of Spirit. Outwardly he may be a Swede, a Dutchman, or an Englishman; inwardly he is an Angel or Devil, associated with kindred Spirits in Heaven or Hell.

What Swedenborg then requires us to believe is, that the experience which will be ours at death, may be partially anticipated; that the Spiritual Body may for a time be relieved from its carnal vesture, so that the inner eye and ear may enjoy the sights and sounds of Heaven.

* *Heaven and Hell*, No. 126.

Thus he visited the Spiritual World habitually. His claim was a claim to amphibiousness—to life in Nature and Spirit alternately.

His power of easy transition from the Outer to the Inner World was due to his peculiar habit of breathing. "My respiration," he writes, "has been so formed by the Lord that I might converse with Spirits." He discovered his faculty when a child at morning and evening prayers: he gave it special attention when studying the concordance between the brain and lungs: and when Heaven was opened to him, he says, he sometimes scarcely breathed for an hour at all.*

Prolonged suspension of respiration is far from uncommon. It is witnessed in cases of trance; also in the feats of Hindoo fakirs, who lie for weeks as if dead; and in the winter sleep of various animals.

Swedenborg, although unique in the freedom and perfection of his double sight, has a host to keep him in countenance. As Dr. Johnson observes by Imlac in *Rasselas*—

"That the dead are seen no more I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages and of all nations. There is no people, rude or learned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which perhaps prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth: those that never heard of one another would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience can make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues confess it by their fears."

History and biography abound in instances of vision into the Spiritual World. The Bible is thick with cases from end to end. There is scarcely a family without some tradition of ghostly manifestation; and modern clairvoyance and spiritualism supply a multitude of experiences in illustration and confirmation of Swedenborg, at which it is easier to sneer than explain.

Between most Seers and Swedenborg there is this differ-

* *Spiritual Diary*, Nos. 3317, 3320, and 3464.

ence: their faculty has been exercised momentarily, or occasionally, or has been induced by artificial effort, whilst his was natural, I may say, congenital, was developed unsought, and was enjoyed uninterruptedly, or nearly so, for the long term of twenty-seven years. As little indisposed to magnify his office as his father, we find him writing—

“The Lord’s appearance, and the opening to me of the Spiritual World, is more excellent than all miracles. An experience like mine, no one from Creation has had. By this experience I have been enabled to see the wonderful things of Heaven, and to be amongst Angels as one of themselves, and to learn truths in light itself, and thus to see and teach them, and to be led of the Lord.”*

With all his exclusive assumption, he brings his experience somewhat within common grasp—

“Every Man as to his Spirit is in society with Spirits, but is unseen by them, because he is immersed in Nature. They however who are given to intense and abstract thought sometimes appear in their own spiritual society, because they are then in the Spirit. These are easily distinguished from the Spirits who are actually there, for they walk about like persons in profound contemplation, silent and regardless of others, as though they did not see them, and when any Spirit accosts them, they instantly vanish.”†

Next time we are in “a brown study” and are suddenly started into external consciousness, let us remember where we have been, and how we were awakened.

In profound thought, as has been observed, respiration becomes slow, tacit, and almost or entirely suspended. The elevation of the Inner above the Outer Body in a measure takes place, and were it only sufficiently carried forward, open and free intercourse with the Spiritual World would result.

These notes may in a measure help to bring Swedenborg’s seership within comprehension as a high and peculiar development of powers latent in us all.

* *Spiritual Diary*, Appendix, Pars. vii., Vol. I., p. 157, 169.

† *Heaven and Hell*, No. 438.

There are many who will hear with some composure, that Swedenborg was acquainted with Heaven and Hell; but for his assertion, that his travels were prosecuted under Divine commission, they have no tolerance. This scepticism calls for some notice.

There are about twenty thousand clergymen in England. Every one of them at his ordination was addressed by the Bishop as "Called to the high dignity, and the weighty office and charge of Messenger, Watchman and Steward of the Lord;" and when each of them was asked by the Bishop, "Do you think in your heart, that you be truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ to the order and ministry of the Priesthood?" the answer of each was, "I think it." Every Bishop and Archbishop at his inauguration has professed obedience to the same Divine Voice, and solemnly asserted, "I am persuaded, that I am called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ." Every Dissenting Minister, in one form or other, has made a similar acknowledgment of a Divine Summons, and the like is true of every Priest of Rome.

Swedenborg therefore reporting himself as "Called and sent of God" is not singular. He has myriads of comrades, and any sneers at his expense have a sweeping application.

"Called and sent of God!" Why should these words startle any as incredible? Is not every one sent of God who does his duty? Is not God manifested in every one who does His Will?

The length and breadth of the intellectual atheism prevalent at this day is perfectly astounding, and is by no means limited to professed secularists. Question, for instance, one of those Parsons, who has avowed in all the state and solemnity of the ordination service, that he "has been truly called according to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ," and there is every likelihood that he will fritter away his profession into a "mere form." Ask him in the broad daylight of common-sense, "Do you think God has sent you to your parish to read sermons as truly as He ever sent Moses and Samuel to Israel?" and you will probably be put

off with, "I fear not; but I hope, I humbly trust——" and similar imbecile evasions. He might be further asked, "Do you then believe that since the Bible was finished, God has fallen into a habit of making indistinct calls, so that His servants are left in constant doubt as to whether they are about His business?"—but a thrust like this would probably be parried as profane. Rare indeed is any wise confidence in God. The Divine omnipresence and omnipotence is commonly no more than a melodious confession "from the teeth outwards:" yet in our Creeds, Prayers and Bibles, there is no sanction for this gulf between God and Man. The Catechism puts in every child's mouth these words, "To do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please *God to call me*;" and surely the Church means that the child should believe that God has *called him* as pointedly as He ever called St. Peter or St. Paul; for the Church can never mean that God does some things more and some things less effectually, or that He works carefully and carelessly.

"You say Swedenborg was sent of God—How can you prove it?" is a common observation. I should ask the questioner, "How would you have it proved? By miracles?" Surely not, after the experience we have had of miracles as proofs. Those who so misuse them always, and happily, signally fail. The labour of proof is only doubled by the adroit demand for proof of the transaction of the miracles themselves.

There is, I apprehend, one way and no other whereby Swedenborg's communications can be ratified as Divine.

We know God appointed bread to be eaten, *because* it nourishes the body. Higher or better proof than this of Divine appointment we can neither demand nor imagine. A miracle to attest that bread is sent of God, who dreams of?

In the region of the mind the analogy prevails. The mind is nourished by truth as the body is by bread. Truth is attested Divine through meeting the appetite of the mind, and ministering to its growth, precisely as bread is

verified by its adaptation to the body. Than such congruity between demand and supply, there can be no evidence of Divine appointment which is worth repeating. He who seeks for better will never find it, and he who is content with less will get gorged with wind and poisoned with rubbish.

To this test must Swedenborg's teachings be brought; *à priori* none can tell whether they are Divine. Whether his bread is good or bad, or innutritious as sand or sawdust, or somewhat good and somewhat bad, must be decided by trying. In the matter of truth, quite as much as pudding, the proof is in the eating. Any one who reads Swedenborg, and finds his life nourished and strengthened, may safely shut his ears to vilifiers, who prate concerning a feast of which they know nothing save the names of the dishes.

"Truth may be its own best evidence," says a reader, "but Swedenborg, in describing his Divine Call, does not appear to leave us to the simple force of the truth inherent in his message, but tries to overawe our credence by asseverations of intimacy with God; and I am concerned not with your glosses, but to ascertain precisely Swedenborg's position and meaning."

It is admitted at once that such is the case. Swedenborg was in the habit of parading his Divine Call as a passport to confidence; and yet no man ever more emphatically taught the impossibility of creating belief by external compulsion. He is never tired of saying that Faith is the result of the spontaneous conjunction in the Intellect of the Will with Truth; and that if the Heart has no affinity for Truth, whether by reason of Evil, which hates the Light, or from brutish indifference, Truth in the mouth can be no more than a parrot-like rattle of words, which are denied and forgotten as soon as money, or fame, or other selfish advantage ceases to be the product of their repetition. "The Angels," he writes, "utterly reject the tenet, That the Understanding ought to be kept in subjection to Faith; for they say, 'How can you believe a thing when you do not see whether it is true?' and should any one affirm that

what he advances should nevertheless be believed, they reply, 'Do you think yourself a god, that I am to believe you? Or, that I am mad, that I should believe an assertion in which I do not see any truth? If I must believe, cause me to see.' The dogmatizer is thus constrained to retire. Indeed, the wisdom of the Angels consists solely in this, that they see and comprehend what they think." *

Excellent practice this! Let us apply it not only to Swedenborg himself, but to every authority, papal, protestant, or scientific, saying with the Angels—

"Do you think yourself a god, that I am to believe you? Or, that I am mad, that I should believe an assertion in which I do not see any truth? If I must believe, cause me to see. How can I believe when I do not know whether what you say be true?"

The specialty which Swedenborg attributes to his Divine Call and Mission is a great annoyance to many. Like a miracle, they cannot get it to lie straight under their doctrine of "General Laws by which, Sir, this Universe is governed;" and they feel they must either pronounce him a fanatic, or he will throw their intellectual system into chaos. There is something to be said for and against their perplexity.

The notion of special or exceptional Divine Actions is born out of human narrowness and weakness. Finite and imperfect Man does some things well and many ill; and on every side he is girt about with a few possibilities mingled with an infinity of impossibilities. He lays out his strength here and there and withdraws it here and there; of some things he is careful, of some careless, of some careful at one time and careless at another. This, our weakness and changefulness, we impute to God, whom yet we verbally confess Infinite and Almighty, with neither variableness nor shadow of turning.

This Anthropomorphism, this tendency to think of God as a Powerful Man, elevated and glorious, but labouring under some of our own difficulties and limitations, is perhaps instinctive, and not entirely avoidable by any of us. The

* *Doctrine of Faith*, No. 4.

Earth cannot but appear flat, and the centre of the Solar System ; but when we reason, we correct the inevitable appearance by our better knowledge, and remember that it is a ball swimming round the sun. The transfer from ourselves to God of intermittent and irregular energy is nullified by Science, which brings no fact into more vivid prominence than the infinity, the omnipresence, and the equality of the Divine Skill and Care. Nothing in His Handiwork is slurred: there is the same perfection in the wing of a fly as in the eye of a Newton.

A man, who is usually styled a Philosopher, fancies he sees a routine in the Universe, and thereon infers that its order is fixed and self-regulative. An anthropomorphic illusion besets him. Having conceived the idea of a universal Creator and Governor, the Philosopher instinctively tries to imagine how He manages His Universe ; and thinking how he himself would deal with vast and intricate affairs, he sympathetically concludes that God conducts His infinite business on the rough and by averages. It is true the Preacher speaks of the Divine Hand as manifest in the least things as in the greatest ; or rather, that to the Infinite there is nothing little and nothing great ; but out of the pulpit it is quite likely the Preacher himself would be shocked to hear his words taken seriously, and literally applied to the shabby events of ordinary life. It so happens that in these days the Pious accept all the Philosophic have to say on the method of the Divine Government, with the reservation, that God frequently broke through His settled routine in the Bible Ages, but rarely in these centuries, and never to the extent of a biblical miracle. Habitually, the Pious assert, we live under an average Providence which now and then opens and gives place to a special effort of the Divine Care ; as, for instance, when a saintly person is delivered from sudden death by fire, or shipwreck, or from some other serious and unusual mischance. Sober Piety however considers it enthusiastic, if not dangerous, to trust too far or speak too much of these special interpositions of the Divine Hand. Thus Philosophy and Piety conspire to eliminate God from His Universe ; to turn His Name into

an inscription, and to place in His Throne a figment styled General Law.

The notion of "general self-regulating laws," under which the Universe and the Beings therein were created, and by which they gender and subsist, is a mere hallucination. If there were any sameness in the Universe, if any two things or any two events were precisely alike, we might suppose that one of them was the result of design, and that the other was its mechanical or thoughtless repetition. We know however, that there are no two things perfectly alike; no two worlds, no two men, no two events, no two atoms; in all there is a difference, wide or narrow, but still a difference. Besides, not only are no two things ever alike, but all things are for ever in a state of mutation or of growth. There is no routine in the Universe, but change, change everywhere. All is new under the Sun; at no instant is Nature the same as at the previous instant. The truth therefore stands, that for every existence there must have been a special design and a special creation, and that over it there must be a special and instantaneous energy and providence. He who once lays hold on these great facts will disregard for ever as mere drivel, all talk about a general alternating with a special Providence.

Swedenborg's testimony on this head is clear and decisive. He writes—

"In Creation nothing lives but God alone; nothing moves but by life from Him; nothing exists but by the Sun from Him: thus it is a truth, that in God we live, and move, and are.

"All things, and each of them, down to the very uttermosts of Nature, exist and subsist instantly from God. If the connection of anything with Him were broken for a moment it would instantly vanish; for existence is perpetual subsistence, and preservation perpetual creation.

"Were not God continually present in the Human Mind, in all its parts and at every moment, it would be dissolved like a bubble in the air; and both spheres of the Brain, wherein the Mind exerts its operations, would melt away like froth, and leave the Body in dust or smoke.

"To talk of the Lord's Providence as universal, and to separate it from particulars, is like talking of a whole in which there are no parts, or of something in which there is nothing. Consequently it is as false as stupid to say, that the Lord's Providence is universal and not in the minutest particulars: for to provide and rule in the universal and not at the same time in particulars is not to rule at all. This is philosophically true, yet, strange to say, philosophers, and even the more sublime of them, conceive and think otherwise." *

Thus Swedenborg disallows all gradations in the Divine Providence. We have but to use our eyes in order to agree with him. Our vain distinctions are nothing to God: He heals the wound of a dog with a skill and tenderness as perfect as He gives to a man.

If I say Swedenborg was an extraordinary man, no one objects; if I say a special and wonderful work was done in his creation, I instantly give wide offence; yet there is really no difference whatever between the statements. Swedenborg was an extraordinary man; God made him; therefore an extraordinary or special work was done in his creation. Who can question the assertion?

The same might be said of Plato, or Paul, or Shakspeare, or of any man; for in the meanest there is a difference, and that difference is a specialty—a faculty for some piece of work in which its owner can have no competitor. God is the Love, the Wisdom, and the Strength alike of the least as of the greatest; for, as Swedenborg says—

"God is ever and everywhere the Same."

"It appears as if the Divine [*i.e.*, God] were not the same in one man as in another; that He is different in the Wise Man and in the Simple, in the Old Man and the Infant; but this is a fallacy from appearance. Man is different, but the Divine in him is not different. Man is a recipient, and as a recipient is various. A Wise Man is more adequately, and therefore more fully, a recipient of the Divine Love and

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 301, *Arcana Cælestia*, Nos. 1919 and 4523, and *True Christian Religion*, No. 30.

Wisdom than a Simple Man; and an Old Man who is wise, than an Infant and a Boy. Nevertheless, the Divine is the same in the one as in the other. In like manner it is a fallacy from appearance, that the Divine is various in Angels and Men, because Angels are in wisdom ineffable, and Men not so. The variety is in the receivers, and not in the Lord."*

Swedenborg therefore advances no claim of nearness to God, which he does not concede to every creature; the difference between himself and others lay in his open and pious recognition of the universal relationship to which the majority of mankind, drunken with the "lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," are insensible. There is no reason why any of us in the righteous fulfilment of our duties might not say—I do this or that under Divine direction; or advised by conscience say—God has told me so and so; or commend a piece of advice as—God's message to you by me. In this way, says Swedenborg, the men of the Silver Age spoke—

"In the Ancient Church when any one had it suggested to him by conscience, or by inward dictate, or by the Word, that a thing was so, the form of speech employed was—Jehovah said."†

Thus, aided by himself, do I interpret his Divine Mission. Glad I am to have his accordant testimony; for persistent and inflexible must ever be resistance to any pretence to private and exclusive Divine intercourse. God's dealings are as intimate with Gladstone as with Abraham, with Disraeli as with Jacob, with John Bright as with Moses. To no renowned Prophet has God been nearer than He is to any of us. All that is wanting is our recognition of the fact. He has said, "Behold I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come into him, and will sup with him, and he with me." It is vain to try to fritter away this promise. It stands for ever as a sure warrant to every Christian, that he may enjoy his Lord's presence as veritably and as utterly as ever did priest or saint from Adam in Eden to John in Patmos. Certain I am, with Henry James, that "no higher service can be done the

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 78. † *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1410.

Human Mind at this day than to secularize the idea of the Divine Life in Man, or divest it of its theologic swaddling clothes." *

Swedenborg's frequent assertion, that the Lord had manifested Himself before him in Person, is often adduced as the final touch of his fanaticism; but when we ascertain the terms of his meaning, much of its strangeness disappears.

The declaration of John, that "No man hath seen God at any time," and of Jehovah to Moses, "Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live," he loyally accepts and abundantly confirms, saying—

"No Man or Angel can approach the Father and immediately worship Him, for He is invisible, and being invisible, can neither be thought of nor loved.

"God is Infinite, and the Human Mind cannot discover what is the quality of the Infinite. We can only define it as the Infinite All, and that it subsists in itself, and is thereby the very and the one only Substance; and since nothing is predicable of a substance, unless it be a form, that the Infinite is also the very and the one only Form.

"It is vain then to desire to know God in His Esse or in His Substance. It is enough to acknowledge Him from things Finite, that is, from things created, in which He infinitely is. The man who seeks to know more of God than this may be compared to a fish out of water, or a bird gasping for breath under the receiver of an air-pump." †

These passages should satisfy even metaphysicians. Now comes the question, If none can see God, how does Swedenborg explain His manifestation to himself? Thus—

"Though God, inasmuch as He is Infinite, transcends finite apprehension, He conjoins Himself with Humanity through finite appearances. He is seen by the Angels as the Sun of Heaven, the source of their heat and light. Ever apparent to their eyes as a Sun, yet when they think interiorly, they do not think of God otherwise than in them-

* *Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism*, p. 68.

† *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 114 and 1341, and *True Christian Religion*, No. 28.

selves. Let not any one cherish the error, that the Lord is among the Angels as a king is in his kingdom. To *appearance* He is in the Sun above them, but as to reality He is in them." *

Another appearance He assumes in Heaven; thus—

"The Lord sometimes presents Himself to the sight of the Angels out of the Sun. He veils Himself by means of an Angel; He possesses the Angel, lays asleep the Angel's selfhood, and inspires him so perfectly with His Spirit, that the Angel knows no other than that he is the Lord, and speaks and is listened to accordingly. When the Angel has fulfilled his mission, he returns to his ordinary state and speaks and acts from himself." †

Whilst the Scriptures affirm, that no man has seen or can see Jehovah, they contain at the same time frequent relations of His appearance. By the Divine possession of an Angel, Swedenborg explains all these appearances, and reconciles statements apparently contradictory. He writes—

"The Lord appeared as a Man and talked face to face with the members of the Most Ancient Church. In like manner He was seen by Abraham, Hagar, Lot, Gideon, Joshua, the Prophets, and others. They did not see Jehovah, but Angels who were filled with His presence, who spoke from His inspiration, and who therefore called themselves Jehovah." ‡

He places his own experience on the same ground as the Angels and Prophets, saying—

"Several years ago [writing in 1764] the Lord was revealed to me, and He has continually since appeared before my eyes as the Sun in which He is, even as He appears to the Angels.

"They were Angels who appeared to the Prophets, and spoke in the name of the Lord. This, it has been given to me to know by much experience of a similar kind, at this day, in the other life.

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 8760, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 130, and *Divine Providence*, No. 31.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 1745, and 1925, and *Divine Providence*, No. 96.

‡ *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 49, 125, 1341, 1573, and 1894.

"Those who saw Jehovah as recorded in the Word were girt about and protected from the overpowering glory of the Divine Presence by a column of Spirits. In the same way the Lord has oftentimes been seen by me."*

Thus we shall see the Lord, if at death we find ourselves among the Angels; and so we should see Him even now were our inner eyes opened. Then too on Earth Swedenborg teaches us to see and hear the Lord, saying—

"Man has always the Lord before his eyes if he be loving and wise.

"The Lord speaks with every Man; for whatever he wills that is good, or thinks that is true, is from Him. . . . No one can possibly think anything good and true except from Him.

"The Lord is present with Man when he loves his neighbour; for the Lord is love, and in so far as a Man loves, the Lord is present with him; and in the degree in which the Lord is present He speaks with Man, and the Man partakes of His life."†

So likewise even here, we may at times have seen the Lord possess a good man, as Swedenborg tells us he has seen Him possess an Angel. In some sacred hour when "filled with the Holy Ghost," his face has become as Stephen's, as though "it had been the face of an Angel," we observe a light in his eyes hitherto unseen, a sound in his voice hitherto unheard, a passion and an unction in his eloquence heretofore unknown. When the afflatus has departed he feels that he has been other than himself, that a glory not his own has been round his brows, and that words such as he never conceived have been gliding over his lips. After such an experience, reverently, may we not say?—We have seen and heard the Lord in His servant.

Lastly we come to Swedenborg's statement, that through his writings Jesus Christ made His second advent for the institution of the New Church signified by the New

* *Divine Providence*, No. 135, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 131, and *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 78.

† *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 137, *Arcana Coelestia*, Nos. 904 and 2253 *et passim*.

Jerusalem in the Revelation. It will be remembered that Brockmer reported that Swedenborg said to him, "he was Messiah, and was come to be crucified for the Jews," and when he afterwards met him, "he would never leave the tenet that he was Messiah." No assertion that he was Messiah can I find in any of his writings; it may be that he left off the use of that title when he emerged from the phantastic state described in the Diary of 1744; nevertheless his assertion "that since the Lord cannot manifest Himself in person, it follows that He will effect His promise by the instrumentality of a Man," may fairly be held as its equivalent, when we consider that he maintained he was that instrument.

For myself I am very tolerant of such pretensions, with the proviso, that they are in no sense final or exclusive. If Christ be Truth, and we discover Truth in Swedenborg's books, Christ makes His advent to us in them. Nevertheless he lays an illicit emphasis on his service; for if, as he himself testifies, whoever wills what is good or thinks what is true, receives and reveals the Lord, why should he try to mark off as unique what is happily so frequent and familiar? By these pretensions, totally inconsistent with his philosophy, he brings an air of *charlatanerie* about himself which is highly offensive to sincere minds.

This dissertation may have exceeded due bounds and the reader's patience, but I think it will simplify and quicken future business. Henceforth I shall write of Swedenborg's intercourse with the Spiritual World just as if I were writing of his travels in France or Holland.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SPIRITUAL DIARY.

THERE are no signs in Swedenborg's *Adversaria* of the continuance of the incoherent moods displayed in his Diary of 1744. He writes of his temptations—

"The Children of Israel underwent temptations, but they all yielded. It is God Messiah who alone sustains Man and conquers for him in temptation, as I have manifestly experienced. . . I was clearly permitted to see that I should yield of myself, and that no one can withstand the least temptation except by God Messiah's aid.

"Concerning the attempts of the Devil or Evil Spirits.

"I can attest that they are so dreadful and horrible as to be indescribable. The Devil's most deceitful machinations are unutterable, yea inconceivable; for there is nothing bad in Man which he does not stir up to mischief. Wherefore unless the Lord mercifully protected Man, he would plunge headlong into damnation. These direful attempts of Evil Spirits, which I have often experienced, are rather to be consigned to oblivion than published. By them I have learnt, that unless the Lord had been essentially present, I could not have held out a single moment, but must inevitably have gone to perdition." *

In the autumn of 1747, Swedenborg sailed from Gottenborg for London. In the course of the voyage his ship stopped at Oresound, and the Swedish Consul, M. Kryger, asked him to dinner with some of the chief people of the town. At table the Consul broke silence by asking Swedenborg whether he had seen Christian VI., of Denmark, who had died last year. He replied, he had, and when he saw him for the first time, he was accompanied by a certain Bishop, who humbly begged his pardon for many errors into which he had led him by his counsels. A son of the Bishop was at the table, and the Consul, fearing that something yet more awkward might be said, interrupted him, saying, "Sir, this gentleman is the Bishop's son."—"It may be," said Swedenborg, "but what I have told you is true." †

In London he commenced a Spiritual Diary, which, with intermittent assiduity, he kept for seventeen years; its

* *Adversaria*, Nos. 7508-9 and 7529.

† Related by General Tuxen, Danish Commissioner of War at Elsinore. We owe several anecdotes of Swedenborg to Tuxen, and shall encounter him in our narrative in due course.

final date is 3rd December, 1764. Into oblong folios, such as are used in counting-houses, he entered what other-world experiences he cared to preserve, numbering, and sometimes dating, the paragraphs. Passages he occasionally transferred to his published works, and these he drew his pen across, just as some book-keepers do when they post entries from the day-book in the ledger.*

Diaries are not to be read through: they are in their nature fragmentary; and the mind requires continuity of events or argument to be continuously interested. It is pleasant to dip into Pepys's Diary, but to commence one of the volumes and read to the end would be as wearisome as the desultory mode is agreeable. The same is true of Swedenborg's Diary, with additional force from the fact, that the pieces with any life in them are sundered by wide tracts of wordy barrenness, which it is hardly possible for the steadiest reader to trudge through. The Diary is moreover a gloomy register: its themes are chiefly unhappy, consisting of interviews with souls under monstrous delusions or terrible sufferings. The references to this World are few and far between. Its characters and scenery belong almost entirely to the World of Spirits, "a place or state between Heaven and Hell into which man enters immediately after death"—in a word, Purgatory.

The present Chapter is composed of a series of extracts from the Diary, selected for their personal interest, connected with the period we have reached—London, 1747-49.

How Spirits tormented him.

"Sept., 1747.—From experience I have learnt that Evil Spirits cannot desist from tormenting. By their presence they have inflicted pains upon different parts of my body; upon my feet, so that I could scarcely walk; upon the dorsal nerves, so that I could scarcely stand; and upon parts of my head with such pertinacity, that the pains lasted for some hours."

* Dr. Tafel printed the Spiritual Diary from Swedenborg's manuscripts, in twelve volumes, some thick and some thin, between 1844 and 1859. A list of the volumes will be found in the Appendix.

Worldly Cares shut Heaven.

"5th Dec., 1747.—When I have been walking in Heaven, and let worldly matters vex me, instantly Heaven has disappeared.

"4th March, 1748.—My mind has been withdrawn from corporeal things for thirty-three months, during which time I have been in society with Spirits even as with men, whereat the Spirits wonder. Yet when I get absorbed in secular affairs (as to-day when I wrote a letter about necessary expenses) Spirits cannot speak with me; they are as if absent.

"21st Oct.—As often as I have thought of my garden, of him who has charge of it, of the character of those in my house, of my being summoned home, of money matters, of new clothes, of the opinions of my friends, of my writings, and especially of their reception by the world, and of the probability that they will not be understood, and have been held in such cares for some time, Evil Spirits throw in malignant suggestions, and aggravate and confirm my anxiety.

"Therefore the Lord commands us to take no thought for the morrow, that He may save us from useless cares and insanity."

Misers and Mice.

"24th. Dec., 1747.—Those who love money as an end, dwell in cells and hide their treasure therein. The cells are infested with large mice, big as mountain rats, which tease them until they are cured of their lust."

Book Worms.

"Some love reading, and cram their memories for the sake of a learned reputation. When they become Spirits they dwell in subterranean places, where they study by the light of candles which are frequently snuffed out. They are also infested with mice and other vermin until they desist from their folly."

Beggars after Death.

"30th Dec.—They who have been long accustomed to begging and have acquired pleasure therein so as to dislike a life of useful labour, appear naked, or covered with filthy rags so botched together as scarcely to hide the skin. They beg alms of everybody they meet, employing one with a small dish to receive it. I heard from them that it is true, what is said of beggars, that they desire nothing but money, despising garments and food; that they live impiously among themselves—in quarrels, abhorring work, and sometimes surfeiting in every luxury. They have a kind of government which they desire to be kept secret."

Directed by an Angel.

"5th Jan., 1748.—An Angel directed what I wrote to-day, and in such a way that I could perceive there is not the least thing outside God Messiah's care."

Conspiracy to suffocate him.

"8th. Jan.—It was stated when I was going to sleep, that certain Spirits were conspiring to kill me: fearing nothing, I fell asleep. About the middle of the night I woke and felt I did not breathe from myself, but, as I believed, from Heaven. It was then plainly told me that whole hosts of Spirits had conspired for my suffocation, but as soon as they made the attempt, a heavenly respiration was opened in me and they were defeated."

Tempted to Steal.

"11th Jan.—Spirits often wish me to steal things of small value, such as are exposed in shops: so strong is their desire that they actually move my hand.

"6th Feb.—I ascertained that these Spirits had been trades-people who defrauded their customers and thought it allowable. Some had been celebrated merchants, whereat I wondered. They wander about searching for things to steal: they are punished with stripes wherever detected.

“When they were with me, as soon as I saw anything in shops, or pieces of money, or the like, their cupidity was manifest; for, thinking themselves to be me, they urged me to put forth my hand and steal, quite contrary to my habit.”

How Spirits might possess Man.

“26th Jan., 1748.—Spirits, if permitted, could possess those who converse with them so utterly, that they would be as if incarnated: they could speak and even write through their medium: they have sometimes, indeed often, directed my hand when writing, as if it was quite their own.”

A Spirit claims his Work.

“19th March.—A Spirit thanked me when I had finished writing, for having assisted him. I was aware he thought himself to be me, as is often the case. He told others what he had written, but said he was not sure whether he had copied it with his own hand.”

Metaphysics.

“30th Jan., 1748.—Coming home to-day, I was sad. My melancholy was induced by a troubled Spirit who told me he had reckoned himself among the most famous of men. He had devoted himself to Metaphysics, and now discovering what worthless phantasies they were, and how they had hidden divine truth from his eyes, he called them filth, and was full of sorrow.

“This Spirit is now with me, sees me writing and directs me.

“18th Feb.—Philosophical studies for some thousands of years have consisted wholly in terms and syllogisms—in discussions as to what are accidents, what is form, what are modes, and the like. These disputes, as they are entirely verbal, ruin the mind: those who indulge in them learn a language, not for the sake of expressing ideas, but for mere talk. Such studies thoroughly stupefy those who are given up to them: in true intelligence they are far beneath rustics and the vulgar.”

Frequent are similar remarks on Metaphysicians. He

knew of what he wrote, for, had he not been delivered from Wolf and his dreary crew? In his *Adversaria* on Isaiah occurs this pithy bit of opinion—

“The more any one is versed in Philosophy, the more his blindness and darkness: the blindness increases with the Philosophy, as might be proved by many examples.”

Spirits affect Taste.

“*Feb.*, 1748.—It has sometimes, yea rather often happened, that pleasant flavours have been changed in my mouth to nasty. Twice, if I mistake not, sugar has tasted like salt. . . These changes are induced by Spirits.

“*3rd March.*—Spiritual Angels dislike butter, as I learnt from experience. I am fond of butter, yet for some months I did not desire any: during the time I was associated with Spiritual Angels: when I tasted butter, I found none of the pleasant flavour it once had.

“That the Spiritual Angels caused this aversion was plain from the fact, that when a Celestial Angel was with me, and I was impelled to eat some good butter, the Spiritual Angels caused an odour of butter to rise from my mouth to my nostrils by way of reproach.*

“Still however they are much delighted with milk, and when I partook of some, the relish was more grateful than I can describe. Milk belongs to the Spiritual as butter does to the Celestial Angels—not that they delight therein as food, but in their correspondence.”

This, and much else of similar import in the Diary may appear ineffably absurd, but any contempt will be no more than a sign of so much ignorance—something like the guffaw of a boor who sees a naturalist dredging a duck-pond for specimens. One of the first postulates of Swedenborg’s spiritual system is the connection of Spirit with Matter. He holds that the World of Spirit is the Soul of the World of Matter; that there is nothing *seen* which has not its life and cause in the unseen—butter and milk included; in a

* Swedenborg divides all Angels into two orders—Celestial and Spiritual: the Celestial are Angels of Love or Will; the Spiritual are Angels of Truth or Intellect.

word, that there is nothing in Nature which has not relation to something in the universal Human Mind. The individual Mind, he goes on to teach, finds its comfort and satisfaction in being surrounded with such visible things as are in harmony with its special and peculiar character. Thus a good man finds his home in the order and beauty of Heaven, and a bad man in the disorder and ugliness of Hell. Thus the Spirits who were with Swedenborg desired to bring everything about him, all that he did and ate and wore, into correspondence with their own character. Hence the difference over the butter and the milk. The mystery of our own varying likes and dislikes is accounted for in the same way—by our association with various orders of Spirits.

We have here another instance of the same order—

White Garments.

“14th March, 1748.—There are amongst Spirits many who love white vestments, and indeed so passionately, that they incited me during several weeks to buy such vestments.”

Pious Fiends.

It is sometimes a puzzle to the honest, why the wicked should be pious; that brigands should be sedulous in their devotions, that fraudulent bankers should be faithful to Exeter Hall, and that unquestionable sanctimony should characterize creatures otherwise lascivious, deceitful, and venomous. It is often hastily concluded that such piety is insincere, but there is no fair reason to think so. Phrenology clearly shows, that the faculty of veneration may co-exist with the most depraved moral organization. Here is an illustration—

“18th March, 1748.—Certain Spirits are sometimes allowed to pray with me. Whilst thus engaged, I have seen Spirits who burned for revenge, praying with earnestness and devotion, as if from good faith; nor could I perceive that there was anything of simulation therein, whereat I wondered.”

Spirits relate things wholly false, and lie.

"20th March, 1748.—When Spirits begin to speak with Man, care should be taken not to believe them, for almost everything they say is made up by them, and they lie. If it were permitted them to relate what Heaven is, and how things are in Heaven, they would tell so many falsehoods, and with such strong assertion, that Man would be astonished. Wherefore I was not allowed, when such Spirits were speaking, to believe anything they said. They love to feign. Whatever may be the topic discussed, they think they know all about it; they form different opinions concerning it, and conduct themselves altogether as if they were perfectly informed; and if a Man listens and believes, they insist, and in various ways deceive and seduce him."

Hebrew Scholars.

"13th May, 1748.—Certain Spirits were with me who had given much time and labour, not to the sense of words, but to words themselves, and to the art of criticism; some also had laboured in translating the Sacred Scriptures. Whilst they were present, I declare, that all things whatsoever, written or thought, were rendered so obscure and confused that I could scarcely understand anything; yea, my understanding was kept as it were in a prison, because they directed all thought to words, abstracting the mind from their sense, so that they wearied me exceedingly, even to indignation. Moreover they imagined themselves wiser than others, when in true intelligence they are inferior to rustics and children.

"22nd May.—It was frequently shown me that critics, Hebrew scholars, compilers of lexicons, and translators of Moses and the Prophets have comprehended less than the unlettered; for the study of words tends to divert the mind from their meaning. They get into their head some notion of a word and its letters, and to that notion they sacrifice the spirit of the sentence. This has been demonstrated to me by a lively experience."

Spirits associate with Places and Dress.

"17th Oct., 1748.—I observe that whenever I hear of anything without seeing it, I attach thereto an idea of place. This idea is of course a fiction, the event having occurred in a place quite unlike that which I imagine. I also observe that when I am for some time in one chamber, so that it becomes familiar to me, I am better able to master my ideas there than elsewhere. Thus yesterday, having removed to the adjoining room where I was accustomed to write, a kind of tranquillity ensued among the Spirits around me, whereat I wondered. Spirits desire to have their ideas connected with place, and thus rendered determinate. . . . The reason is, that an idea is not fixed or finited without space, or, which is the same thing, without structure. Spirits draw back the foot when thinking of places, which is a sign that material things serve as fulcra for their thoughts.

"18th Oct.—Upon going into the adjoining chamber, it seemed as if a solitude had been created, and that the Spirits had left me. They remained in the next room with my books and other things which they had seen. Hence it may be inferred, that the ideas of Spirits find their bases in books, utensils, light, fire, &c. When I left these, my connection with them was broken, and a sense of solitude was induced.

"The case was the same when I put on a garment different from that which I had worn for several months. I then seemed to the Spirits so much like another person, that they scarcely knew me.

"28th Oct.—You will previously have seen, that when I moved into another chamber the Spirits were immediately estranged, not knowing where they were; and that a change in my clothes produced the same effect—a striking proof that Spirits ground their ideas in material things.

"There are Spirits who use my books (which are four, wherein I am writing this journal) for this purpose. Some prefer one book, some another."

Boys Fighting.

"20th Oct., 1748.—Seeing some boys fighting, I felt a very high degree of delight flowing in from certain Spirits; whence it is plain how much they love enmities. I discern the character of Spirits at once by the feelings they insinuate. I do not, as people generally do, credit myself with whatever enters my mind."

He is the happiest of Men.

"20th Oct.—Some think that those who are in Faith should abandon all the delights of life and pleasures of the body: but this I can assert, that delights and pleasures have never been denied to me; for I have been permitted to enjoy not only the pleasures of the body and the senses like others, but I have also had such delights and felicities of life as I believe no person in the whole world ever before enjoyed. My delights and felicities have been greater and more exquisite than any one can conceive."

Spirits plot against him in London streets.

"2nd Nov., 1748.—Evil Spirits wished to cast me under the wheels of carriages in the street. To-day I noticed particularly their constant endeavour to do so; and was enabled to perceive that such mischief is their passion."

Sirens.

"4th Nov.—There are Sirens who wish above all things to be incarnate. When I eat, they wish to eat. I have been infested with them for several days. They strive to appropriate the almond-cakes, pears and pigeons on which I feed, and to possess my body."

Spirits possess him without hurt.

"13th Nov.—Spirits abide in the minds of Men, but through me they have been enabled to return, as it were, to bodily life. They were able to lead me, to see through my eyes, and to hear through my ears. They might also

have talked and written to others through me, but it was not permitted; neither to touch others through my hands.

“With other persons the case is different. My state is so ordered by the Lord that I can be possessed by Spirits without injury. Others so possessed become *non compos*: I remain altogether in my right mind. Indeed, from the very beginning of my intercourse with Spirits through several years, I have been as I was before, without the slightest observable difference.

“27th Nov.—I had a feeling in shaking hands, that not I, but some one else grasped the hand. A Spirit said he took the hand. Hence it seems a Spirit had possession of my hand with its sense of touch.”

Advised to suppress his Revelations.

“9th Dec., 1748.—There are Spirits who are averse to anything being said about the things revealed to me. It was replied, that these revelations were instead of miracles, and without them men would not know the nature of my work, nor buy it, nor read it, nor understand it, nor be affected by it, nor believe it; in a word, they would remain in ignorance and would wish to hear nothing of the interiors of the Word, which they regard as vain phantasies. Such as are simply men of learning will for the most part reject my revelations.”

Dreams from the World of Spirits.

“6th April, 1749.—I dreamt during the night, and spoke with Spirits on waking, who said they had been watching around me, and had induced the dream and expressly caused everything. Hence it is still more manifest to me that dreams are from the World of Spirits.”

Evil tends to extinction.

“13th April.—From the universal order of Heaven and Hell it appears, that evil punishes itself and tends to its own abolition. Such is the Divine Law in the permission of Evil. It is also a universal Law, that Love

shall reward itself. Thus it fares with every one just as he wills to others."

A comfortable conclusion.

"21st April, 1749.—I have now been for four years in such a state, that I have neither thought nor spoken anything from myself. I seem to be myself in thinking and speaking, yet on inquiry others are instantly found who have prompted me.

"If anything evil is thought or spoken by me, it proceeds from Evil Spirits: it is not mine.

"If on the other hand I speak truth or do good, it is from the Lord: I have no merit.

"He therefore who believes the case to be as it is, is guiltless of committing sin. Whatever evil he seems to himself to do (knowing that Evil Spirits have persuaded him to it) is not appropriated to him."

Hypocrites.

"16th Aug.—The aspect of Hypocrites was shown me. They have no face, but an open throat, black within, and yawning exceedingly, with a few snow-white teeth. They have no cheeks, but a quantity of hair depending like an uncouth mass of wool."

The Lord's Providence.

"15th Sept.—I discoursed largely with Spirits and Angels concerning the Providence of the Lord. . . . Man walks as it were in thick forests, the egress from which he does not know, but when he finds it, he attributes the discovery to himself. Providence in the meanwhile is as one who stands in a tower, sees the wanderings of the man, and leads him without his knowledge to the place of egress."

Prompted to Suicide.

"There was a certain woman (Sara Hesselia) who inwardly cherished such an aversion to her parents that she meditated poisoning them. She took it into her head that I was willing to marry her, and when she found she was

mistaken, she was seized with such hatred, that she thought of killing me, had it been possible. She died not long afterwards.

“Some time before the faculty of conversing with Spirits was opened in me, I was impelled to commit suicide with a knife. The impulse grew so strong that I was forced to hide the knife out of sight in my desk.

“I have now discovered that Sara Hesselia was the Spirit who excited the suicidal impulse as often as I saw the knife. From this it may appear, that men may be unconsciously infested with Spirits who hated them during their life on earth.”

Here we stop. The selections have been made from a surface of fifteen hundred printed pages, and they may give the reader some hint of the extraordinary contents of the Spiritual Diary.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLICATION OF *ARCANA CŒLESTIA*.

WHILST Swedenborg was making these entries in his Diary, he was busily employed on the *Arcana Cœlestia*. The first volume was issued in 1749, and at the rate of a volume a year the work was completed in 1756 in eight quartos. He was upwards of sixty years of age when he thus manifested himself as Divine and Seer. I ought perhaps to use some other word instead of *manifested*, for he studiously preserved the anonymous: not until 1768, after twenty years of active authorship, did he allow his name to appear on any title-page.

The publisher was John Lewis of Paternoster Row. The first volume fell still-born from the press. Swedenborg was in Stockholm, and in his Diary he describes his failure and accounts for it thus—

“In what manner many will receive that which is written by me.

“I have received letters informing me, that not more than four copies have been sold in two months. I communicated this to the Angels. They were surprised, but said it must be left to the Lord’s Providence, which compels no one. . . .

“The state of the Christian World at this day was proved by experiment. Spirits were brought into the state of mind in which they had been during their life on earth. They were then permitted to think about what I have written concerning the Internal Sense of Scripture and the Future Life, and they were like to vomit with disgust.”*

He consulted the Angels as to the number of copies he should print, but found them poor, because pliable, advisers. They merely perceived his evangelical purpose, and if he proposed an edition of five hundred, or ten thousand, they equally approved. Hence he writes—

“4th March, 1748.—I have been taught by manifold experience that Angels and Spirits will sanction counsels as wise and advantageous which are quite the reverse. They only regard the good intention, and can be induced to affirm anything which promises to advance it.”

Among the early readers of the *Arcana Cœlestia* was one Stephen Penny of Dartmouth. Inquisitive about the unknown author, he wrote to Lewis, asking, “Is it Mr. Law?”† Seeing in Penny’s curiosity a good advertisement, Lewis had his letter printed in the *General Advertiser* of 25th Dec., 1749, and appended the announcement—

“This large Latin book is neatly printed in 4to; and sold by Mr. Nourse at the Lamb, opposite Katherine Street in the Strand; Mr. Ware at the Bible on Ludgate Hill; and by John Lewis, printer of the same, as above mentioned: price 6s. unbound.”

The publication of the first volume proving so complete a

* This entry is undated. It was probably made about the beginning of 1750.

† Author of *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. Law was born 1686 and died 1761.

failure some extra effort was requisite. This Swedenborg and Lewis made. They had the second volume translated into English by one John Marchant, hired probably out of Grub Street,* and issued it in numbers at a very cheap rate. In the *General Advertiser*, 23rd Feb., 1750, it was thus announced—

“*This day is published, (Price 8d.)*”

“Both in Latin and English, that the Reader may have it in either Tongue separately,

“The First Number of the *Arcana Cœlestia; or Heavenly Secrets*. Being an exposition of the Bible entirely new, and such as was never attempted before in any language whatsoever. Written in Latin by a Foreign Nobleman.

“ A fuller account may be had gratis of John Lewis, Printer and Publisher in Paternoster Row; Mr. Nourse in the Strand; and Mr. Ware on Ludgate Hill, where the number may be had, as well as at the Pamphlet-shops.”

“The fuller account gratis” is a considerable article, wherein Lewis combines the shopman, the critic, and the believer. “Be it known unto all the Learned and Curious,” he begins, “that this day is published the first number of *Arcana Cœlestia, or Heavenly Secrets, which are in the Sacred Scriptures, or Word of the Lord, laid open; as they are found in the xvi. chapter of Genesis: together with the wonderful things that have been seen in the World of Spirits and in the Heaven of Angels.*”

“Though the Author is undoubtedly a very learned and great man, and his works highly esteemed by the *literati*, yet he is no less distinguished for his modesty than for his great talents, so that he will not suffer his name to be made public. But though I am positively forbid to discover that, yet I hope he will excuse me if I venture to mention his benign and generous qualities . . . I aver that with indefatigable pains and labour he spent one whole year in

* The translation is not a good one; evidently a piece of hack-work. Copies of this English version of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, Vol. II., quarto, London, 1750, are very scarce; only three or four are known to be extant, and are valued at high prices.

studying and writing the first volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, was at the expense of £200 to print it, and also advanced £200 more for the printing of the second volume; and when he had done this, he gave express orders, that all the money that should arise in the sale of this large work should be given towards the charge of the Propagation of the Gospel.* He is so far from desiring to make a gain of his labours, that he will not receive one farthing back of the £400 he has expended; and for that reason his works will come exceedingly cheap to the Public."

Apparently some had complained that the *Arcana* was dark and difficult. Valiantly Lewis meets the objection—

"It is true, when a reader comes to peruse his work, if he expects to understand him with a slight and cursory reading, he will find himself greatly mistaken; his thoughts are too sublime and lofty to be surveyed with a weak or a wanton eye; his language is quite different from the common modes of speech; and his sense is sometimes so deep and profound as not to be readily apprehended by a common understanding. Whoever therefore takes this book in hand and finds passages in it not easily intelligible, let him not throw it by as a thing of no value, nor content himself with a bare perusal; but let him read it over and over again; let him study the drift and design of the Author; and I will answer for it, that the more and oftener he reads, the more instruction and delight he will receive. The Author has a depth which if once fathomed (and it is not unfathomable) will yield the noblest repast to a pious mind. But if any one imagines that I say this to puff a book in the sale of which my interest is so nearly concerned, any gentleman is welcome to peruse it at my shop, and to purchase it or not as his own judgment shall direct him."

* Lewis, I presume, meant the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in London, 1701. Of this Society Bishop Svedberg was elected a member, he being Bishop over the Swedish Churches in England and Pennsylvania. I have examined the Reports of the Society for several years subsequent to 1749, but can find no proceeds entered either under the name of Lewis or Swedenborg from the sale of the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

Nor would Lewis be discouraged by the temporary indifference of the public, for, says he—

“The deepest and most learned, as well as the most valuable pieces, are sometimes misunderstood and rejected for many years, even by learned men themselves; to instance only three performances out of the many that might be produced, *viz.*, Locke *On Human Understanding*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament*. Those who have been conversant with books, especially in the trading way, cannot be ignorant of the difficulties these valuable pieces have met with in making their way into the world.”

Lastly the *Heavenly Secrets* was to be had a bargain, a prodigious bargain—

“Any one of small judgment may guess at the cheapness of the work, when he finds that 640 quarto pages, in Latin, of the first volume, are sold for no more than 6s. unbound. But this second volume, which is now publishing in Latin and English, will be unaccountably cheap, as any one may conclude, even by the postage of the Latin copy from abroad: for the bare postage of this first number cost no less than 12s., and now it is printed, does make 52 quarto pages in the English tongue; and all to be sold for no more than 8d., which is not half the price that such a quantity of paper and print is generally sold for. The postage of the second number came to 18s.; and that of the third amounted to 22s.; and yet these two numbers are to be sold for no more than 9d. each; so that from hence it is easy to imagine how cheap the whole will be, especially when printed in such a grand and pompous manner at so low a price. But it is the generous Author's absolute command that it should be so, who, it is plain, wants neither purse nor spirit to carry on his laudable undertaking.”

It was all in vain. The public would not buy. The English translation and the issue in numbers were discontinued with the completion of the second volume. The *Arcana Cœlestia* had however to be printed, and volume after volume came forth duly until the eighth in 1756.

William Law, some have thought, should have welcomed

Swedenborg's publication. Law's devotion to Jacob Behmen showed at least his openness to peculiar ideas; but beneath certain superficial resemblances the liberal Swede had little in common with the ascetic Englishman. He got the *Arcana Cœlestia*, but he did not relish it. Writing to a friend in London from his retreat, King's Cliff, Northampshire, he says—

“9th April, 1758.

“Pray tell Mr. Ward that I desire him to buy me the 8th volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*: he bought the first seven volumes for me, and so knows the volume that I have not. I shall never go through them, but as I have gone so far in the expense I shall take his last volume.”*

Dr. Arnold has called the eighteenth century the seed-time of Modern Europe. Swedenborg was a sower under its drear sky, and he would fain have been a reaper; but the long years which must needs intervene between sowing and reaping were mercifully hidden from him. As Carlyle says of Frederick the Great, so may we of Swedenborg—

“He lived in a Century which has no history and can have little or none. A Century so opulent in accumulated falsities—sad opulence descending on it by inheritance, always at compound interest, and always largely increased by fresh acquirement on such immensity of standing capital—opulent in that bad way as never Century before was! Which had no longer the consciousness of being false, so false had it grown; and was so steeped in falsity, and impregnated with it to the very bone, that—in fact the measure of the thing was full, and a French Revolution had to end it.”†

The *Arcana Cœlestia* was completed in 1756: in 1757 Oliver Goldsmith was usher in Dr. Milner's school at Peckham. Miss Hester Milner asked him which commentator on the Scriptures he would recommend. Goldsmith answered after a pause, There is no commentator like Common-Sense.

He answered well. We now pass to the *Arcana Cœlestia*,

* Walton's *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of Law*.

† *Frederick the Great*, vol. i., p. 10.

a scriptural commentary: let it be with Common-Sense. The response Swedenborg vainly sought in the Learning of his century, he sometimes found in that ordinary quality. When writing on the Apocalypse, he came to an inn and poured out his thoughts to the good wife, Tisula Bodama. "She was a person," he writes, "of simple-hearted faith. She understood clearly all I said; but there was a learned man present who did not understand, yea, could not understand."*

It would have been for his peace had he accepted this lesson. Instead, as we shall see, he lived to the end hankering after recognition from Scribes and Pharisees, from dignitaries civil and ecclesiastical. No one knew better, theoretically, the reason of the Divine choice of fishermen, in the capacity possessed by simple Common-Sense for the reception of the profoundest spiritual truths—a capacity which scholastic pursuits not unfrequently injures or destroys. He glorified Common-Sense as Common-Perception, saying—

"Tell some truth to one who has Common-Perception, and he will see it. Tell him we are and move in God, and he will see it. Tell him God is Love itself and Wisdom itself, and he will see it. Tell him God dwells as Love and Wisdom in us, and he will see it. Tell him the Will is the habitation of His Love and the Understanding of His Wisdom, and explain a little, and he will see it.

"Say the same things to one of the Learned, who thinks from system and dogma, and he will not see them.

"Consider, then, which is the wiser."†

CHAPTER XV.

ARCANA CŒLESTIA.

EIGHT volumes quarto on Genesis and Exodus have an alarming appearance, but such is the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

* *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5997. † *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 361.

‡ *Arcana Cœlestia quæ in Scriptura Sacra, seu Verbo Domini sunt detecta* :

The purpose of the work is the exposition of the internal or spiritual sense of the sacred text, and sentence by sentence is methodically taken up and each detail assigned to some origin in the Human Mind and thence in God. As is the custom of commentators, Swedenborg breaks into short and long digressions, wherein he deals with a variety of questions in spiritual science. The volumes are further enlarged by copious relations of angelic and diabolic experience. The whole is written diffusely and with preposterous repetitions. The paragraphs are numbered: there are 10,837: some consist of a few lines, others of several pages.

Swedenborg published many works subsequent to the *Arcana Cælestia*, but there is little of value in them which may not be found diffused over its multitudinous pages: indeed several are no more than abstracts and compilations from its abundance. An extensive review of the *Arcana* might therefore serve for a notice of his entire system; but the comfort of the reader will be best provided for, if instead of handling so vast a matter in block, it is broken into fragments by describing his several publications in the order of their appearance, and by confining attention in the present article to the specialty of the *Arcana Cælestia*, namely, its doctrine of Human History, and particularly of Jewish History.

The Book of Genesis from its beginning to the call of Abram, chapters I. to XI., says Swedenborg, was not written by Moses, but is a fragment of an older Scripture: neither are these chapters matter-of-fact history, but compositions, in the form of history, symbolical of things celestial and spiritual. With Abram actual history begins.

“They who do not think beyond the sense of the letter

Hic Primum quæ in Genesi. Una cum Mirabilibus quæ visa sunt in Mundo Spirituum, et in Cælo Angelorum. Pars I., 1749. Pars II., 1750. Pars III., 1751. Pars IV., 1752. Pars V., 1753.

Arcana Cælestia quæ in Scriptura Sacra, seu Verbo Domini sunt detecta: Hic quæ in Exodo, etc. Pars I., 1753. Pars II., 1754. Pars III., 1756.

In all, eight quarto volumes, London, 1749-56.

cannot believe otherwise than that the Creation described in the first and second chapters of Genesis means the Creation of the Universe; and that within six days Heaven and Earth and Sea and all things therein, and Men in the likeness of God, were created: but who cannot see that the Creation of the Universe is not there intended? Common-Sense might teach that the operations described were impossible: as, that there were days and light and darkness, and green herbs and fruitful trees before the appearance of the Sun and Moon. Similar difficulties follow, which are scarcely credited by any one who thinks interiorly: as, that the Woman was built from the rib of the Man; that two trees were set in Paradise, and the fruit of one forbidden to be eaten; that a Serpent discoursed with the Wife of the Man, who was the wisest of Mortals, and deceived them both; and that the universal Human Race was on that account condemned to Hell.

“Nevertheless it is to be noted, that all things in that story even to the smallest iota are Divine, and contain arcana which are manifest to Angels as in clear day.”*

In these eleven allegorical chapters he discovers the history of two Dispensations. The first he designates the Most Ancient Church, and the time of its existence the Golden Age; the second, the Ancient Church, and the time of its existence the Silver Age.

The rise of the Most Ancient Church he finds symbolized in the story of Creation; its culmination, in Adam and Eve in Eden; its decline, in the events following the eating of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; and its destruction, in the Deluge.

The story of the Ancient Church begins with Noah and is continued in his posterity; its ruin is depicted in the erection of the Tower of Babel, the confusion of the tongues of its builders, and their “scattering abroad upon the face of all the earth.”

A third *régime* commences with the call of Abram, at which point the allegorical style of narration is exchanged for the matter-of-fact.

* No. 8891.

THE MOST ANCIENT CHURCH.

The curious description of Creation, in the *Worship and Love of God*, is not repeated in the *Arcana Cœlestia*. The existence of a rudimental Race before Adam is assumed, but in what numbers and for how many ages is not stated; the remark is merely dropped, "that they lived as beasts."*

From this stock the people called Adam were brought forth. The days of Creation signify the stages of the process whereby from an animal ground they were developed into the image and likeness of God.

The Most Ancient Church inhabited the Land of Canaan. Of the years of its continuance and its population he is silent. He describes them as a simple people dwelling in tents—

"It has been told me by the Angels that they were distinguished into Houses, Families and Tribes; a House consisting of the husband and wife with their children and domestic servants; a Family, of a greater or lesser number of Houses; and a Tribe, of a smaller or larger number of Families."†

They had no passion for personal property; no one cared for what he could not use, or sought to hoard what others might. Hence violence and robbery were unknown. Their gentleness extended to animals—

"They never on any account ate the flesh of beast or fowl, but fed solely on grain, especially on bread made of wheat, on fruits and herbs, milk, butter, etc. To kill animals and eat their flesh was to them unlawful, and regarded as something bestial."‡

Wonderful to relate, intercourse was carried on "by innumerable variations of the countenance and the eyes, but chiefly of the lips; for there are in the lips innumerable muscular fibres, which at this day are not brought into play. In this way they were able to communicate their ideas so perfectly, that they could portray in a single minute what now takes an hour to utter in words, and more fully and clearly than is possible by any language.

* No. 286.

† Nos. 470 and 8118.

‡ No. 1002.

“They were utterly averse to assuming looks at variance with their thoughts. As they willed nothing but good, they had no desire to hide from each other their ends and intentions. Simulation, and much more deceit, they considered an atrocious crime; and those who were discovered expressing by the face what was not in the heart were rejected from society as Devils.” *

A curious reason is given for this pantomimic intercourse—“It will perhaps appear incredible, but the man of the Most Ancient Church had *internal respiration*, and none perceptible externally; wherefore he dealt little in words.”

To a mystery of this kind we can only listen—“The nature of the speech of the Most Ancient Church was shown me by a kind of influx I cannot describe. It was not articulate like the speech of our time, but tacit, being produced not by external respiration, but by internal, which proceeded from the navel towards the heart and through the lips without anything sonorous; nor did it enter the ear of another and strike the drum, but by a certain way within the mouth, in fact by the passage called the Eustachian tube.” †

The members of the Most Ancient Church had no written Word. Their inclinations were spontaneously accordant with the Divine Will, and they had therefore no need of external check or guidance. “The law was written in their hearts.” Moreover the Lord appeared to them as a Man, and conversed face to face. He likewise edified them by delightful dreams and visions; and they freely associated with Angels. Their wisdom is by us inconceivable: “It is scarcely possible to acquire at this day a thousandth part of the knowledge they possessed.” They knew and welcomed Truth without hesitation or debate; in the same manner they had an instantaneous perception of Falsehood, which they repelled and abhorred. This keenness of intelligence was the result of the indwelling of the Divine Goodness in their hearts; for Goodness has a sure and invincible affinity for Truth, and as utter a repugnance for Untruth: all Religions in one form or other confess, that the

* Nos. 607, 1118, and 3573.

† No. 1118.

one way to Eternal Light is through righteousness and the one way to Eternal Darkness is through sin.

The interest felt by the Most Ancient Church in the Physical World was measured by its use as the continent and exponent of the inner World of Mind. As an anxious learner disregards the type and words of a book in his passion for ideas, so the Adamites were careless about things seen, save for their symbolism of things unseen. Sir Thomas Browne, referring to Hobbes, observes, "The severe school shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes—that this Visible World is a picture of the Invisible." With the Adamites this was not philosophy but practice; they did not discuss the symbolism of Nature, for they saw through it. Nature was an open book in which they read the Divine Wisdom with equal ease and delight. Wherefore—

"When they gazed on a high Mountain, they were impressed with no idea of a Mountain, but with a sense of height, from which they derived a perception of Heaven and the Lord: hence it came to pass that the Lord was said to dwell on high and was called the Highest, and in later times His worship was solemnized on high places. At Sunrise they had no thought of the new day, but of the Lord's dawning in the Mind: hence He was called the Morning, the East, and the Dayspring. So likewise when they beheld a fruitful Tree, they gave little heed to the Tree, but saw in it the figure of a Man; in the Fruit his Love, and in the Leaves his Faith."*

Thus dwelling in the constant acknowledgment of the Divine Presence, they had no religious ceremonies. The purpose of ritualism is to communicate and revive the knowledge of God, but where His recognition is habitual, rites are useless as candles in sunshine.

Their fall from this happy state began in pride—pride the mother evil of human nature, the source of all our sorrows.

In God's communication of Himself to us He communicates personality, independence, liberty *as sensations*. We are Men because He is Man.

* Nos. 920, 1122, and 1409

Swedenborg under this doctrine presents the Adamites as *knowing* their virtue to be Divine whilst *feeling* it to be their own.

Seduction commenced in the exaltation of sensation over knowledge. *Feeling* independent, they imagined they *were* independent, and in the sweetness of the persuasion ruin was initiated. They denied God and proclaimed themselves deities.

Such, we are taught, is the truth contained in the allegory of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. The serpent which beguiled Eve was sensation; Eve represents desire allured by the promise, "Ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil;" and Adam is the type of the understanding seduced in turn by desire.

Degradation was not sudden. The pantheistic heresy diffused itself from few to many. Under the symbol of the murder of Abel and subsequent events, the story of declension is pursued until the consummation of the Deluge.

Concerning the factitious character of the genealogies between Adam and Noah, we read—

"It was customary with the Most Ancient to cast history into the form of genealogies; for whatever has relation to the Church may be considered in that light, since one faith is conceived and born of another in close analogy with human generation. Hence it is common in the Word to speak of developments in the Church under the figures of conceptions, births, children, sons, daughters, etc."*

Cain, Abel, Enoch, Seth, Enos, Methuselah, and Lamech were not therefore men so named, but certain conditions in the decline of the Church.

The destruction of the degenerate Adamites was a result of derangement in their peculiar respiration—

"It was shown me that the internal respiration, which proceeded from the navel towards the interior region of the breast, retired towards the region of the back and towards the abdomen, thus outwards and downwards. Immediately before the Flood scarce any internal respiration existed. At last it ceased in the breast, and its subjects were suffo-

* Nos. 339 and 3240.

cated. In those who survived external respiration was opened." *

"Under safe guard and conduct," Swedenborg visited the Hells of those who thus perished—

"They are covered with a misty rock (an effect from their direful phantasies and persuasions) whereby they are separated from other Hells and kept out of the World of Spirits. They are always trying to escape, but are withheld, for they overcome those they encounter with a stupor, which leaves them in doubt whether they are dead or alive.

"When I approached the rock under which they are hid, I felt very cold in the lower part of my back. I talked much with them about their persuasions. They said they had thought much about God, and had come to the conclusion that He had no existence, and that they were gods themselves." †

In early days the Adamites preserved their natural relationships beyond the grave—

"Angels have told me that those who lived in the most ancient times, live at this day in the Heavens in separate houses, families, and tribes as they lived on earth, and that scarce one of a house is wanting." ‡

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

The Deluge was not a flood of waters, but the climax of the delusion whereby the serpent seduced Eve and Eve Adam; nor was the havoc universal, but confined to that portion of the race which composed the Most Ancient Church. It is true that in Genesis the Flood is described as "destroying every living thing which was upon the face of the ground, both men and cattle, creeping things and fowl of heaven;" but says Swedenborg, "the Earth does not there mean the whole habitable globe, but only those who were of the Church." §

In the course of the decline of the Most Ancient Church provision was made for the institution of a new Church.

* Nos. 607 and 1120.

† Nos. 311 and 1265.

‡ *Conjugal Love*, No. 205.

§ No. 662.

The Adamites in their prime had no systematic theology; seeing God in Nature and Humanity, they had no need to register truth in documents; but as their instinctive perception of truth became impaired, some attempted to replace immediate revelation by memorials. "The first who thus transferred truth from *perception* to *record* was the generation of Cain; afterwards what Cain collected was reduced to doctrine by Enoch; but as the doctrine was of no use at that time, and was only intended for posterity, therefore it is written, 'Enoch was not, for God took him.'"* By Cain and Enoch a series of Scriptures were provided for the use of the future Church.

These Scriptures are described as forming an Ancient Word consisting of History and Prophecies. The History was called *The Wars of Jehovah*, and the Prophecies *The Enunciations*—

"Concerning this Ancient Word, which existed in Asia before the Israelitish Word, it is worth while to mention, that it is still preserved among the inhabitants of Great Tartary. I have conversed with Spirits and Angels who came from Tartary, and they said they possess a Word, and have possessed it from Ancient Times; that their worship is governed by it, and that it consists of mere correspondences: they said it contains the *Book of Jasher*, the *Wars of Jehovah*, and the *Enunciations*. When I read to them the words quoted from thence by Moses, they examined whether they were extant in their Word, and they found them: from which circumstance it is very clear to me, that the Old Word is still in existence amongst them. In the course of the conversation, they said they worship Jehovah, some as an invisible, and some as a visible God. Moreover they relate that they do not suffer foreigners to come among them, except the Chinese, with whom they cultivate peace, because the Emperor of China is from their country; and further, that they are so populous that they do not believe any country in the world is more so; which is very credible from the wall so many miles long which the Chinese formerly built as a defence against their invasions.

* No. 609.

“Seek for the Ancient Word in China, and peradventure you may find it there among the Tartars.” *

The remnant of the Most Ancient Church which escaped the Deluge conveyed these primeval Scriptures to the outlying world. The character of this remnant was thus represented—

“There appeared to me a narrow confined apartment wherein was presented a tall and slender man in garments of intense whiteness. I wondered who he was till informed, that a man clothed in white signified those who were called Noah, and who were the seed of the Ancient Church—the Church after the Flood. They were thus represented because they were few.” †

By Noah the light of the Church was diffused “far and wide around the land of Canaan” among the Gentiles—the same animal stock out of which the Adamic Church had been created; for, it is to be carefully noted that Adam was only a fraction of the Human Race. Swedenborg lays down the principle, that—

“When a new Church is established by the Lord, it is seldom if ever constituted of those who formed the old Church: it is transferred to the Gentiles.

“Such was the case when the Most Ancient Church perished; the Ancient Church was then raised up among the Gentiles, amongst those who had heretofore been in no Church.” ‡

From the Noachian centre in Canaan the Ancient Church spread over “Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria, Ethiopia, Arabia, Lybia, Egypt, Philisthea, even to Tyre and Sidon, through

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 11; *Sacred Scripture*, No. 101; and *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 2686 and 2894.

He repeats this curious statement in the last work he published, the *True Christian Religion*, in 1772, saying—

“I am at liberty to state that the Ancient Word is still preserved among the people of Great Tartary.

“I have been further informed by the Angels, that the first chapters of Genesis were copied from it by Moses.

“The Angels likewise said, that it is still preserved in Heaven, and is in use among the Ancients there, who read it during their abode on Earth.” No. 279.

† Nos. 788 and 1125.

‡ No. 2896.

the whole land of Canaan, on each side of the Jordan.”* Its area thus greatly exceeded that of the Adamic Church.

The people of the Ancient Church were of a genius altogether diverse from that of the Most Ancient. The peculiarity of Adam was, that his will was the master of his intellect, that his understanding was the passive instrument of his affections. As long as his heart moved in harmony with God’s, his state was perfection, but as soon as pride seduced Adam his destruction became inevitable. When our feelings go astray we are corrected by intelligence, when our heads are at fault our hearts often come to the rescue; but in Adam heart and head were inseparably united, and passed irretrievably to a common perdition.†

To prevent a repetition of this catastrophe, “the Lord ordained that man’s will should be separated from his intellect,” so that henceforth truth received from without by the understanding might effect the redemption of refractory and vicious affections. The Divine promise made after the Deluge, “I will not again curse the ground for man’s sake, neither will I again smite any more every living thing as I have done,” is interpreted by Swedenborg into a consequence of this separation of thought from impulse. In illustration of the present independence of the will and the understanding he cites his own experience—

“Nothing can possibly be more distinct than these two parts. This I was enabled to perceive clearly by the intelligence of Angels and Spirits entering by influx into the left side of the brain, and their will into the right side: the same division extends to the left and right sides of the face. When Good Spirits enter, they flow softly and sweetly like the most refreshing aura; when Evil Spirits enter, they rush as a turbulent flood, their phantasies and direful persuasions passing into the left side of the brain, and their lusts into the right.”‡

The Ancient Church extending over so many kingdoms embraced many races who entertained neither a uniform creed nor practised a uniform ritual. Love to God and Man

* Nos. 1238 and 2385.

† No. 927.

‡ No. 641.

was in their eyes the sum of religion, and differences of opinion and varieties of ceremonial were held as of no account.

“The Doctrine of Charity was the doctrine which prevailed in the Ancient Churches, and that doctrine out of several made one; for they acknowledged as Churchmen all who lived in the good of charity, and called them brethren howsoever they might differ as to truths.

“They instructed each other in the truths of faith, which instruction they reckoned amongst the works of charity; but were not offended if others did not accede to their opinions; for they knew that one can only receive such truth as is in correspondence with his goodness.”*

The inferiority of the Ancient to the Most Ancient Church was in nothing more apparent than in the manner in which they were affected by the External World. To the Most Ancient Church every object revealed its origin proximately in Mind, and essentially in Deity. Of this quick and instinctive perception of causes within appearances the Ancient Church was destitute; but its members were not therefore ignorant or careless of the symbolism of Nature quite the contrary. The Outer World did not indeed discover to them at a glance the secret of its being, but from the traditions collected by Enoch, they learned the relation of the Seen to the Unseen, and their chief intellectual delight was the study of their correspondences.

“The knowledge of correspondences was held in the highest esteem by the Ancients, and was styled the science of sciences. All their treatises were written according to its rules. Job, which was a book of the Ancient Church, is full of correspondences. The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians and the oldest fables of the Greeks are nothing but correspondences set in series. The science of the Ancients was thus wholly different from the later developments of thought called philosophy. Such systems as Aristotle’s were altogether foreign and unknown to the Ancients.†

“The Ancients knew what was signified by animals and trees of every kind, what by mountains and hills, springs and

* No. 6628.

† Nos. 2782, 3021, 4280, 4966, 7729, and 10,355.

rivers, what by the sun, moon, and stars. In accordance with the spirit and purpose of their worship, they resorted to mountains and hills, groves and gardens. For the same reason they consecrated fountains, and turned their faces to the East in prayer. They placed images of horses, oxen, lambs, fishes, and serpents in their streets, houses, and temples, that they might recall to their memories the sacred things they signified.”*

The decline of the Ancient Church began in the growth of self-love over neighbourly love, and of cares and lusts over delight in divine and heavenly things. The process of degradation is summarily related in Genesis under the allegory of the retreat from the East, the settlement in the valley of Shinar, the building of the Tower of Babel with brick and slime, the confusion of tongues and dispersion of the builders. The Babylonish love of power dissolved the brotherhood of the Churches, subordinated the well-being of the many to the pride of a few, transformed peaceful patriarchal communities into aristocracies and monarchies, and finally into gigantic empires for the double purpose of aggression and defence.

With the loss of charity the Churches gradually lost their intelligence; stupidity kept pace with selfishness. Their Scriptures were neglected and then disappeared, and their knowledge of correspondences degenerated into superstition and idolatry, and in the Egyptian Church the science of the connection of the Spiritual with the Natural World was perverted into magic.

“Symbols and images they began to regard as divine and holy, not knowing that their ancestors saw nothing sacred in them. To some they bowed the knee, some they kissed, some they decorated with flowers and ribbons as children do dolls and Papists saints; of some they made household gods, of some tutelar demigods, and of some pythons; some again of small size they carried in their hands; some they hugged in their bosoms, caressed and whispered petitions to. Thus they converted heavenly types into infernal, and the divine things of Heaven and the Church into idols.

* Nos. 4288 and 4904, and *Divine Providence*, No. 255.

"In this manner arose the idolatries which filled the whole earth, as well Asia with its adjacent islands, as Africa and Europe.

"The vastation and consummation of the Ancient Churches are described throughout the Word both in the historic and prophetic parts; the consummation of the Church round about Jordan is described in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; that of the Church of Canaan in the slaughter of the Canaanites by the Israelites; and that of the Church of Egypt by the drowning of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea." *

The Hells of the Ancient Church were visited—"They consist for the most part of Magicians who have huts and homes of entertainment scattered up and down a desert. They wander about with staves of various forms in their hands, some of which are stained with necromantic juices; and continue to exercise the arts they practised on earth by the abuse of correspondences. By phantasies, by persuasive assurances which produce miraculous faith and works, and also by exorcism, incantation, fascination and sorcery, and several other infernal contrivances, they manage to present illusory appearances as if they were real. Their greatest delight is to utter prophecies and prognostications, and to be resorted to as Familiar Spirits. These Satans have been the origin of various enthusiasms in the Christian World." †

THE JEWISH CHURCH.

Abraham came from a degenerate stock of the Ancient Church called Heber, who worshipped God Schaddai and practised animal sacrifice (a practice unknown to the wiser Ancients), regarding burnt offerings as the holiest of rites. The immediate ancestors of Abraham were idolaters, as is apparent from the farewell speech of Joshua to Israel—"Thus saith Jehovah God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood [Jordan] in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they

* *Coronis*, Nos. 41 and 43, and *Divine Providence*, No. 255.

† Nos. 6692 and 9193, and *Coronis*, No. 41 to 45.

served other gods. Now therefore, fear Jehovah and serve Him in sincerity and in truth; *and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt, and serve ye Jehovah.*" Abraham was led into Canaan and introduced to the worship of one God, not as Jehovah, but as Schaddai; for, as related in Exodus, "God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as God Schaddai, but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them."

The Jewish Church began in Abraham, but its superficial life was extinguished during the captivity in Egypt when the Israelites shared in the idolatry of the Egyptians. By Moses they were taught the name of Jehovah, and initiated into a complex ceremonial life. Swedenborg accepts the Bible narrative from Abraham literally, raising no questions as to its matter-of-fact accuracy, while asserting that every letter and iota is alive with spiritual and divine meaning. Nevertheless where he feels a difficulty he is seldom at a loss for an explanation, and had he had a Bishop Colenso to answer, there is no saying what concessions he might have made; for instance, in the case of the ass expostulating with Balaam, he writes—

"It sounded in the ears of Balaam as if the ass spoke to him; notwithstanding the ass did not speak, but the speech was heard as if proceeding from her. This I have ascertained by lively experience: it has been given me to hear horses speaking, but the speech was not from them, but as if it were from them."*

Again Joshua's command, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon," he gets over thus—

"It appears as historical, but it is prophetic. It is a quotation from the book of Jasher, which consisted of prophecy. Had the miracle been actually accomplished, the whole order of Nature would have been inverted, which is not the case with the rest of the miracles recorded in the Word."†

* *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 140.

† *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 53, and *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 401.

The retreat of the shadow ten degrees backward on the dial of Ahaz must have escaped his memory.

The miracles wrought by the Egyptian sorcerers in rivalry with Moses, are admitted to have been real prodigies effected by abuse of the ancient science of correspondences. Magic was carried to great perfection in Egypt. The deepest magical Hells are formed of Egyptians.

Jacob was the father of the Jews, and in Jacob's character Swedenborg finds the type of his posterity. In his vow at Bethel, "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, *then* shall Jehovah be my God, and of all that He shall give me I will surely give the tenth unto Him"—he discovers the mercenary piety of the whole Jewish race. In the subsequent history of Israel he sees nothing but selfish Jacob over and over again; and throughout the *Arcana Cœlestia* he pursues the Jews with one whip of epithets as the basest of mankind.

Their Worship of Jehovah.

"The Israelites were kept some hundreds of years in Egypt where they were reduced to such ignorance that they lost the knowledge of the very name of Jehovah.

"When they did acknowledge Jehovah it was no otherwise than as another god by whom they might be distinguished from the Gentiles and enjoy pre-eminence over surrounding nations. More than the Gentiles, they believed in many gods, but considered Jehovah the greatest, because He could work greater miracles; wherefore as soon as miracles ceased, or became of little account through frequency and familiarity, they instantly resorted to idols. Headed by Aaron, and within a month of the wonders on Sinai, they were worshipping a golden calf.

"The reason why it is said of Moses, that 'Jehovah spake unto him face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend,' is because He appeared to him in human form adapted to his external condition. I have been informed by the

Angels, that Moses saw Jehovah as an aged and bearded man sitting with him. Hence also the Jews had no other idea of Jehovah than as of a very old man with a beard as white as snow, who could do miracles above other gods; but not that He was most holy, for they had no notion of what holiness was." *

Their Spiritual Ignorance.

"The Jews were in plenary ignorance of spiritual things. The future life was utterly unknown to them.

"Whatever may be the natural acuteness of the Jew, he can have no concern about internal things; for his quality is such, that he believes nothing exists which he cannot see and handle. If he were told that immediately after death he will enter into another life in which he will see, hear, speak and touch with a perfection impossible in the body, he would reject the information as a paradox or phantasy." †

Their Avarice.

"The Jews are the most avaricious of nations, and avarice like theirs, which prizes gold and silver, not for the sake of use, but for the mere lust of possession, is an affection the most earthly, and draws the mind altogether into the body, and closes the interior faculties to such a degree that it is impossible for anything of the faith or love of Heaven to enter. Hence it is evident how much they are mistaken who think the Church will again pass to Israel. It would be an easier matter to convert stones than Jews to faith in the Lord.

"The Jews have been thus from the beginning; hence no spiritual truth was revealed to them, as is evident from the Old Testament." ‡

Their Pride and Cruelty.

"The Israelites whilst outwardly holy were inwardly filthy and defiled, full of self-love and love of the world,

* Nos. 4208, 4289, 4299, 4311, 4692, 4847, 7401, and 10,566.

† Nos. 1200, 3373, 4464, and 10,500.

‡ Nos. 4293, 4459, 8301, and 4750-51.

thus of contempt, hatred, malice, envy, avarice, rapine and the like.

“The Hells are nothing but self-love and love of the world, and these have been the loves of the Jews from the earliest times. They regarded all nations as vile and of no account beside themselves. Wherefore the Lord said to them, ‘Ye are of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.’ No one can know the lusts and phantasies of the Jews who has not conversed with them in the Spiritual World: this has been granted me, that I might learn.

“I once saw a large mortar, and standing by it a man with an iron pestle, who seemed to himself to be pounding men and torturing them in a dreadful manner. This he did with great delight: the delight was communicated to me, that I might know its quality and quantity; it was an infernal delight. The Angels told me that such was the ruling passion of the posterity of Jacob, and that they perceived nothing more delightful than to treat the nations with cruelty, to expose them when slain to be devoured by wild beasts and birds, to cut them alive with saws and axes, to send them through the brick-kiln, and to dash their children to the ground.

“Wherefore they could not believe otherwise than that Jehovah entertained hatred, was angry, wrathful and furious. This is the reason Jehovah is so described in the Word; for according to man’s quality, so the Lord appears to him.” *

In what sense the Jews were chosen.

The astonished reader will be ready to inquire, On what principle does Swedenborg account for the choice by Jehovah of this worst of nations for His Church?

In the first place he denies they were chosen—

“They were not elected, but only accepted to represent Heaven and the Church.

“The posterity of Jacob were urgent to represent the Church, and, because of their urgency were received, but not chosen.

* Nos. 908, 3605, 4293, 5057, and 10,429.

“They who know nothing concerning the internal sense of the Word cannot believe otherwise than that the Jews were elected in preference to other nations, even as the Jews believed; also, from many promises that they will be again elected and restored to Canaan. But the Word has a spiritual sense, and in that sense by Israel is not meant Israel, nor by Jacob Jacob, nor by Judah Judah, but by those persons are understood the principles which they represent. The Jews themselves were the wickedest and vilest of nations, and will never be restored to Canaan.” *

The Jews as Representatives.

The Ancient Church had passed into idolatry, and as the material for a Real Church had perished from the world, a Representative Church was raised up as a substitute. For this office the Jews had unique qualifications.

“By reason of their very lusts they were capable of holy externals whilst destitute of holy internals. After punishment they could exhibit a degree of outward humiliation impossible to any other people; for they could lie on the ground, roll in the dust, and mourn for days together, going in sackcloth and tattered garments, with ashes sprinkled on their heads, fasting and bursting into bitter weeping. This was merely the effect of bodily and earthly love, and the fear of losing pre-eminence and wealth, and not at all for the sake of God. . . . Hence with a few exceptions, the Jewish nation is in Hell.

“It was the peculiar genius of the Jews to regard external things as holy and divine without any sense of internal holiness and divinity; thus to adore their fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses and David as deities, and account as holy and divine every stone and piece of wood included in their ritual. Inasmuch therefore as more than others they could place divine worship in things outside themselves, and thereby act the Representative of a Church, they were accepted for that purpose.” †

We are therefore to look at the Jews in the Bible as we

* Nos. 3373, 4290-93, 4899, 7051, 7439, and 10,396.

† Nos. 4293, 8588, and 10,430.

do at actors and actresses in a theatre playing as kings and queens and great people. In themselves they were a low rabble, but their baseness was no disqualification for their representation of great parts.

"In representations the character of the representative was of no account, but only the principle represented; wherefore things divine, celestial and spiritual were expressed not only by persons, but by articles inanimate, as by Aaron's garments, by the ark and altar, by oxen and sheep sacrificed, by bread and oil and frankincense.

"Hence Kings, good and bad alike, represented the Lord's Wisdom, and Priests, good and bad alike, His Love, so long as they conformed to the laws set down for their several parts. The High Priest might be the most impure of mankind and at heart an idolater, but if he washed himself with water, ministered in pontifical vestments, stood before the lighted candles and executed his prescribed routine, so far as the efficacy of the Representative Church was concerned, his private character was a matter of no consequence." *

So much for the actors; now a few words about the stage.

The Land of Canaan.

"The Church of the Lord had existed in Canaan from the most ancient times; there was the garden of Eden, and there subsisted remains of the Most Ancient Church, especially among those who were called Hittites and Hivites. Hence it came to pass that all its places, its mountains, rivers, valleys, and borders were representative of divine, celestial and spiritual things. For this reason Abraham was commanded to settle in Canaan, and its inheritance was promised to his posterity, that out of them a Representative Church might be formed, and that the names consecrated by the Most Ancient and Ancient Churches might be preserved in the Word." †

The invasion of Canaan and the extirpation of the Canaanites is to be read as symbolic of the victory of Jesus Christ over Hell, and of His subjugation of selfishness to righteousness in every regenerate heart.

* Nos. 665, 1361, 3670 and 4281.

† Nos. 3686, 4447, and 7439.

“The reason why the Israelites destroyed the Canaanites was because the Canaanites represented things infernal and diabolical and the Israelites things celestial and spiritual.”*

The atrocities practised on the Canaanites were permitted to the Jews because they were so hardened that slaughter and cruelty could not deprave them further.

“The Jews were allowed to destroy the Canaanites because they were not a Church, but only the representative of a Church, nor was the Lord present with them except representatively; for they were in externals without internals, that is, in worship representative of goodness and truth, but not in goodness and truth. To persons of such a character it is permitted to destroy, to kill, to give to slaughter and to the curse; but it is not permitted to those who are in externals and at the same time in internals, inasmuch as these must act from good, and good is from the Lord.”

It will be said that Jehovah directed the extermination of the nations of Canaan by Moses, who adjured Israel, “When Jehovah thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them.” Our Author makes short work of such objections with his doctrine of appearances. Commenting on the story told of Jacob “wrestling with a man until break of day,” and calling the place of struggle Peniel, for, concluded Jacob, “I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved,” he observes—

“Evil Spirits wrestled with Jacob, for by wrestling is signified temptation, and temptation is never wrought by good Spirits. Good Spirits and Angels never excite evils and fables, but defend Man against them, and bend them to good; for good Spirits are led by the Lord, and nothing ever proceeds from the Lord but holy good and holy truth. . . . The reason why the wrestler called himself God was because Jacob believed it, even as his posterity fancied that Jehovah led into temptations, that all evil was from Him, and that He was angry and furious when they were punished; *wherefore according to their belief it is so expressed in the Word*, when yet Jehovah never leads into temptations, nor is any

* Nos. 6306 and 9320.

† No. 9320.

evil in any case from Him, nor is He ever in anger, still less in fury." *

With this principle in hand, that the Scriptures merely register what appeared to the Jews to be true, he evades the whole series of charges brought against the Divine goodness on the supposition, that Jehovah was in reality what their history represents. As Sir John Herschel says of Astronomy—

"Almost all its conclusions stand in open and striking contradiction to those of superficial and vulgar observation, and with what appears to every one, till he has understood and weighed the proofs to the contrary, the most positive evidence of his senses"—

So Swedenborg would have us believe that the spirit of the Scriptures is as frequently an inversion of the letter as are many of the sure conclusions of Astronomy inversions of superficial and vulgar observation and the most positive evidence of the senses.

On the stage of Canaan then, the Israelites enacted a Church.

Themselves, their Land, their Law, their Worship were all Symbolic.

Jesus in His walk with the disciples to Emmaus, "beginning at Moses and all the Prophets expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself;" and theologians from the earliest times have delighted in discovering or inventing analogies between Jewish History and Christian Life; but I question whether it ever entered into any mind to conceive the infinite correspondence between the two which Swedenborg asserts.

"All things comprised in the Jewish nation, collectively and individually, represented the Lord and the celestial and spiritual things of His Kingdom. Hence Canaan was called the Holy Land, although nothing could be less holy, being inhabited by profane and idolatrous people." †

Nor were the scenery of Canaan and the deeds of the Jews alone symbolic of the Lord and His Kingdom, but trans-

* No. 4307.

† Nos. 1097 and 1437.

formed to writing, the record constitutes the Word, in which—

“There is not an iota, or apex, or little twirl of the Hebrew letters which does not involve something Divine. This has been shown me from Heaven, but I know it transcends belief.” *

It is Swedenborg's business in the *Arcana Cœlestia* to discover this Divine principle in Genesis and Exodus, and to this end he devotes, as we have observed, eight quartos. Within the letter of these books he discerns in general two senses, an inner or Spiritual Sense, and an inmost or Celestial Sense, and professes to draw therefrom a whole cycle of information relating to Jesus Christ, His incarnation, His temptations, and His glorification; also concerning Man, his will and understanding, his regeneration or damnation, Angels and their Heavens, and Devils and their Hells.

Granting these premises it is in nowise surprising, that he should fill eight quarto volumes with the exposition of Genesis and Exodus. Save in the limit of human endurance there is no cause why he should not have gone on to eighty or eight hundred. To Emerson's inquiry, “What have I to do with jasper and sardonyx, beryl and chalcedony, what with arks and passovers, ephahs, heave offerings and unleavened bread; what with chariots of fire and ephods; what with lepers and omerods; what with dragons crowned and horned, behemoth and unicorn?” Swedenborg might answer, “Everything: these, which you think obsolete, old-world rubbish, are types of eternal realities: if you study them in the light of the science of correspondences, which science I have been commissioned by the Lord to revive, they will be found oracles of wisdom to which the haughtiest in your enlightened age will do well if he reverently attend.”

The Jews ignorant of their own Symbolism.

The Jews were quite unconscious of the drift of the drama in which they played—

“They had no other opinion concerning their ritual than

that Divine worship consisted in its performance. They did not know, nor were they willing to know, the meaning of their ceremonies.

“Worship with them was therefore idolatrous; for every rite which is unconnected with an inward spiritual principle of charity is nothing but superstition and idolatry. Hence they were ready to worship any gods whatever, if persuaded that such gods would cause them to prosper.” *

Why they were thus Ignorant.

“Had spiritual truths been made known to them, they would have utterly denied and contemned them, and thereby profaned interior goods and truths, as they profaned exterior by becoming open idolaters. This is why interior truths are so rarely manifest in the letter of the Old Testament.” †

Profanation, or the reception of goodness and truth and subsequent relapse into evil and falsehood, is described as the most terrible of calamities, the lot of profaners in the other life being that of the worst of Devils. Hence it is better to remain bad than to become good and fall back into wickedness; to remain in gloom than to enter into light and return to darkness.

“That the Jewish nation could not receive interior truths, howsoever they might have been revealed to them, is manifest from the Jews of the present day; for they are acquainted with interior things, inasmuch as they dwell among Christians, but still they reject and scoff at them. Several of them likewise who have become Christians do the same at heart.” ‡

The Use of the Jewish Church.

Probably and pertinently the reader will inquire, What was the good of this sham Church? The answer supplied is peculiar, and it may not be easy to understand, but I shall try to set it forth plainly; and the answer will furnish a key to a large area of Swedenborgian doctrine.

We die, we shed our grosser bodies, and find ourselves in

* Nos. 3479, 4208, 4281, 4444, 8588, and 8788.

† Nos. 3373, 3479, 4847, and 10,490. ‡ Nos. 302, 4750, 4847, and 6963.

the Spiritual World, but our connection with Earth is not thereby dissolved.

“The Spiritual and Natural Worlds are so connected that they are incapable of separation, particularly with Men’s interiors, called Souls and Minds: these if good are united with the Souls and Minds of Angels, but if evil, with the Souls and Minds of Devils. Such is the nature of the union, that if Spirits were removed from Man he would instantly fall lifeless like a stock or a stone: on the other hand, Angels and Spirits could not subsist if deprived of their rest in Mankind.”*

Death gives us the freedom of the Inner World, but the floor of our existence remains on Earth. We are to consider the Good of Earth as the basis of Heaven, and the Evil of Earth as the basis of Hell. The communion of Saints—the communion of Devils—is with Swedenborg no empty phrase, but the expression of a momentous reality.

“Heaven and the Church constitute together one body, whose soul and life is the Lord Jehovah, who is our Lord, the Saviour.”†

Heaven being thus rooted in the Church, serious consequences naturally ensue when the Church becomes diminished or degenerate.

“When the Church on Earth is desolated by falses and consummated by evils the Angels bitterly lament. At such times they compare their state of life to sleepiness, for then Earth is to them like a seat withdrawn, or like a body deprived of its feet; but when the Church is restored by the Lord, they compare their state of life to wakefulness.”

Such was the plight of the Angels as the Ancient Church declined into idolatry and magic; and to prevent Heaven from lapsing into chaos the Jewish Church was instituted. Here comes a difficult point which it may be hard to render clear. The infernal interiors of the Jews could not of course furnish a ground for angelic habitation, but their piety, as excited by their ritual; was used for the purpose.

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 118.

† *Coronis*, No. 15.

‡ *Coronis*, No. 18.

"The Israelites could be kept in a holy external principle, and thus possess holy rituals representative of the Lord's Kingdom; they had also a holy veneration for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, for Moses and Aaron and David, by whom the Lord was represented, and especially for the Word, in which all and singular signified things Divine." *

To this assertion let us add the consideration, that among the Angels there are countless grades of intelligence—

"There are Angelic Spirits who are simple and do not perplex themselves with profound ideas, taking no concern with the internal states of Men, but merely with their external. If Men appear holy they are satisfied." †

These simple Angels perceived the awe with which the Jews entered into the Mosaic ritual, and in their sanctimony they rested. The higher Angels, incapable of association with a race so vile as Israel, were nevertheless able to unite themselves to their simple brethren.

In this way the Jewish Church was made serviceable as a temporary *nexus* of Heaven and Earth.

Two other uses the Jews fulfilled, so closely connected that they might almost be called one. *First*; their character was such, that their history could become a revelation of God depicted in the boldest letters of flesh and blood: but of this hereafter in another chapter. *Second*; their sensual stock provided the unique instrument for—

The Divine Incarnation.

When in the course of time the foundation of the Heavens in Jewish sanctimony gave way, to save Humanity from destruction, Jehovah made His appearance in Jesus Christ. He took from Mary a body in which were concentrated the lust, the pride, the avarice, and the hatred of Judaism as developed in the royal line of David.

In that body, whose every faculty was an avenue to the Hells, He met as on a battle-field the Powers of Evil and Darkness and subdued them.

* No. 3479.

† No. 8588.

As he conquered, He transformed the infirm organization received from Mary into a Divine organization. Incarnate in Judaism He fulfilled its higher and inner Law under the worst conditions. He conformed perfectly the fallen human inheritance from the Virgin to the Divine Will—of which Will the Jewish Law was a coarse emblem.

As the body from Mary was a summary of Judaism, we therefore by analogy discern in the words and deeds of its Patriarchs, Prophets and Kings the life and experience of Jesus Christ.

Made one with God, the body of Christ became an immovable and everlasting foundation for the Heavens and a perpetual origin for the Church.

The function of the Jewish Church being thus superseded its members were scattered over the earth.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Into the history of the Christian Church Swedenborg enters very generally. He regarded it as a preparation for a nobler and an eternal structure. That it should fall away and come to an end he considered a matter of course, asserting that all Churches begin in love, lapse into intellectualism, and finish up in hatred and false doctrine.

“It is agreeable to Divine Order that there should have been Four Churches since the creation of the world. Every day begins with morning, advances to noon, and closes in night, and after that begins afresh; every year commences from the spring, advances through summer to autumn, and then closes in winter, and after that enters on a new beginning. Similar is the case with the Churches; the first, the Most Ancient, was as the morning, the spring, and the east; the second, the Ancient, was as the noon, the summer, and the south; the third, the Jewish, was as the evening, the autumn, and the west; and the fourth, the Christian, was as the night, the winter, and the north. From these progressions the wise Ancients drew their conclusions about the Four Ages of the World; the first they called Golden, the second Silver, the third Copper, and the fourth Iron; by

which Metals also the Churches themselves were represented in the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar." *

This correspondence limps sadly. After what we have read, analogy is driven into strange contradiction when Judaism is likened to evening, autumn, and copper, and the Church of the Apostles to night, winter, and iron!

What is true of the Four Churches as a whole is true of each Church; each has had its spring, summer, autumn, and winter, its morning, noon, evening, and night. Varying the comparison to human life, he writes—

"It is with the Church in general as with Man in particular. His first state is one of innocence, of love to parents, nurse and companions; his second is a state of light, for the boy acquires and believes truth; his third state is when he begins to love the world and himself, and as these loves increase faith decreases, and with faith, love to God and the neighbour; his fourth and last state is when he has no concern about truths, and especially when he denies them.

"Such states are also the states of every Church from its beginning to its end." †

Following out this idea, he tells us—

"The members of the primitive Christian Church lived as brethren in mutual love; but in process of time charity diminished and at length vanished away; and as charity vanished, evils succeeded, and with evils, falses, whence arose schisms and heresies. These would never have existed if charity had continued to live and rule; for in such case they would not have called schism schism, nor heresy heresy, but doctrines agreeable to each disciple's way of thinking. These they would have left to every one's conscience, neither judging nor condemning any one for opinion, *provided* he did not deny fundamental principles, such as the Lord, Eternal Life, and the Word, and maintained nothing contrary to Divine Order—that is, to the Ten Commandments." ‡

Of the Christian Church in the long centuries between its

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 762, *Coronis*, Nos. 2 to 17, *Arcana Cælestia*, Nos. 1834, 2231, and 4683.

† No. 10, 134.

‡ No. 1834. Persecution never required any other warrant than the reservation beginning with *provided*.

rise and his own time, Swedenborg has nothing to say. In fact, there is no sign that his reading ever extended into ecclesiastical history and biography. Of one thing he was certain—the Christian Church had come to its end.

“The Church at this day is founded on opinion and not on conduct. He who believes otherwise than the Church teaches is cast out of communion and defamed; but he who thieves (if he does not do so flagrantly), lies, betrays, and commits adultery is called a Christian if he frequents a place of worship and talks piously.

“Christians attend Church and are in some degree of holiness whilst there; they receive the Holy Supper, they sometimes indulge in sanctimonious conversation, and they live in external friendship. To the outer eye they display nothing but what is pleasant: inwardly they are altogether different. In the other life it becomes manifest that they hated each other, that they hated the truths of faith, and especially that they hated the Lord; for when the Lord is merely named before them, their spite and contempt for Him break forth; and this in the case of those who were accustomed to speak reverently of Him and to preach His gospel.”*

Of the Philosophy of the time, he writes—

“The members of the Church at this day believe nothing but what is comprehended by their Senses; and not only do they reason from the Senses, but extend such reasoning to Divine Arcana in a way unknown to the Ancients. The consequence is, intellectual light is utterly darkened, and the darkness has become so thick as hardly to admit of dispersion.”†

Why then venture abroad in such a night? He answers—

“For the sake of the Elect—the few whose lives are truly good. These are now to be instructed, and amongst them a New Church will presently be established. Where the Elect are, the Lord alone knows. There will be few within the Church. New Churches in former times were raised among Gentiles.”‡

The badness of his generation in the matter of education was thus exhibited—

* Nos. 3489 and 4689.

† No. 2124.

‡ Nos. 3398 and 3898.

"There was represented to me some children whose heads were combed by their mothers so cruelly that blood followed the comb; whereby the education of children at this day was represented." *

To assign proofs that Europe had last century reached a pitch of desolation such as almost to justify the saying, that the Devil's will was done on Earth as in Hell, would be superfluous; public opinion is generally settled as to the fact, and Swedenborg does no more than corroborate it from his peculiar stand-point.

"That the Last Judgment is at hand cannot so plainly appear on Earth as in the World of Spirits, which is crowded with Evil Genii and Spirits chiefly from Christendom, amongst whom nothing reigns but hatred, revenge, cruelty, obscenity and treachery." †

The hour for the birth of a New Church had arrived. Swedenborg was its apostle, but, except among the unknown Elect, he had no hope of adherents from the defunct ecclesiasticism. After the failure of the *Arcana Cœlestia* in a mercantile sense, he might have adopted the language of Paul and Barnabas to the Jews, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles." Unlike the sincerely practical apostles, he made no effort to discover the Gentiles. Instead he kept hammering at rocks, and the longer the more furiously, wherein he swore by Heaven there was no gold. This inconsistency is noteworthy.

How firmly his trust was set on Gentiles appears from many passages such as the following—

"When a New Church is established by the Lord, seldom, if ever, does the establishment take place amongst those in whom the Old Church existed, but with those amongst whom there was heretofore no Church, that is, amongst the Gentiles. Such was the case when the Most Ancient Church, the Ancient Church, and the Jewish Church perished. The same will be the case with the Christian Church." ‡

* No. 2125. † No. 2121. ‡ Nos. 1366, 2986, 4747, and 9256.

His opinion of the Gentiles was very high—

“They behave modestly, intelligently and wisely, and easily imbibe the truths they are taught. They indulge no hatred, never revenge injuries, never practise stratagem nor artifice, no, nor wish ill to Christians, although Christians despise and do them all the hurt they can.

“There are some Gentiles who during their abode on Earth have learnt that Christians lead the worst of lives, being addicted to adultery, hatred and quarrelling, to drunkenness and like enormities, which they are shocked at as contrary to their laws, manners, and religion. These dread more than others to accept the truths of faith, but when assured by the Angels that such crimes are in complete opposition to Christianity, they believe and adore the Lord, but not without hesitation.

“Once I conversed with some Chinese concerning the Lord, but when I called Him Christ a kind of repugnance was discernible amongst them. The cause was, that on Earth they had contracted a prejudice against His name by observing that Christians led worse lives than Gentiles. When I simply called Him Lord, they were inwardly moved.”*

This writing accords closely with the notions commonly entertained last century as to the innocence and gentleness of the Pagan nations; an opinion which Rousseau was not loath to use against civilization and Voltaire against Christianity. The badness of Christians is indisputable, but intimate acquaintance with the heathen has completely abolished all romance about their virtue in comparison with Europeans. Swedenborg's Gentiles in our modern light look very like fancy pictures.

The History of the World is in Swedenborg's eyes the History of the Church. The Human Race is to him one Man, to which the Church is brain, heart and lungs. Without a Church, Heaven would be bodiless: without Heaven, the Church would be soulless.

It is essential to bear in mind the unity of Humanity in

* Nos. 2589 to 2605.

Heaven, on Earth, and in Hell. Both Heaven and Hell find their bases through Man on Earth. Let the reader try to compass this thought, for until it becomes familiar much in Swedenborg must remain obscure. It is every year becoming clearer to the scientific mind, that the Universe is one, and that the least things in our little earth are kindred by action and re-action to the sun and the far-distant stars. Even so, Humanity is one; Angels and Men and Devils are a common web from which no excision is possible.

In this sketch of the Four Churches, the *Arcana Cœlestia* has not been reviewed: a thread has only been drawn from out its enormous coil. As observed at the outset, there is little of value in Swedenborg which may not be found somewhere in its multitudinous pages. Other reviews are before us, and the reader may fairly regard them as extensions of this cursory survey.

CHAPTER XVI.

LONDON AND STOCKHOLM.

SWEDENBORG, during the seven or eight years, 1749-56, when writing and printing the *Arcana Cœlestia*, probably passed most of his time in London, making occasional trips to Sweden. That he was out of London in 1750 is plain from Lewis's advertisement, wherein it is stated the manuscript of the second volume was received from abroad, and "the bare postage of Part I. was 12s., of Part II. 18s., and of Part III. 22s." What should we not give for more important information with equal precision!

Where he lodged in those years is not known; most likely in the neighbourhood of his printer, Mr. Hart of Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, of whose company, it is said, he was fond, and that he used to spend his evenings at his house. A short way to the west of Poppin's Court is Gough

Square, where, while Swedenborg was writing his *Arcana*, Johnson was compiling his Dictionary with the aid of six clerks. In Salisbury Square, on the other side of Fleet Street, Richardson was doing a thriving trade as printer and novelist, with all England as customers for *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, and with Goldsmith for his proof-reader. Further west on the same side of the street, young William Cowper and young Edmund Burke were lodged in the Middle Temple; but I can find no sign that Johnson or Goldsmith or Burke or Cowper knew even the name of the Seer with whom, in their passage through Fleet Street, they must have rubbed shoulders.

As the *Arcana* sold so badly, publisher Lewis could have had little satisfaction in the business, but Swedenborg was a liberal paymaster, and Lewis would lose nothing. Mrs. Lewis, it is recorded, "thought Swedenborg a good and sensible man, but too apt to spiritualize things."

The Moravians.

As Swedenborg's mind and religious principles settled, his visits to the Moravians in Fetter Lane would naturally cease. From an admirer of the Brethren he changed to their traducer.

"I have," he writes, "had much conversation with the Moravians. It was found they were cunning in the art of conciliation. They say they are the remnant of the Apostolic Church. They salute each other as brothers, and those who receive their deeper mysteries as mothers. They say they teach faith better than others, and assert their love for the crucified Lord, calling Him the Lamb, the Throne of Grace, and similar names. Thus they beguile people into the belief that the true Church is with them. They examine those who listen to their smooth harangues, as to whether they may be trusted with their mysteries; which mysteries they conceal or reveal accordingly; and by admonition, and even by threats, strive to prevent the betrayal of their secret doctrine concerning the Lord.

"Moravians were explored in the other world by Spirits whose office it is to make such inquisition. They reported

that they slight the Lord, that their rejection of the life of charity amounts to abhorrence, that they make out that the Word of the Old Testament is useless, and despise the Evangelists, selecting from Paul, according to their good pleasure, whatever is said of faith alone: and that these are their mysteries, which they conceal from the world.

“As soon as it became apparent that they merely acknowledge the Lord as Ariens, despise the Word of the prophets and evangelists, and hold a life of charity in abhorrence, they were adjudged anti-Christians, as rejecting the three essentials of the Church, namely, the Divinity of the Lord, the Word, and Charity, and were banished from among Christians

“When Zinzendorf first came into the Spiritual World, I heard him solemnly asserting, that he knew the mysteries of Heaven, and that no one enters Heaven who is not of his doctrine; and also, that they who do good works for the sake of salvation are utterly damned, and that he would rather admit Atheists into his congregation than such. The Lord, he said, was adopted by God the Father as His Son because He endured the cross, and that still He was a mere man. When it was said to him, that the Lord was conceived by God the Father, he replied, that he thought of that matter as he chose, not daring to speak out as the Jews do.

“Moreover I have perceived many scandals from his followers when I have been reading the Evangelists.”*

What a pity Wesley in his controversy with the Moravians had not Swedenborg for an ally!

The Quakers.

If the Moravians should designate the preceding report slanderous and preposterous, what shall the Quakers say of the following?

“30th Oct., 1748.—I heard the Quakers in their General Meeting, and though they spoke of the Lord, yet they recognize three persons. They also acknowledge the Word,

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 86 to 90: there are many similar references to the Moravians in the *Spiritual Diary*.

but they do not regard it, for they say that they likewise are actuated by the Holy Spirit.

"They have no concern about the Lord, but only the Holy Spirit. In the other life it is discovered that they abhor Him, and set themselves up for the Holy Spirit, of which they continually thought whilst on earth and waited for in their meetings.

"They talk but little and divulge scarcely anything of what they think. It was said they have no settled articles of faith, and that their opinions waver with the influx of the Spirit."

He allows they are not deceived in thinking themselves under supernatural influence: they are the tools of "enthusiastic Spirits who are so grossly stupid as to imagine themselves the Holy Spirit." These Spirits enter into their full satisfaction when they find men and women willing to yield themselves to their possession and to share in the phantasy, "that they are wiser and holier than the rest of mankind."

At first Swedenborg was willing to think well of the Quakers, considering them "honest and upright, having heard nothing to the contrary," but experience led him to a widely different conclusion.

"1 x 2 Nov., 1748.—When I awoke in the night I felt in the hair of my head a multitude of very small snakes. It was perceived that Quaker Spirits had been plotting against me whilst I was asleep, but without affect. It was only by their phantasies that they were among my hair where I felt them."

As in the case of the Moravians, he credits the Quakers with the possession of mysteries, but far more atrocious.

"28th Oct., 1748.—They are indomitably obstinate in their aversion to having their thoughts and doings made public. They strove with me and the Spirits who desired (but in vain) to know their secrets."

He was not however to be baffled, and next day made him master of their mysteries.

"29th Oct., 1748.—The secret worship of the Quakers, sedulously concealed from the world, was made manifest. It is a worship so wicked, execrable and abominable that

were it known to Christians, they would expel Quakers from society and permit them to live only among beasts.

"They have a vile communion of wives. The women say they are possessed by the Devil, and that they can only be delivered if men filled with the Holy Ghost cohabit with them. Men and women sit round a table, which was represented to me, and wait for the influx of the Spirit. . . . When a woman feels the Devil, she selects a man and retires with him"—but it is impossible to extend the quotation.

"30th Oct.—It was inquired whether the Quakers engaged in these obscene rites with their daughters and maid-servants, and it was said, that they did. . . . Parents do not resist when a command of the Spirit is pleaded. They are however somewhat withheld by the fear that their virgins should become mothers before they are married, and thus their wickedness come to light. The Quakers desire to appear holy and blameless before men; hence they veil their worship in profound secrecy."

"It was shown me that ever since the rise of Quakerism, they have gone on from bad to worse, and at length by command of their Holy Spirit into these secret abominations. I conversed with their Founder as well as with Penn, who told me they had no part in such doings. They who practise them are sent down after death into a dark place, where they sit in corners and appear like dregs of oil."*

"30th Oct.—The Quaker Spirit is the foulest of Devils and the Quaker Hell the deepest: they are the vilest off-scouring.

"I was instructed concerning the lives of the Quakers, that they are like the Jews, loving money for the mere sake of possession.

"1st Nov.—An Angel told me, that Quaker Spirits wander about in thick forests like swine, because of their avarice and nastiness. It was said they were not boars, but she-swine."

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 84. I have been asked to state (what of myself I should have deemed superfluous), that these obscene imputations have no warrant whatever outside an evil imagination.

There is much more about the Quakers of a similar tenor, but enough! Their comparison to Jews may not be without truth, but for the mysteries, Bah!

The Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, who left the Church of England and opened the Unitarian Chapel in Essex Street, Strand, relates the following anecdote—

“I cannot omit an account which I received from a person living, of great worth and credit; that a friend of his, several years ago, walking with Baron Swedenborg along Cheapside, in one part the Baron suddenly bowed very low to the ground, when the gentleman lifting him up and asking what he was about, the Baron replied by asking him, if he did not see Moses pass by, and told him that he had bowed to him. A man that could see Moses walking along Cheapside might see anything.” *

In this anecdote there are evident signs of fiction. If Swedenborg saw Moses, he certainly could not be surprised that his comrade did not. From Lindsey, too, we have the story third hand—from a friend’s friend. It is said of a shop, that three removes are as bad as a fire: an anecdote by three removes runs the risk of becoming as bad as a lie. Few indeed can bear two or three facts in memory for any distance without spilling, and in the endeavour to recover what has dropped they are sure therewith to pick up and incorporate some dirt. Presently we shall read the same anecdote with another name than Moses.

“I have spoken once with Moses,” said Swedenborg to Bishop Oetinger.

With Bible characters in general he had little to do, regarding them as of small importance. “The Apostles and Prophets,” he wrote, “were no better than other people.” † Some were notably wicked, as for instance—

* *A Second Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge relating to Jesus Christ, and the Origin of the Great Errors concerning him.* London, 1790, p. 178.

† *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 790.

King David.

"23rd Oct., 1748.—David is possessed with the lust of being chief in Heaven. . . Persuaded that he was a god, he proclaimed himself one.

"24th Oct.—He confessed he did not understand what he wrote; that he might have thought his psalms included arcana, and that a certain personage was to come to the world, and that he applied everything therein to himself and his people. He said a Spirit spake through him as a Spirit speaks through me, and thus that he and I were of a like quality; but it was given me to tell him, that he had no knowledge of the Lord, that he was ignorant of the interiors of the Word, and did not understand what the Spirit spake through him, and thus that he and I were very different.

"25th Oct.—David is wicked, and a slave of deceitful Spirits, who treat him like a dog. His mind is full of cruelty and adultery, and meditates and contrives mischief.

"4th Nov.—When I went to bed Evil Spirits formed a design to destroy me. They first drew the Dragon over to their side, but having used him badly he got away. Then they endeavoured to summon all Hell and surround and attack me in a body and make an end of me, as so often they have tried before. . . They evoked David also, who appeared before me in a dense cloud. For some time they persisted, doing their utmost, whilst I reposed in safety, fearing nothing, but observing their efforts. At last they gave up, admitting their attempt to be vain."

According to Lindsey, Swedenborg met Moses in Cheapside: according to Southey he met St. Paul.

"Gustave Brander was walking with Emanuel Swedenborg in Cheapside, when the Baron pulled off his hat and made a respectful bow. 'Who are you bowing to?' said Brander. 'You did not see him,' replied Swedenborg. 'It was St. Paul; I know him very well.'"*

Whether this encounter took place in Cheapside or not we cannot say, but it is quite true that Swedenborg thought

* Southey's *Commonplace Book*, Fourth Series, p. 515.

he knew Paul very well. "I have spoken a whole year with Paul," he wrote to Oetinger.

St. Paul.

"28th Oct., 1748.—A certain Spirit came to me suddenly and inquired whether I was not speaking ill of him. It was perceived he was Paul. I replied I was not thinking of him.

"10th July, 1749.—A certain Devil fancied himself the very Devil who deceived Adam and Eve, according to the vulgar opinion. . . It was given me to hear Paul saying he wished to be his companion, and they would go together and make themselves gods; . . but they were rejected wherever they went.

"During sleep I have been infested by adulterers, and this Devil and Paul have lent their aid to my infesters, and so stubbornly held me in an adulterous train of thought that I could scarcely release myself. . . Hence Paul's nefarious character was made known.

(*No date.*) "Paul is amongst the worst of the Apostles, as has been made known to me by large experience. The love of self, whereby he was governed before he preached the Gospel, continued to rule him afterwards; and from that love he had a passion for scenes of controversy and tumult. He did all things with the end of being greatest in Heaven and judging the tribes of Israel.

"That such is Paul's character is manifest from very much experience, for I have spoken with him more than with others. The rest of the Apostles in the other life rejected him from their society and refused to recognize him. Besides he connected himself with one of the worst Devils, who would fain rule all things, and pledged himself to obtain for him his end. It would be tedious for me to write all I know about Paul: were I to do so the report would be long enough to fill sheets.

"That Paul wrote Epistles does not prove him good, for even the impious can preach well and write epistles. It is one thing to be good and another to speak and write about goodness, as was said to him. Moreover, he has not men-

tioned in his Epistles the least word of what the Lord taught, nor cited one of His parables; so therefore he received nothing from the Lord's life and discourse, when nevertheless the very Gospel itself is in the Evangelists.

(*No date.*) "Paul associated himself with the worst Devils, and wished to form a Heaven in which he should be the dispenser of pleasures. This he attempted, but became worse in consequence and was cast down. I told him his purpose was hellish and not heavenly. He wished especially to have hypocrites about him. There were hypocrites with me for several days, which I knew from the aching of my teeth. They tacitly pressed upon me without intermission, and it was perceived and said, that the pressure was from Paul. He hates the internal sense of the Word, and the anger of his hatred draws hypocrites around him. Such is the connection of things. Hypocrites believe nothing, but they value the literal sense of the Word because they can use it to overawe the simple and appear pious.

"Paul underwent many dangers and punishments on earth that he might be the greatest. . . He rejects the inner truths of the Word because they testify against the glory of the world and self-righteousness.

(*No date.*) "Spoke with Paul. He wished to be an introducer to Heaven, and that the Lord would receive those whom he should pass. The proposal is absurd, for there is no entrance to Heaven by favour but by life, and life is known only to the Lord. I told him that he might see from the letter of the Word that he was coveting Peter's office, to whom the keys had been given. He said he wished to take the office from Peter, for he had done greater service. Paul utterly dislikes Peter, and says he understood nothing and could do nothing."*

From the Diary we learn that Swedenborg was in Stockholm in 1751. In that year Polhem, his old friend and coadjutor, died. It was his privilege to see both sides of the engineer's grave—

"Polhem died on Monday and spoke with me on Thurs-

Diarium Spirituale, Nos. 3728, 4321, 4412-13, and *Diarium Minus*, Nos. 4561-62 and 4631.

day. I was invited to the funeral. Polhem saw the hearse, the attendants, and the whole procession. He also saw them let down the coffin into the grave, and conversed with me while the interment was going on, asking why they buried him when he was alive. When the priest pronounced that he would rise again at the day of judgment, he asked why this was, since he had risen already. He wondered that such a belief should prevail, considering he was even then alive; he also wondered at the belief in the resurrection of the body, for he said he felt himself then in the body; with other remarks." *

The opportunity he afforded Polhem, he accorded to several others; and he thus explains the mode in which the vision was effected—

"Neither Spirits, nor still less Angels, are able to see things on Earth, for the light of our Sun is to them thick darkness. Nevertheless Spirits and Angels, when it pleases the Lord, may see the objects of Earth through the eyes of Men; but this is only allowed by the Lord when He permits a Man to converse and be in company with Angels and Spirits. It has thus been granted them to see things through my eyes, and to see them as distinctly as I do, and likewise to hear what was said by Men in conversation with me.

"It has several times happened that Spirits have seen through me, to their great amazement, the friends they knew in the flesh. Mothers have seen their husbands and children, and desired that I would tell them they were present and saw them, and describe their condition in the Spiritual World; but I was forbidden to do so, and for this among other reasons—they would have said I was out of my senses, or thought what I told them was the invention of a delirious imagination.

"When my interior sight was first opened and Spirits and Angels saw the world through my eyes, they were so astonished that they called it a miracle of miracles, and felt a new joy in thinking that a way of communication was thus opened between Heaven and Earth. This delight only

* *Diarium Minus*, p. 65.

lasted a few months: the thing grew familiar, and now gives no occasion for surprise." *

Here is another instance of his eyes serving as windows—

"I was in the street of a great city [London] and saw little boys fighting whilst a crowd collected and enjoyed the sight exceedingly; and I was told the parents incited the children. The Angels who saw through my eyes were so shocked that I perceived their horror. Their pain was chiefly caused by the conduct of the parents. They said that thus they extinguish all the mutual love and innocence which infants receive from the Lord, and initiate them into hatred and revenge, and thereby studiously exclude them from Heaven, where there is nothing but love. Let parents therefore beware of such practices." †

Charles XII.

It may be remembered that Charles XII. gave Swedenborg his place as Assessor in the College of Mines. The patron of his youth he now meets in the Spiritual World, and thus he draws his picture—"a most horrid Devil."

"There was a certain person who was the most obstinate mortal on earth, (Charles XII.) He was obstinate to such a degree that he would never desist from his opinion, even though he should suffer the most cruel death or the most direful hell.

"Charles was married in the next life to a woman of similar character, but more stubborn than himself. He hated her with deadly hatred, which he showed by plunging a knife in her back, tearing out her heart, and biting and foaming at the mouth. This she endured until her turn came, when, assisted by Devils, she retaliated. She was more headstrong than he, nor did she care for life or any torture. At length she brought matters to such a pass that he began to be obedient, to cohabit as she desired, and to"—in fact do something a bold bad woman might command—"in token of submission. He then praised her because she had conquered. It was said she was possessed by She-Devils, chiefly from Holland, who had subjugated their husbands. It was shown

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1880.

† *Heaven and Hell*, No. 344.

that although such couples hate one another utterly, yet they experience an infernal satisfaction in struggling for mastery, and by it are almost welded into one.

“Charles was a striking instance of those who are inwardly selfish and outwardly civil and modest. At heart he was the most haughty man on earth; not only did he aspire to be the greatest in his own kingdom, but in the whole world, and in a kind of way thought himself a god. In the presence of danger his mind was remarkably clear; he surveyed his circumstances at a glance; saw how to use a hundred officers for his purpose; and drew conclusions as correctly as rapidly. Pitiless, he set no value on human life.

“Religion he considered was only for the simple, and Mahometanism he preferred to Christianity. He had no belief in the existence of God, except as the Human Mind, and particularly as himself. He wished that men should eradicate the very thought of God.

“I heard what Charles had done every day for about five weeks, and this in regular order, and not a single thing omitted. It was thus attested that we carry with us into the next world whatever we think, wish, do, hear and see, to the least minutiae, in the whole course of our lives.

“It was discovered that for years Charles had conversed with Spirits, and that he was not only instructed concerning the Lord and the Church, but frequently admonished to go home to Sweden and make peace. This ran counter to all his inclinations, and he determined to extirpate the name of the Lord by atheistical doctrine: at the same time he plunged headlong into abominations which ought not to be so much as named.

“In the next life he went on in the same way. He was hostile to the Lord, and wished to destroy all who confessed Him. He desired to be the very Devil and Commander of the Hells. He declared war against the Lord, and all who were in the Hells flocked about him, worshipped him, and instigated him to every iniquity, so that after a time he became the very concentration of Hell with scarcely a remnant of human nature left.

"He was told that if there were myriads of myriads of men like himself, they would not have the weight of a feather against the Lord, but to this he paid no attention, for he was a supreme simpleton.

"After he had been frequently punished, he was sent to the most squalid Hell, where there were swine; but nevertheless, he persisted. In the end he became an idiot, and entirely ossified, as if he were a skeleton. To relate all I know about him would fill a book."*

Gustavus Vasa is described as an idiot in Hell by reason of his love of dominion, and Gustavus Adolphus as one who "lived with women in the most foul and abandoned manner." In these recurring charges of sexual licentiousness Swedenborg reminds one of those "improper females" who accuse unwary travellers of indecent assault.

Of Queen Christina he writes—

"She was living in a handsome enough house, and employed in some spiritual work which corresponds to spinning. Thither went Charles XII. to have some talk with her.

"She related how she had conversed with the Cardinals when at Rome in a sportive style, whereby she captivated them. She wished them to appear naked, which they replied was impossible, and very improper even to hint at. She treated the Pope as humorously."†

There is no notice of Bishop Svedberg in the Diary, but in the *Arcana Cœlestia* this characteristic incident is given—

"My father appeared to me in a dream. I talked with him, saying, a man ought not to own his father for father as in childhood. When a child, the father is in the Lord's place, and the child knows not what to do without him; but when the child becomes a man, and can think and will for himself, then the Lord is his only Father, and to Him he ought to look."‡

Meddlesome here, Svedberg could scarcely be aught else hereafter.

In 1756 a revolution was attempted in Sweden, and the

* Condensed from *Spiritual Diary*. † *Diary*, No. 6017. ‡ No. 6492.

leaders of the conspiracy, Count Brahe and Baron Horne, were executed on the 23rd of July; whereon writes Swedenborg—

“Brahe was beheaded at ten in the morning, and spoke with me at ten at night; that is to say, twelve hours after his execution. He was with me almost without interruption for several days. After two days he began to return to his former life, which consisted in loving worldly things, and after three days he relapsed into the evils which he had made his own before he died.”

Robsahm probably refers to Brahe's execution when he relates—

“One day as a criminal was led off to be beheaded, I was by the side of Swedenborg, and asked how such a person felt at the instant of death. He answered, ‘When a man's head drops from the block, he loses all sensation. When he first awakes in the Spiritual World and finds he is living, he is seized with the fear of his expected death and tries to escape. Soon Good Spirits come to him and tell him where he is, and he is then left to follow his own inclinations, which lead him to the place where he abides for ever.’”

In 1758 Swedenborg published in London the following works—

1. *Heaven and Hell and their Wonders heard and seen.*
2. *The Earths in our Solar System and the Earths in the Starry Heavens: with an account of their Inhabitants, Spirits and Angels, from hearing and seeing.*
3. *The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon: showing from hearing and seeing that all the Predictions in the Apocalypse are at this day fulfilled.*
4. *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine heard from Heaven: to which is prefixed information respecting the New Heaven and the New Earth.*
5. *On the White Horse of the Apocalypse; afterwards of the Spiritual or Internal Sense of the Word, extracted from the Arcana Cœlestia.*

CHAPTER XVII.

HEAVEN AND HELL. *

HEAVEN AND HELL is Swedenborg's most readable book. It is a dish of cream from off the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

He divides the Spiritual World into three regions—Heaven, the World of Spirits, and Hell.

Heaven consists of a “great multitude which no man can number of all nations who love God supremely and their neighbours as themselves.

The World of Spirits is neither Heaven nor Hell, but an intermediate place or state into which men enter at death, and after a certain probation pass into Heaven or Hell.

Hell is the assembly of the Selfish, of all who love themselves supremely and gratify their lusts at any cost to others.

THE WORLD OF SPIRITS.

At death only the decidedly good pass immediately into Heaven, and the decidedly bad into Hell; the great majority abide for awhile, varying from days to thirty years, in the World of Spirits. †

No radical change is there wrought in the character: such change is only possible on Earth: in the World of Spirits character is merely reduced to unity. An inharmonious mind is tolerated neither in Heaven nor Hell: a Spirit must be either cold or hot. The Good therefore in

* *De Cælo et ejus Mirabilibus, et de Inferno, ex Auditis et Visis.* Londini: 1758. 4to, pp. 272.

† “Some only enter the World of Spirits, and are immediately taken up into Heaven or cast down into Hell; some remain there a few weeks and others several years, *but none remain more than thirty years.*” No. 426.

In the *Apocalypse Revealed*, published eight years after *Heaven and Hell*, he reduces the limit of sojourn in the World of Spirits from thirty to twenty years—

“Some abide there only a month or a year, and others from ten to thirty years; *but at this day not longer than twenty years.*” No. 866; also *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 1276.

the World of Spirits are cured of faults of practice and opinion inconsistent with their goodness, often not without prolonged suffering. The Bad, on the other hand, strip themselves of all pretences inconsistent with their badness, and reject all the pious and moral modes and maxims whereby they deceived the unwary. The World of Spirits is a great Stomach, which divides the nutritious from the innutritious, and absorbs the former into the body of Heaven, and casts the latter as filth into Hell.

How are the Good distinguished from the Bad? In the mass of Men, is not the tissue of benevolence and selfishness so intertwined, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine which has the prevalence?

True; nevertheless one or other *has* the prevalence, and the prevalence determines whether the Spirit is Angel or Devil. "Every man is influenced by many Loves; but there is one which rules, and which the others serve; and whatever is the Ruling Love at death, remains supreme and unchanged to Eternity." * The process therefore which is effected in the World of Spirits is nothing more than the implicit subjection of the whole character to the Ruling Love; and the result appears in a harmonious being—an Angel or a Devil.

A Man is said to die when his body, whether by accident, disease or old age, has become unfit to serve as a medium between his soul and Nature. As soon then as the motion of his heart and lungs ceases, he opens his eyes in the World of Spirits, and finds himself in a place and condition similar to that which he left on Earth; indeed so similar, that some find it difficult to believe that over them has passed the great terror called Death.

"Very many of the Learned from Christendom are amazed when they find themselves in a body, in garments, and in houses as they were on Earth; and when they recollect what they thought of the life after death, they are affected with shame, and declare they had thought like fools, and that the Simple were much wiser.

* No. 477.

“A certain novitiate Spirit supposed himself to be still on Earth. I inquired whether he had heard anything about the Soul. He replied, ‘What is the Soul? I know not what it is.’ I was then allowed to inform him that *he* was now a Soul or Spirit—as he might know from the fact of being over my head; and asked him whether this was not evident to himself. On hearing these words he fled away in terror, crying, ‘I am a Spirit! I am a Spirit!’

“A certain Jew was so confident he was living in the body, that it was with difficulty he could be persuaded otherwise; and even after it had been shown him that he was a Spirit, he persisted he was a Man because he saw and heard.”*

The extrication of the Spirit from the Body is an office assigned to a certain order of Angels; they receive Souls kindly and introduce them to their new sphere.

“I have frequently heard new-comers from Earth rejoicing at meeting their friends again, and their friends rejoicing at their arrival. Husbands and wives meet and continue together for a long or short time according to their mutual affinity. If they have held one another in inward aversion, they burst forth into open enmity, and sometimes into actual fighting.”†

In this first state after death, affairs proceed for awhile very much as on Earth. Curious Souls go sight-seeing “in cities, gardens and paradises, and are shown magnificent buildings and beautiful scenes.” Almost all are anxious to be taken to Heaven, but out of thousands there is scarcely one at this day who has the least conception of what Heaven really is.‡

Gradually a second state supervenes; the varnish of the world begins to peel off as the Ruling Love breaks down all pretences between itself and behaviour. The Good experience a relief as from bondage; “they feel as if awakened from sleep, and as though they had passed from shade into light.”§ The Bad “no more disguise their intentions, but publish openly whatever they have done or thought, with-

* *Last Judgment*, No. 16, and *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 447.

† No. 494.

‡ No. 495.

§ No. 506.

out any concern for their reputation, and rush headlong into crimes of every kind, and are therefore frequently and grievously punished.”*

Hypocrites change slowly, but in the end the most perverse are reduced to simplicity and sincerity. There are Angels whose duty it is to make inquisition, whom no craft can beguile, for they read off a Spirit's life from his memory.

“Certain Spirits denied the crimes they had done on Earth, and, lest they should be supposed innocent, all their actions were recited from their memories from birth to death.

“Some who had deceived by wicked arts, and committed robberies and thefts, were explored in the same way, and all their tricks enumerated in series; and they confessed; for the facts were made manifest, with every delight and fear which agitated their minds at the time.

“In a word, all wicked actions, robberies and deceits are so clearly exhibited to every Evil Spirit from his own memory, that he is self-condemned; nor is there any room for denial, because all the circumstances appear together.

“When a Man's deeds are discovered after death, the Angels, who are inquisitors, look into his face, and extend their examination over his whole body, beginning with the fingers of each hand. I was surprised at this, and the reason was thus explained to me—

“Every volition and thought of Man is inscribed on his Brain; for volition and thought have their beginnings in the Brain, whence they are conveyed to the bodily members, wherein they terminate. Whatever therefore is in the Mind is in the Brain, and from the Brain in the Body, according to the order of its parts. Thus a Man writes his life in his physique, and thus the Angels discover his autobiography in his structure. †

* Nos. 507 and 509.

† Shakspeare, who observed everything, makes Ulysses say of Cressida—

“Fie, fie upon her!

There's a language in her eye, her cheek, her lip;

Nay, *her foot speaks*; her wanton spirits look out

At every joint and motive of her body.”

Troilus and Cressida, Act iv., Scene 5.

"A memorable circumstance confirmed me in the truth, that the most minute particulars which enter the memory remain and are never obliterated. I once saw some books in the Spiritual World, and was told that they were compiled from the memories of their authors, and that not one word was omitted from the copies." *

As to punishments in the future life, we have this sensible statement—

"Punishments in the World of Spirits are of many kinds, but no one suffers for deeds done on Earth. An Evil Spirit is only punished for the crimes he then and there commits. Nevertheless, there is really no difference whether it is said the Wicked are punished for crimes on Earth, or for crimes in the World of Spirits; because every one preserves his character through death, and attempts to repeat the deeds done in the flesh.

"Good Spirits are never punished for sins on Earth, because they have no wish to repeat them. It has been revealed to me that the wrong the Good sometimes do is not with any design against the truth, nor out of an evil heart, but from hereditary impulse, in moments of blind delight, when their inmost nature is quiescent." †

The World of Spirits lies between Heaven and Hell, and appears as an undulating valley, flanked by mountains and rocks. Every Society of Heaven and Hell has a gate opening into it, which gates are hidden, and are found by no one until the hour when he is ready to pass to his final lot. The fact is, every Spirit as to his Ruling Love *is* in Heaven or Hell, and by that Love, as by an invisible cord, he is irresistibly drawn from out every entanglement into open communion with the peculiar variety of Angel or Devil with whom he is radically associated.

"There appear ways in the World of Spirits like the ways or roads of Earth; some lead to Heaven and some lead to Hell; but the ways which lead to Hell do not appear to those who go to Heaven, nor the ways which lead to Heaven to those who go to Hell." ‡

* Nos. 462 and 463. † No. 509. ‡ *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 145.

When the probation of a Good Spirit is at an end, he is brought to the gate which leads to his place in Heaven. He enters and discovers Angels who are in nowise strange to him, whose faces are as friendly and familiar as though he had known them from childhood, and who welcome him as a brother. In the congenial air he breathes with a new sense of ease and peace; he has come among his veritable kindred; and in their society he finds his occupation and his happy and eternal home.*

When the period of an Evil Spirit is reached, he likewise is brought to the entrance which leads to his place in Hell. The gates of Hell appear as dusky and sooty caverns, sloping into the deep, from which nauseous and fetid stench exhale.

“Evil Spirits relish these stench as delightful; for as every one on Earth is pleased with his own evil, so after death he is fond of the stench to which his evil corresponds. The Wicked, in this respect, may be compared to rapacious birds and beasts, such as ravens, wolves and swine, which gloat over carrion and dunghills. I once heard a certain Spirit utter a loud cry as if seized with inward torture, on being struck with the fragrant effluvia of Heaven; and afterwards I saw him tranquil and glad in the effluvia of Hell.” †

The Hells lie everywhere beneath the surface of the World of Spirits. The entrances to some, among the hills and rocks, are wide and large, to others strait and narrow, and many of them rugged. Others, in the plains, are like dens and pits, chasms and whirlpools, bogs and stagnant waters. None are seen until a Spirit is ready to go to Hell, when he disappears down one of these entrances amidst an exhalation of fire and smoke and stench. As a Good Spirit finds his place among kindred Angels, so an Evil Spirit finds his place among kindred Devils.

It will be said, Why, this World of Spirits is a new

* Thus is realized what Goethe imagined—“In our Father’s Kingdom perhaps we shall be blessed with what here has been denied us, to know one another merely by seeing one another, and thence more thoroughly to love one another.”—Lewes’s *Life of Goethe*, p. 519, ed. 1864.

† No. 429.

version of old Purgatory! So indeed it seems to me; but Swedenborg in the fervour of his Swedish Protestantism would cut himself off from the weighty sanction of Catholicism. "With regard to Purgatory," he says, "I can aver that it is a pure Babylonish fiction, invented for the sake of gain, and that no such place does or can exist."* Much nonsense and falsehood may have been spoken of Purgatory, but there need be no question that Purgatory and the World of Spirits are one and the same.

THE HEAVENS.

The Societies of Heaven.

Heaven is composed of innumerable Societies of Angels, some large and some small; the large consist of myriads of Angels, the small of some thousands, and the least of some hundreds. The bond of these Societies is similarity of character; the Angels who are like each other dwell together; those who are unlike dwell apart, and far or near apart according to the degree of their unlikeness.

The Angels of each Society associate according to the same law: those who excel in goodness cluster together as the crown and centre of the Society; and those who are round about are distant from the centre according to the degree in which their excellence diminishes.

All the relationships of Earth which are not based on similarity of character are dissolved in the Spiritual World. "They who pass into Heaven or Hell see each other no more; unless they are of similar disposition from similar loves."† "Of ten who were brothers on Earth, five may be in Hell and five in Heaven, and all in different Societies, and if one met another they would have no sense of their earthly relationship. Natural affinities perish after death, and are succeeded by spiritual affinities."‡ On this principle is settled the oft-asked question, "Shall we know each other

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 784, and repeated *True Christian Religion*, No. 475.

† No. 427, and *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 46.

‡ *Doctrine of Charity*, No. 26.

in the Future Life?" We shall, if we possess kindred hearts; if not, we shall be separated, and moreover have no desire for acquaintance. To most therefore—with the exception perhaps of a short meeting in the World of Spirits—death is an everlasting, though, rightly considered, not a mournful farewell.

The Angels of a Society possess a common physiognomy, as if they were members of one family, only the resemblance is more perfect than anything seen on Earth—

"It was shown me how the general resemblance is particularly varied in the individuals of one Society. There appeared to me a face like that of an Angel, which was varied according to the affections of goodness and truth in one Society. The variations continued a long time, and I observed that the same general countenance continued as the common plane, and that the rest of the faces were only derivations and propagations from it."*

Though the Angels of a Society are like each other, there is no sameness—

"The Heaven of one is never the same as the Heaven of another. No two Men, no two Devils, no two Angels, are completely alike. When I only thought of two being exactly equal or alike, the Angels expressed horror."†

"There is moreover no Society, nor any two in a Society, entirely at one in faith or opinion."‡ All receive the Divine Wisdom in diverse manner and measure, and reflect the infinity of the Divine Intelligence in myriads of myriads of forms.

Three Heavens.

The Angelic Host is divided into Three Heavens—an Inmost or Third, a Middle or Second, and an Outmost or First Heaven.

The Angels of the Third or Highest Heaven are called Celestial. They love the Lord supremely, for He fills their hearts with His love. They are in innocence, in token whereof they go naked. They are the Will of Heaven. They recognize truth by a sure instinct, and have no need of reasoning, but do what is right spontaneously.

* No. 47.

† Nos. 56 and 405.

‡ *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 3267.

The Angels of the Second or Middle Heaven are called Spiritual. Their affection is for the Divine Wisdom rather than for the Divine Love. They are the Intellect of Heaven, and their joy is to receive and discuss truths ere they reduce them to practice. They are as inferior to the Celestial Angels as Wisdom is inferior to Goodness.

The Angels of the First or Ultimate Heaven are called Natural. They are the Body of Heaven, and may be described as Obedient Angels. They do what is right because it is suggested by Goodness or commanded by Wisdom, and find pleasure and peace in their duty; but "whilst they live according to the rules of morality, and believe in a Divine Being, have no particular concern for improvement." *

Two Kingdoms of Heaven.

Viewed in another aspect the Angelic Host appears as Two Kingdoms—one called the Celestial and the other the Spiritual Kingdom.

The Brain, as the representative of the Mind, is shared between the Will and the Intellect, and the Body, as projected from and dependent on the Brain, is related in each of its parts, organs and members either to the Will or to the Intellect. The Heart is the grand representative of the Will and the Lungs of the Intellect, and it would be easy to go over the Body and assign this function to the Will and that to the Understanding.

Just so with the Heavens. The Third Heaven is as the Will and the Second Heaven as the Intellect *in the Brain*, and the Outmost Heaven is as the Body apportioned between them. Thus it is, that the Three Heavens constitute Two Kingdoms. †

In Men there are two marked divisions—Men of Love and Men of Truth; the one living and acting from predominance of Will, and the other from predominance of Understanding. Translated to Heaven, they range themselves in Two Kingdoms; the higher of each division acting as the Brain and the lower as the Body.

* No. 33.

† Nos. 94 to 97, and *Arcana Coelestia*, No. 9741.

The existence and order of the three Heavens and two Kingdoms were represented in the Courts of the Temple at Jerusalem. Oberlin, who was a reader of *Heaven and Hell*, had a plan of the Temple hung on the wall of his church, and taught his hearers that according to the degree of their regeneration would be their place in the Heavens.

The Celestial Angels form the Priestly Kingdom of the Lord, and in the Word are styled His Habitation. The Spiritual Angels form his Regal Kingdom, and in the Word are styled His Throne. On Earth the Lord was called Jesus from the celestial aspect and Christ from the spiritual.

The Universal Heaven is a Man.

"This is an arcanum unknown on Earth, though most perfectly in the Heavens, where it constitutes the chief science of the Angels and a means of vast intelligence.

"Heaven is distinguished like the Human Body into parts and members, and the Angels know to which function every Society belongs: hence they say, so and so is in the Head, or Breast, or Loins, or Hands, or Feet.

"The Angels do not see Heaven as a Man, for it is impossible for the Universal Heaven to fall under the view of any one; but they sometimes see a remote Society, consisting of many thousands, in the Human form."*

We have here an illustration of Swedenborg's favourite dogma, that the Method of Nature is everywhere the same; that what is true of the least is true of the largest; and that the Philosopher must take care never to be misled by size into supposing difference.

The assertion that each Society of Angels and the Universal Heaven are in the Human Form, is usually cited as the very height of mysticism or absurdity. Nevertheless, nothing is more credible when reasonably stated.

What indeed can a Society of Men or Angels be, but an enlarged Man?

A solitary Man does everything for himself, painfully and imperfectly, but as he finds neighbours, they share with him

* Nos. 51 to 67.

the business of existence, and in co-operation toil is diminished and comforts multiplied. In society it is discovered that each individual has some special ability, and to each is assigned some function answering thereto. The business which the solitary Man roughly attempted is detailed amongst a multitude of hands, and is accomplished with a fulness and perfection impossible to any single pair. In society a Man's fellows practically say to him, "Do your best for us and we shall do our best for you;" and as the community enlarges and the division of labour extends to minutiae, the individual is redeemed more and more from the drudgery of solitude. Man verily is a social being!

Is it not therefore manifest, that Society is nothing else than the reconstruction and development of Man on a large scale? Society does nothing, Society can do nothing, which does not lie in germ in every Individual. In Society the finest faculty of each Individual is sought out and set to work (to speak ideally of Earth, but actually of Heaven); and by the appointment of the peculiar strength and skill of each to its appropriate use, a new big Man is built up, excellent at every point.

Thus Swedenborg is to be understood when he asserts, that Heaven, and each Society of Heaven, is in the Human Form; and by no means limiting the assertion to the Angelic World—

"The whole Human Race, the men of a Kingdom, of a Province, of a City, and of a Household, are each in the Lord's view a Man; not," he cautiously observes, "*that the Men themselves so appear together*, but the *Uses* which they perform in association are the uses of one Man. . . Hence all the English appear before the Lord as one Man; likewise the Dutch, the Germans, the Swedes and Danes, the French, the Spaniards, the Poles, the Russians; either as Man-Angel or Man-Devil, according to their uses."*

We must be careful, in reading his ascription of the Human Form to Society, not to confound Form with Shape, and thereby overturn his science into nonsense. Form we attribute indifferently to Mind and Matter, but Shape solely

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, from *Apocalypse Explained*.

to Matter. The Mind is in the Human Form, the Brain is in the Human Form, but neither is in the Human Shape, though the Body, which is in the Human Shape, is derived from the Mind through the Brain, and in every tissue expresses something in its unseen origin. Form, Swedenborg defines as application to Use; and wherever he finds any function in Mind or Society corresponding, for instance, to that of the Eye or the Hand, he identifies that mental or social function with the Eye or Hand. If the Uses are similar, he gives them the same name, however diverse their outward appearance. Hence when he asserts that an association like the House of Commons is in the Human Form, he does not mean, what is manifestly untrue, that it is in the Human Shape, but that functions *corresponding* to those of the Human Body are repeated by the Commons on another scale, and on another plane of existence. The leaders of the House fulfil the same Use as the Brain in the Body, and their followers the same Uses as the subordinate organs and members; and moreover, just so far as the House complies with the pattern of a perfect and healthy human organism, is the possibility of its efficiency; and just so far as it falls short of that pattern, is its existence maimed or diseased.

Why Heaven is a Man.

Heaven is in the Human Form because the Lord is a Man. "It is common for the Angels to say that the Lord alone is Man, that they are Men from Him, and that every one is a Man in so far as he receives the Lord.

"No Angel in all the Heavens perceives the Divine in any other than the Human Form; and what is wonderful, they who are in the superior Heavens are not able to think of the Divine otherwise. Hence the wiser the Angels are, the more clearly they discern that God is in a Human Form." *

Swedenborg thus resolves Heaven and Humanity into the Lord. Angels and Men are in themselves husks vivified by the Divine Presence. Heaven is not Heaven from the

* Nos. 78 to 80.

Angels, but from the Lord. Wisdom and Love are no more than the Lord manifest in the Angel—the Man.

An Angel or Devil dwells in circumstances corresponding in every particular to his character, and varied at every instant with the alternations of that character. What a Spirit *is* the Spirit *sees*; the unseen and the seen perfectly harmonize. Hence Heaven is loveliness and Hell ugliness.

The following pages will supply a few illustrations of this correspondence between Character and Appearance.

The Sun of Heaven.

Since the Lord is the Life of the Angels, He perforce appears before them as their Sun; what He is within, He is manifest without. In the Wills of the Angels He is love, and in their Understandings He is wisdom; and this inner fact, transferred to the sphere of vision, results in His appearance as the Sun of Heaven, whose heat corresponds to each Angel's love, and whose light corresponds to each Angel's wisdom.

“To every one the Sun appears differently, even as every one receives the Lord differently. To the Celestial Angels the Sun appears fiery and flaming; to the Spiritual Angels, white and brilliant; the one Kingdom receiving more of the Divine Good and the other more of the Divine Truth. Goodness and Truth are not two but one in the Lord: they are separated in the Angels. The most perfect Angels are those who receive His Love and Wisdom in equal measure.” *

The Sun of Heaven does not appear overhead, but before the faces of the Angels at an angle of 45°; nor does the Sun move from that position, but remains continually in the East.

The Angels of the Celestial Kingdom spread themselves in their ranks from the East to the West, declining in love as they recede westwards. The Angels of the Spiritual Kingdom spread themselves in their ranks from the South to the North, declining in wisdom as they recede northwards.

* Nos. 118 and 126.

The order of Earth is inverted in Heaven; *here* the centre of gravity is the centre of the Earth; *there* the centre of attraction is the Sun.

"The Angels have the East before them whithersoever they turn. They bend their faces and bodies in every direction like Men, but the East is always before their eyes.

"That there is such a turning to the Lord is one of the wonders of Heaven; for it is possible for many Angels to be in the same place, and one may turn his face and body in one direction, and another in another, and yet all see the Lord before them; and every one have the South on his right hand, the North on his left, and the West behind." *

Times and Seasons with the Angels.

Heaven has its Times and Seasons, but not with the uniformity of Earth. In Heaven there is no bleak winter and no dark night; but there is brightness and there is dulness, there is spring and summer, morning and noon and evening, all answering to similar alternations in the minds of the Angels.

"The Angels are not constantly in the same state of love, nor consequently of wisdom. Sometimes they are in a state of intense love, and sometimes in a state of love not so intense, decreasing by degrees from its greatest to its least intensity. These states do not succeed uniformly, but with variety, like the variations of light and shade, heat and cold in our natural year." †

The Angels say these changes do not originate in the Sun, who is ever the same, but in themselves, and indicate a partial relapse from love into self-love.

"When the Angels are in their last state, which is when left to self-love, they begin to be sad. I have conversed with them when in that state and have seen their sadness; but they said that they hoped soon to return to their pristine love, and thus as it were again into Heaven; for it is Heaven to them to be withheld from self-love." ‡

Moreover, without such changes even heavenly life would

* No. 155.

† No. 155.

‡ No. 160.

lose its zest. Eternal uniformity would lapse into eternal misery; life would be weariness and sleep unto death welcome in a land of flat unvaried pleasantness. Heaven is Human Nature beatified, and variety is not the least of its necessities.

No Time in Heaven.

There are no clocks in Heaven. What we call Time, marked into days by the reel of the Earth on its axis and into years by its race round the Sun, is unknown to the Angels. Outside themselves they have no gauge for Time. Day and its brightness lasts as long as they are in delight, and evening prevails as their delight subsides. Time is subject to them, and not they to Time; the only clocks are their hearts; by their states alone reckoning is kept, and their days are merely the measure of their desires.

"Events succeed each other in Heaven as on Earth, but the Angels have no idea of Time external to themselves. They do not even know what is meant by a year, a month, a week, a day, an hour, to-day, to-morrow, yesterday; and when they hear them named by Man, they translate them into States of Mind. Hence it is that Times in the Word signify States."*

All this may appear strange, but it flows as an inevitable consequence from the law which subordinates phenomena to the Angel or Devil. Our life here moreover will supply many indications of the truth. How short is an hour when passed with a pleasant friend, and how long when passed on the rack of anxiety! Yet we know, that sixty minutes, independently of the mind, are never longer nor shorter. "Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and they seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her." Our real life is altogether above the vicissitudes of days and years; we are old as our hearts wither with selfishness, and ever young as they are tender and true.

No Space in Heaven.

As there is no Time in Heaven there is no Space; there are appearances of Space just as on Earth, but instead of

* Nos. 162 and 165.

being fixed, they are altogether subject to the states of the Angels. The distance between London and Melbourne is determined, and a friend in the one city, however ardently he may desire to meet a friend in the other, will consume a certain number of days in transit; but in Heaven the case is quite otherwise; the hot desire annihilates the appearance of distance.

“When an Angel goes from one place to another he arrives sooner when he is ardent, and later when he is indifferent; the way, whilst it remains the same, being shortened or lengthened in accordance with the strength of his impulse. This I have often seen, and wondered that it should be so.”*

Appearances of Space in the Spiritual World indicate nothing but differences of character; and hence it is, that those who are of kindred mind dwell together, and those who are of dissimilar mind apart; and the extent of characteristic difference is represented in corresponding separation as to Space. Nothing can overcome these distances but sympathy. Between Heaven and Hell a great gulf is fixed. Angel and Devil can seldom meet, nor even Angels of diverse character without suffering. The widest spaces of earth any one may traverse, but the spaces of the Spiritual World are impassable save to a universal sympathy, which none, we apprehend, possess.

The scenery of Heaven being thus plastic to the Angels, it need not be concluded that it has little permanence. There is as much fixity in heavenly scenery as there is in angelic character; and angelic character has emerged from the turmoil of Earth into peace and assurance for ever. Yet even in the light of our earthly experience we may know, that character in its essential structure changes slowly if at all, and were its perturbations displayed in Nature, they would be represented by cloud and sunshine, cold and heat, wind and rain, rather by deluge and earthquake. Even so the basis of an Angel's character is repeated in the groundwork of his landscape, and its variations by superficial phenomena thereon.

The Homes of the Angels.

“Whenever I have conversed with the Angels mouth to mouth, I have been present with them in their houses, which are exactly like those of Earth, but more beautiful. They contain chambers, parlours and bed-rooms in great numbers, courts also, and around them gardens, shrubberies, and fields.

“Where Angels live in society, their houses are arranged in the form of a city with streets, lanes, and squares, exactly like the cities on our Earth. It has been granted me to walk through them, and to look about on every side, and occasionally to enter the houses. This occurred when I was wide awake and when my inner eyes were open.

“I have seen palaces in Heaven magnificent beyond description. Their upper parts were refulgent as if they were pure gold, and their lower parts as if they were precious stones. Some were more splendid than others, and the splendour without was equalled by the magnificence within. The rooms were ornamented as neither language nor science can adequately describe. On the south were paradises in like manner glorious. In some the leaves of the trees were like silver and the fruits like gold. The flowers in beds were like rainbows. The grounds were contiguous to other palaces which terminated the view.”*

Houses in Heaven are not built like houses on Earth, but are created by the Lord for each Angel *through* each Angel's character. Wherefore they vary from simplicity to magnificence with their owners. There is nothing indeed in any angelic habitation which does not express something in the character of the householder.

Swedenborg's descriptions of the glories of the Heavens run in commonplaces concerning gorgeous architecture and upholstery. He is a poor hand at scenery, but a lively imagination may find ample scope for independent development in the principles he lays down.

“The Angels of the Lord's Celestial Kingdom dwell for the most part on mountains; those of the Spiritual King-

dom on hills; and the Angels of the lowest parts of Heaven in rocky places.

“There are also Angels who do not live in societies, but in separate houses and families. These dwell in the midst of Heaven, and are the best of the Angels.” *

The Angels are Men and Women.

It is scarcely necessary to state, what has all along been asserted or assumed, that Death works no change whatever on Human Nature, and that Men and Women awake in the World of Spirits so perfectly themselves, that it often requires some effort to realize the fact that they have risen from Earth to Spirit.

“From all my experience, which has now continued for many years, I can declare and solemnly affirm that the Angelic Form is in every respect Human; that Angels have faces, eyes, ears, breasts, arms, hands and feet; that they see, hear, and converse with each other; and, in a word, lack no external attribute of Man except the material body.

“I have seen Angels in their own light, which exceeds by many degrees the noon-day light of Earth, and in that light I have observed all parts of their faces more distinctly and clearly than ever I did the faces of Men on Earth. It has also been granted me to see an Angel of the Inmost Heaven. His countenance was brighter and more resplendent than the faces of the Angels of the Outer Heavens. I examined him closely, and found him a Man in all perfection.” †

Again he testifies—

“A Man is equally a Man after Death, and a Man so perfectly that he knows no other than that he is still on Earth. He sees, hears, and speaks as on Earth; he walks, runs and sits as on Earth; he eats and drinks as on Earth; he sleeps and wakes as on Earth; he enjoys sexual delights as on Earth; in short, he is a Man in general and every particular as on Earth.” ‡

* Nos. 50, 188 and 207.

† No. 75.

‡ No. 461 and *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 32.

Nevertheless the difference between the life of Earth and of Heaven is great, inasmuch as the senses of the Angels are more exquisite than those of Men. All that we enjoy, the Angels enjoy, but with a delicacy far beyond our gross and sluggish perceptions. Verily "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of Man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."

The Beauty of the Angels.

The Angels are forms of love, and their beauty is ineffable. Love beams from their countenances, inspires their speech and vivifies their every action.

From every Spirit (and indeed from every Man) there emanates a sphere, an air, an aura impregnated with his life, and by which his quality is made sensible. This aroma, this atmosphere, in the case of the Angels, is so full of love, that it affects the inmost life of all who draw near them.

"I have sometimes perceived the spheres of the Angels and have been most tenderly and deeply touched thereby.

"The Human Form of every Angel is beautiful in proportion to his love of Divine Truth and subjection thereto. The Angels of the Inmost Heaven are consequently the most beautiful; for spiritual perfection increases towards the centre of Heaven and decreases towards the circumference.

"I have seen faces of Angels of the Third Heaven which were so lovely, that no painter with the utmost power of his art could depict even a thousandth part of their light and life; but the faces of the Angels of the Lowest Heaven might in some measure be represented.

"They who are in Heaven are continually advancing to the spring-time of life, and the more thousands of years they live, the more delightful and happy is the spring to which they attain. Good women who have died worn out with age, come after awhile more and more into the flower of youth, and into a loveliness which exceeds all conceptions of beauty which can be formed from what the eye has seen. Goodness moulds their forms into its own image, and causes the countenance to beam with grace and sweet-

ness. Some who have beheld them have been overwhelmed with astonishment.

"In fine, *to grow old in Heaven is to grow young.*" *

Marriage in Heaven.

Death leaving Human Nature unaffected, leaves Sex unaffected. Angels are Men and Women with all the passions of Men and Women, and consequently Marriage is the rule of Heaven.

"Marriage is the conjunction of two into one Mind.

"The Mind consists of two parts—the understanding and the will; and when these act in unity they are called one Mind. In Heaven the Husband acts as the understanding and the Wife as the will: each has an understanding and a will, but in the Husband, the understanding predominates, and in the Wife, the will; and character is determined by the faculty which predominates.

"In Angelic Marriage there is no predominance: the will of the Wife is the will of the Husband, and the understanding of the Husband is the understanding of the Wife. Each loves to will and think as the other wills and thinks. Thus their Minds are conjoined—actually conjoined, so that married partners are not called two, but one Angel.

"This conjunction of Minds descending into the Body is felt as conjugal love." †

From the cohabitation of Angels no children are born, but their union is thereby perfected and their love and intelligence increased. ‡

"They who have regarded adulteries as detestably wicked, and lived in the chaste love of marriage, are above all others in the order and form of Heaven after death. Their beauty is surpassing, and the vigour of their youth endures for ever. The delights of their love are unspeakable, and they increase to eternity; for all the delights and joys of Heaven are collected into wedded love, since Marriage corresponds to the conjunction of the Lord and

* Nos. 17, 414, and 459.

† Nos. 367 and 369.

‡ No. 382.

the Church. No language can describe the external delights of those Angels.”*

The Garments of the Angels.

The Angels of the Inmost Heaven go naked, for they are peculiarly in innocence, but in the other Heavens the Angels appear clothed, and each Angel in vesture corresponding to his intelligence.

“The most intelligent have garments which glitter as with flame, and some are resplendent as with light. The less intelligent have garments of clear or opaque white without splendour. The still less intelligent have garments of various colours.

“The garments of the Angels do not merely appear to be garments, but really are garments; for they not only see but feel them, and have many changes, which they take off and put on, laying aside those which are not in use, and resuming them when they come into use again. That they are clothed with a variety of garments, I have witnessed a thousand times; and when I inquired whence they obtained them, they told me, ‘from the Lord,’ and that they receive them as gifts, and that they are sometimes clothed without knowing how. They also said that their garments are changed according to the changes of their states of Mind.”†

The Power of the Angels.

“The Power of the Angels in the Spiritual World is so great, that if I were to adduce all the examples of it which I have seen, they would exceed belief. If anything there makes resistance, and ought to be removed because contrary to Divine Order, they cast it down and overturn it by a mere effort of will and by a look.

“I have seen mountains which were occupied by the Wicked thus cast down and overthrown, and sometimes made to shake from one end to another as by an earthquake.

*No. 489. Of Married Life in the Heavens much equally exquisite might be related, but as Swedenborg published a special treatise on Conjugal Love, no more need be added at present.

† Nos. 178 and 181.

I have beheld rocks cleft in sunder down to the deep, and the Wicked who were upon them swallowed up. I have also seen some hundreds of thousands of Evil Spirits dispersed and cast into Hell; for numbers are of no avail against the Angels, nor arts, nor cunning, nor confederacies: they see through all and dispel them in a moment.

“In the Natural World, when permitted, Angels may exercise similar power, as is plain from the Word, in which we read, that they utterly destroyed armies, and caused a pestilence of which seventy thousand men died.”

The Angels have no power of themselves. They are simply instruments in the hand of the Lord. They are powers only so far as they acknowledge their dependence upon Him. If any Angel is so silly as to think that he has power of himself, he instantly becomes so weak that he cannot resist a single Evil Spirit.

“The Angels are of various powers. The strongest Angels constitute the Arms of the Grand Man. They who are in that province are in Truths more than others, and there is an influx of Love into their Truths from the Universal Heaven. The power of the whole Man transfers itself into the Arms, and by them the Body exercises its force. Hence it is that Arms and Hands in the Word denote power.

“In Heaven there sometimes appears stretched forth a naked Arm of such stupendous power as to be able to break in pieces everything it meets with, even if it were a rock on Earth. Once it was moved towards me, and I had a perception that it was able to crush my bones to powder.

“The immense power the Angels have by Truth is manifest from the circumstance that an Evil Spirit, when only looked at by an Angel, falls into a swoon and loses the appearance of a Man until the Angel turns away his eyes.” †

The Wisdom of the Angels.

The Wisdom of the Angels so far transcends the Wisdom of Men as to be incommunicable by human language. The

* No. 229.

† Nos. 231 and 232.

Angels may be called Wisdoms. Their thoughts are not bounded by notions derived from Time and Space, nor are they drawn downwards by cares for the necessities of life; "for all they require is given them freely by the Lord; they are clad gratis, they are fed gratis, they are housed gratis." *

"The chief reason why Angels are capable of such Wisdom is because they are free from the dominion of Self-Love; for in the degree that any one is free from Self-Love, is it possible to grow wise in Divine Truth. Those in whom Self-Love predominates are in thick darkness as to heavenly things, how acute soever they may be esteemed in worldly affairs." †

The Wisdom of the Angels, in common with all else pertaining to them, varies in character and degree in every individual. There are wise Angels and there are Simple Angels. The Wisdom of the Inmost Heaven far exceeds that of the Middle Heaven, and the Wisdom of the Middle Heaven far exceeds that of the Outmost Heaven.

"The Angels are perfected in Wisdom continually, but they cannot to eternity exhaust the Divine Wisdom. The Lord is infinite; the Angels are finite; and there is no proportion between the Infinite and the Finite.

"All in Heaven desire Wisdom and relish it as a hungry man relishes food. Knowledge, Intelligence, Wisdom are spiritual nourishment as food is physical nourishment; they mutually correspond to each other." ‡

Worship in Heaven.

Divine worship in the Heavens appears to be celebrated in much the same manner as among English Dissenters, where preaching is made the main business.

"In order that I might understand the order of the churches of Heaven, it has been granted me to enter them sometimes and hear the preaching.

"The Preacher stands in a pulpit in the east: before his face sit those who are in the light of wisdom, and on their right and left, those who are in less light. They sit in the

* No. 266.

† No. 272.

‡ Nos. 273 and 274.

form of a circus so that all are in view of the Preacher. Novitiates stand at the door on the east of the temple, to the left of the pulpit. No one is allowed to stand behind the pulpit because the Preacher would be confused thereby;* and he is confused if any one in the congregation dissents from what is said; wherefore a dissentient turns away his head."†

In another place he describes a chapel which he visited with ten strangers from the World of Spirits under the guidance of an Angel—

"In the morning the strangers heard a proclamation, *To-day is the Sabbath*. They arose and asked the Angel what it meant. He replied, 'It is for the worship of God, which returns at stated times and is proclaimed by the Preachers. The worship is performed in our temples and lasts about two hours; wherefore, if it please you, come along with me and I will introduce you.' So the strangers made themselves ready, and followed the Angel to the temple. It was a large building, capable of containing an audience of 3,000, of a semicircular form, with benches carried round in continuous sweep, the hinder ones being more elevated than those in front. The pulpit in front of the seats was drawn a little from the centre; the door was behind the pulpit on the left hand. The ten strangers entered with the Angel, who pointed out to them the places where they were to sit, telling them, 'Every one that enters the temple knows his own place by a kind of instinct; nor can he sit in any place but his own: in case he takes another place, he neither hears nor perceives anything, and he also disturbs the order; the consequence of which is that the Preacher is not inspired.'"‡

The sermons preached in the Heavens are fraught with such wisdom that nothing on earth can be compared to them: all are practical, all bear on life, and none on faith apart from life.

* "In Heaven it is not lawful for any one to stand behind another and to look at the back of his head, because the influx of Goodness and Truth from the Lord would be disturbed thereby." No. 144.

† No. 223.

‡ *Conjugal Love*, No. 23.

“Real divine worship in the Heavens does not consist in frequenting chapels and hearing sermons, but in a worthy life; and sermons in churches serve only for instruction in its conduct. I have conversed with Angels on this subject, and have told them it is believed on Earth, that worship consists in going to church, hearing sermons, receiving the holy supper, and in the practice of other rites prescribed by the Church. The Angels said, these external forms ought to be observed, but they are of no avail unless they proceed from a desire to live aright.”*

The churches of the Spiritual Kingdom are built of stone and are more or less magnificent. The temples of the Celestial Kingdom are constructed of wood and are humbler edifices: nor are they called churches, but houses of God. The cause of this difference in ecclesiastical architecture lies, of course, in the character of the Kingdoms. Wood corresponds to goodness and stone to truth; and truth, though subordinate to love, is by far the showier quality.

Preaching is not practised indiscriminately by the Angels. Every Angel has his peculiar use for which he is fitted by some predominant faculty: to this use he is set apart, and in its exercise finds his happiness. In accordance with this infinitely wise rule, which fills every office with genius, Preachers are ordained; and none unless so appointed by the manifest finger of God are allowed to minister in the temples of Heaven.†

The Innocence of the Angels.

“The nature and quality of innocence are known to few on Earth, and entirely unknown to those who are in Evil. Innocence indeed appears before men’s eyes in the face, speech and gestures of little children; still its nature is unknown; and it is still less known that Heaven abides with men pre-eminently in Innocence.”‡

The innocence of little children is not genuine innocence; it is an external form without any corresponding reality *in them*; yet, as a picture, it may furnish some idea of true innocence.

* No. 222.

† No. 226.

‡ No. 276.

The charm of young children arises from their having no internal thought; "they do not yet know what is good and evil, nor what is true and false; *and these principles are the origin of thought.*"* Hence they have no prudence, no deliberate purposes, no evil ends; they are satisfied with trifles, they love and trust their parents implicitly, and have no anxiety about food and raiment and futurity.

Now in so far as children are thus *thoughtlessly* innocent, the Angels are *thoughtfully* innocent. The essence of innocence is confidence in the Lord. The Angels know that in themselves they are nothingness and helplessness, and that in their Lord's presence (as Love in their Wills and Truth in their Understandings) is their safety and strength, and that just as they yield themselves to Him are they invested with His omnipotence. In this absence of self-dependence and self-satisfaction consists that wise innocence of which the ignorant innocence of childhood is the evanescent semblance.

Hence innocence is one with wisdom, yea is the acme of wisdom, the confession, the practice, the enjoyment of the highest truth! Innocence is the measure of Heaven, and an Angel's place therein is according to the measure of his innocence. The Inmost Heaven therefore is its peculiar home.

The Peace of the Angels.

As is the innocence of the Angels so is their peace: innocence and peace go hand in hand; peace is the result of innocence. "They who have not felt it, can have no conception of the peace which the Angels enjoy. Peace exists in Men who are wise and good, and thence conscious of content in God; but so long as they are on Earth, peace lies stored in their interiors, and is not revealed until their interiors are opened in Heaven.

"When an Angel of the Inmost Heaven draws near, the influence from his innocence is so sweet, that the spirit is thrilled through with an ecstasy to which all earthly delights are as nothing. This I speak from experience." †

* No. 277.

† Nos. 282, 284, and 288.

The Happiness of the Angels.

Ere we speak of the happiness of the Angels we may ask and answer a question—

Who is happiest?

He who loves most.

There is no happiness apart from love; and the intenser the love the intenser the happiness. From the affection of lovers, of husband and wife, of parent and child, of friend and friend, are derived the tenderest, deepest, most exquisite joys of which we are susceptible. If not in loving, where shall we find happiness?

As Angels are no more than glorified Men and Women, the source of their happiness remains the same. They are happy because they love, and happy in the precise measure of their love.

Now love is of two kinds—one diffusive, the other absorbent. The first, Swedenborg describes as Love to the Lord and the Neighbour; the second, as Love of Self and the World.

“The loves of Heaven are Love to the Lord and Love to the Neighbour, and it is the nature of those Loves to communicate delight. Love to the Lord is communicative, because the Lord’s Love is *the Love of communicating all that He has to His Creatures*; and the same Love is in each of those who love Him, *because the Lord is in them*. Love to the Neighbour is of a similar quality. The whole business of those Loves is *to diffuse joy*.

“It is otherwise with the Loves of Self and the World. The Love of Self absorbs delight: the Love of the World burns with the desire of universal possession. It is the nature of these Loves to destroy joy in others. When even they appear communicative, it is for the sake of Self—that they may receive their own with usury.”*

In the character of these Loves we may perceive the great gulf which divides Heaven and Hell. In Devils there is no Love of the Lord or the Neighbour; their whole being is included in the Love of Self and of Property. In Angels

* No. 399.

the Love of Self and of Property exists, but entirely subordinate to the Love of the Lord and the Neighbour. Hence the ruling and constant motive of every Angel is to be useful, to be kind, to be a blessing to all around him. For Self and Property he cares, but only cares because Self and Property are instruments of well-doing: he cares for them as does an artizan for the tools whereon his efficiency depends. "Angelic Love is to love the Neighbour *more* than Self." *

Try then and conceive what must be the happiness where the ardour of every Angel is spent in doing good!

"How great is the delight of Heaven may appear from this fact alone, that it is the joy of the Angels to communicate delight and blessing to one another; and since all in Heaven are moved with this passion, it is plain how immense is its delight.

"Heaven is so full of delights, that viewed in itself it is nothing but delight and blessedness; so that whether we say Heaven or Happiness it is the same thing." †

To the selfish and the worldly the happiness of Heaven is incomprehensible. Their pleasures consist in power, reputation and voluptuousness, and they feel that to deprive them of these is to rob them of every reason for existence.

The Speech of the Angels.

The Language of Heaven is a universal Language. It is not taught; every one at death finds he has it, and speaks it instinctively. Its sounds are sounds of affection articulated by the understanding.

As language in the Spiritual World is the outflow of affection through intellect into words, speech supplies a sure index to character—

"The wiser Angels can discover the whole life of a speaker from the tone of his voice combined with a few of his expressions. In the tone they discern his ruling love. This I have often seen done. ‡

"The speech of the Celestial Angels is like a gentle stream, soft and continuous; that of the Spiritual Angels

* No. 406.

† Nos. 397 and 399.

‡ Nos. 236 and 269.

rather vibratory and broken. Celestial language partakes greatly of the sound of the vowels U and O: it contains no hard consonants, and few transitions from one consonant to another without the interposition of a word which begins with a vowel; therefore in the Word the particle *and* so often occurs, as those may see who read the Word in Hebrew. Spiritual language is distinguished by the free use of the vowels A and I. In vowels the affections move." *

Wonderful is the expressiveness of angelic speech—

"Angels can express in a minute what Man cannot utter in half an hour, in a single word more than he can in a thousand, and in a few words what would occupy pages of writing, as has been proved to me by much experience.

"There are things innumerable in one angelic expression, which could not be set forth by all the words of human language; for in every single word spoken by Angels there are contained arcana of wisdom in continuous connection, which human science cannot reach. Angels can recite in a few words, the whole contents of any book. They supply by their tones what their words do not fully express.

"I have occasionally been let into the state in which Angels are, and at such times have conversed with them and understood everything they said; but when I returned to my former state and wished to recollect what I had heard, I was not able. There were a thousand things which could not be compressed into ideas of natural thought, and which therefore were ineffable in any degree by human words." †

Angelic speech as it corresponds to angelic affection is musical, and its eloquence not only pleases the ear, but its tenderness touches the heart—

"An Angel once spoke to a certain hard-hearted Spirit, and he was at length so affected by his discourse, that he burst into tears, saying, that he could not resist, because it was love speaking, and that he had never wept before." ‡

Infernal language in like manner is an efflux from infernal character—

* No. 241. † Nos. 239 and 269.

‡ Nos. 238 and 242.

"It is held in the utmost aversion by the Angels. They cannot endure the discourse of Devils, which affects them as a foul odour does the nostrils." *

"Angelic language has nothing in common with human language, except so far as the sounds of words correspond to the affections for which they stand. Angels cannot utter a single word of human language. They have tried, but were not able; for it is quite impossible for an Angel to form any sound out of harmony with his private affection.

"I have been told that the primitive language of Mankind was in agreement with angelic language, because derived from Heaven, and that the Hebrew tongue agrees with it in some particulars." †

The Speech of the Angels with Man.

When an Angel speaks with a Man he uses the Man's language; thus in French with a Frenchman, in Greek with a Greek, in Swedish with a Swede. This at first sight may seem odd. As the power to converse in angelic or infernal language is innate in every one, we should have inferred that spiritual language was the appropriate medium of intercourse; and the more especially as we have just learned, that "Angels cannot utter a word of human language." Not so, says Swedenborg, and adduces his experience.

An Angel in talking with a Man appropriates the Man's memory—

"He enters into the Man's memory so perfectly, that he is almost induced to believe he knows all the Man knows, even all the languages he has learned.

"I have discussed the subject with Angels, and said, that possibly they might fancy they conversed with me in my mother tongue, for so it *appeared* to them; but that they did not."

Here comes the explanation—

"The Angels replied, they were not deceived by the *appearance*, but were aware of the true state of the case. When they conversed with Man they conjoined themselves

* No. 245.

† No. 237.

with his spiritual thought, which flows into his natural thought, which coheres with his memory. Hence Man's language *appears* as their own, and likewise all his knowledge." *

Thus, if we understand aright, Angels' thoughts are transmitted through a number of media *in the Man's Mind* to a final investiture in the words of his familiar tongue. If in his memory there should be no words fitted to receive Angels' thoughts, then, we presume, as incommunicable, they would be dissipated.

The communications of Angels and Spirits are thus limited by the materials found in Man's memory—

"It is not allowed that any Angel or Spirit should speak with Man from his own memory, but only from the Man's. If a Spirit were to speak with a man from his own memory, the Man would appropriate the Spirit's memory as his own, and his Mind would become confused with the recollection of things he had never experienced. In consequence of the memories of Spirits getting muddled with Men's, some of the Ancients conceived the idea that they had existed in another realm previous to their birth on Earth. Thus they accounted for the possession of memories which they were sure had not originated in ordinary experience." †

This law gives the reason for a continual complaint preferred against those who profess to hold communication with the Spiritual World—that they receive nothing new. On the conditions here stated it is manifestly out of the power of Angels or Spirits or Devils to communicate anything new to Men; they are limited by their Medium's memory: the contents thereof may be vivified and thrown into new forms by the Agents who occupy it, but they can add no material of their own. The law likewise sheds a flood of light on Swedenborg's own case, for he was no exception to the rule. He was indeed, as we have just read, "occasionally let into the state in which Angels are, and conversed in angelic language, but on his return to his habitual condition, and wishing to recollect what he had heard, he was not able."

* No. 256.

† No. 256.

The Consociation of Angels and Devils with Men.

Swedenborg with even more than his customary iteration strives to impress on his readers the fact that Angels and Men and Devils are intimately connected—

“Man without communication with Heaven and Hell would not be able to live for a moment. If communication were broken, he would fall down dead as a stock.

“This has been proved to me by experience. The Spirits associated with me were a little removed, and instantly, according to their removal, I began as it were to expire; and I should have expired, unless they had come back again.” *

This connection of Men with Angels and Devils is as unconscious on their side as on ours. When moved with gentle feelings we do not enter into open personal acquaintance with Angels, nor when stirred by vile passions, with Devils, although Angels or Devils live in us at such moments.

Swedenborg's appearance in the Spiritual World surprised the Angels quite as much as his claim to be their visitor astonished Mankind. He relates the following story concerning the wonder he excited in a certain Angel who was a schoolmaster—

“I approached him. On seeing me, he said—

“‘Who are you? I was surprised as I saw you coming this way. At one instant you were in sight, and at another out of it: at one time I saw you, and suddenly I did not see you. You cannot be in the same order of life that we are.’

“I replied, smiling—‘I am neither a player nor Vertumnus, but I am at one time in your sight, and at another out of it. I am both a foreigner and a native.’

“Thereon he looked at me and said—‘You speak things strange and wonderful. Tell me, who are you?’

“‘I am in the world from which you have departed, called the Natural World; and I am also in the world in which you are, called the Spiritual World. Hence I am in a natural state and at the same time in a spiritual state; in a natural state with Men, and in a spiritual state with you:

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 5849.

when I am in the natural state you do not see me, but when I am in the spiritual state you do: that such is my condition has been granted by the Lord. It is known to you, Illustrious Sir, that a Man of the Natural World does not see a Man of the Spiritual World, nor *vice versá*; wherefore when I let my spirit into my body, you did not see me, but when I let it out, you did see me.'”*

Angels and Men did not always abide in unconscious association. The Adamites conversed with Spirits, but since their days of innocence, Heaven has been rarely opened—

“Although many in succeeding ages have conversed with Angels and Spirits, as Moses, Aaron and others, yet it has been in a mode differing altogether from that which prevailed in primitive ages.”†

A reason for the cessation of open intercourse is the malignity of Evil Spirits—

“If they could perceive that they were associated with Man, they would attempt by a thousand means to destroy him; for they hate him with a deadly hatred. As they knew I was in the flesh, they were continually striving to make an end of me, not as to the body only, but especially as to the soul; for to destroy is the very delight of all who are in Hell: but I have been all along protected by the Lord.

“Because of this danger it is rarely allowed at this day to speak with Spirits; and the greatest care is exercised by the Lord to prevent Spirits from knowing that they are attendant on Man.”‡

Supposing our spiritual eyes were opened, we should discover ourselves in the company of Spirits of the same character as ourselves, with thoughts and feelings the duplicates of our own, and ready to sanction every passion, and echo every prejudice. With such company we shall blend eternally at death; meanwhile it is better for us to endure contradiction and correction by contraries on Earth.

As our characters change our company changes—“One kind of Spirits is with us in infancy, another in childhood,

* *Conjugal Love*, No. 326.

† *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 784.

‡ Nos. 249 and 292, and *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 5863.

another in youth and manhood, and another in old age." If we are regenerating, we forsake Devils and progress from lower to higher Heavens; if we are degenerating, we forsake Angels and sink into deeper and deeper Hells. *

The Conjunction of Heaven with Man by the Word.

It has been said, that Heaven is incarnated in love and truth in Humanity as is a soul in a body; or, to put the fact in other terms, "the Human Race without Heaven would be like a chain which has lost a link, and Heaven without the Human Race would be like a house without a foundation." †

Now whatever excites good feelings and true thoughts in us serves Heaven; for by good feelings and true thoughts we are conjoined with the Angels, and Heaven thereby obtains incarnation.

The Holy Scriptures are the grand means whereby the Lord is made known to us, and our hearts inflamed with His love and our minds illumined with His wisdom. By the Word therefore, the Church and Heaven are knit together.

"The Word is kept by the Angels in the most sacred recesses of their temples; and when a recess is opened, it shines like a great star, and sometimes like a sun, and in the radiance are seen rainbows.

"That every truth of the Word shines with a bright light was made evident to me from the circumstance, that when any single verse is transcribed on a scrap of paper and thrown up into the air, a bright light appears of the same shape as the slip on which the text is written. In this way the Angels produce brilliant figures of birds, fishes, etc.

"What is still more surprising, if any one rubs his face, hands and clothes on the open Word, he shines as though he were standing in a star. This I have often seen and wondered at; and thereby I understood why the face of Moses shone when he brought down the tables of the covenant from Mount Sinai.

"If however any Spirit who is in falses looks at the

* No 295.

† No. 304.

Word as it rests in its sacred repository, there rises a thick darkness before his eyes, through which the Word is seen as black, and sometimes as covered with soot; if he touch it, there at once ensues a violent explosion, whereby he is flung into the corner of the room, and there lies as one dead, for about an hour. If he ventures to try the experiment of throwing texts into the air, they explode, and the paper is torn in pieces and vanishes. The same happens, as I have often seen, if the text be thrown into the corner of a room." *

Writing in Heaven.

Writing, like language, is in Heaven spontaneous: it is not taught; it flows from the hand of an Angel with perfect ease; nor does he pause to discuss or select his expressions. The Angels can likewise produce writings by the mere exercise of thought; but these are not permanent. †

The letters used by the Angels of the Spiritual Kingdom are like the ordinary Roman type before the reader; those used by the Angels of the Celestial Kingdom are in some societies like Arabic characters, and in others like old Hebrew letters, but inflected above and beneath, with marks around and within them, every dot and dash being pregnant with meaning.

The Angels have books and libraries just as Men have; and their book of books is the Bible. From it they preach, from it they draw doctrine, and in its pages find all wisdom. In their version however, they do not read of the places and persons with which we are familiar, but of the spiritual realities which Jews and Gentiles in our version symbolize.

"It is a wonderful circumstance that the Word in Heaven is so written that the Simple understand it in simplicity and the Wise in wisdom. The various curvatures and marks over the letters, which exalt the sense, the Simple neither regard nor understand, whereas the Wise are attentive to them, and every one according to the height of his wisdom." ‡

* *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 209 and 241. † Nos. 260 and 262.

‡ No. 241.

Infants in Heaven.

All infants go to Heaven—wheresoever born, whether within the Church or out of it, whether of pious or of wicked parents—and are converted into Angels.

Infants at death are received by female Angels who on Earth loved children tenderly. They accept them as their own; the Infants love them as mothers; and each Angel has as many as satisfies her maternal desires. As the children grow up, they are transferred to masters whose delight is in the education of the young.

The instruction of Infants is much easier in Heaven than on Earth, where the action of the Mind is fettered and frustrated by the dulness of the flesh. They walk and talk and write with scarcely an effort, and having acquired no evil from actual life, they advance without hindrance in love and wisdom. Nevertheless their freedom from sin is not freedom from evil—

“I have conversed with Angels concerning Infants in Heaven, and inquired whether they were pure from evils, because they had done no evil like Adults. I was told, they are in evil, and indeed are *nothing but evil*; that they, in common with Angels, are *withheld* from evil and *held in* goodness by the Lord; and that hence *it appears* as if they were good in themselves.”*

This statement is worth noting as a bold illustration of a cardinal article in Swedenborgian theology.

Children are sedulously cautioned by their angelic instructors against taking any pride in the brightness of their lives. All their virtues are the Lord's, and are no more creditable to them than is the light wherewith the sun glorifies a room creditable to the room.

Here is a curious account, from the Diary, of the discipline of Girls in Heaven—

“They are kept three, four, or five together, and each has her own chamber and her own bed; adjoining is a closet for clothes and utensils. Perfumes are given them; also boxes

and drawers in which they keep the nick-nacks in which they delight.

"They are constantly employed over needle-work. This often consists of embroidery of nosegays and such like on white linen; which fancy-work they either wear or distribute as gifts, but never sell.

"They have dress for common use and finer dress for holidays given them gratis, and without knowledge of how or whence the garments come. When they see spots on their dress, it is a sign that they have thought or done something amiss; and the spots cannot be washed out. They therefore search their hearts to discover the cause, and when the fault is found and repented of, the spots vanish. In like manner, when they discover that a garment has disappeared from their wardrobe, they immediately know they have done something wrong, and straightway ponder over their conduct. If the mistake cannot be ascertained, some married woman tells them. If on the other hand, they find a new dress in their wardrobe, they heartily rejoice, for it is a token of well-doing.

"They have likewise little gardens in which, as long as they are maids, there are many sorts of flowers, but no fruits until they become wives. When they see the flowers fade or degenerate, they search their minds with sorrow for the cause; but if their beauty increase and they assume finer forms, then are they glad, for 'tis proof their thoughts have been well employed.

"They have pieces of gold and silver money given them, which they treasure as evidences of diligence and virtue. They have each a copy of the Word and a Psalter, which they carry to Church and read in private; if they neglect to do so, or are angry, or artful, the Word vanishes.

"At times they are visited and examined by Preachers." *

It is difficult to read this artless description of a heavenly boarding-school without thinking of something like Miss Pinkerton's academy on Chiswick Mall.

The third part of Heaven consists of Infants, and in the Grand Man they constitute the province of the Eye. Some

* Nos. 5660 to 5667,

are of a celestial and some of a spiritual genius, and are assorted accordingly.

“The state of Men who grow up to maturity on Earth may be as perfect as the state of Infants brought up in Heaven, provided Self-Love and Love of the World are subordinated to the Love of the Lord and the Neighbour.”*

Gentiles in Heaven.

Gentiles are prepared for Heaven in the World of Spirits by Angels who have risen from their own ranks, and who can therefore deal sympathetically with their difficulties. The good quickly reject their idolatries and receive the Christian faith. “When they hear that God was made Man, and thus manifested Himself on Earth, they instantly acknowledge the truth and adore the Lord.”† The best of the Gentiles come from Africa.

Swedenborg conversed with Gentiles in the Spiritual World “for hours and days together.”‡ His estimate of their character was very high: as we have seen, the Church of the New Jerusalem was to be established among them. Here is one of his illustrations of Gentile goodness—

“Once when I was reading in Judges about Micah, a Gentile Spirit was present, who on earth had worshipped a graven image. He heard attentively what was done to Micah, and of the grief he suffered for the loss of his idol, and his sympathetic sorrow was so great that it nearly deprived him of the power of thought. I perceived his sorrow and his innocence of heart.

“Afterwards some Good Spirits talked with him, and observed that he might know as a rational being, that a graven image ought not to be worshipped; but that he ought to think of God, independently of idols, as the Creator and Governor of the Universe, and that the Lord is that God.

“When this conversation was going on, the interior affection of the Gentile’s worship was communicated to me, and I perceived that it was much more holy than that of Christians. From this circumstance it is evident that the

* No. 345.

† Nos. 321 and 514.

‡ No. 322.

Gentiles of the present day enter Heaven more easily than Christians. *

"This Gentile Spirit could imbibe all the doctrines of faith, and retain them with the deepest affection; for he possessed the compassion which springs from love, and his ignorance was full of innocence; and where love and innocence are present, the truths of faith are received spontaneously and with joy. He was afterwards received amongst Angels." †

Governments in Heaven.

Since Heaven is a compact unity of which a hale and comely Human Body is the fairest emblem, it is evident that order and subordination must prevail throughout all its regions; and as order and subordination do not come of themselves, there are necessarily Governments whereby they are realized.

"The Governments of Heaven are various; of one sort in the societies of the Celestial Kingdom, and of another sort in the societies of the Spiritual Kingdom: they differ likewise according to the function of each society; but in all the Government is that of mutual love; there is no other Government in Heaven.

"The Angels of each society are in similar goodness, but not in similar wisdom; and Governors are distinguished by excess of wisdom over their fellows. They will well to all, and, by their superior intelligence, know how to effect the good they will. They do not domineer, but minister and serve. They do not make themselves greater than others, but less; for they put the good of their societies in the first place, and their own good in the last. Nevertheless they enjoy honour and glory, for they dwell in the midst of their societies in magnificent palaces on elevated sites; but they accept glory and honour, not for their own sake, but for the sake of obedience, and for the satisfaction of those who render it."

A like Government prevails in every heavenly House-

* Probably true; but what a large inference from a small experience!

† No. 324.

hold. "There is a master and there are servants: the master loves the servants, and the servants love the master; and so they serve each other from love. The master teaches the servants how they ought to live, and directs them what to do, and the servants obey with heart, head and hands. To be useful is the life's delight of every Angel; and thus the Kingdom of the Lord is a Kingdom of Uses." *

The Employments of the Angels.

Heaven is a world of business, not of idleness. Every Angel has an employment in perfect correspondence with his disposition; and from the fulfilment of his duty springs the joy of his existence. Here on Earth, many are wretched because they are set to work with which their nature has no congruity; but in the exquisite organization of Heaven every office is filled with an officer whose natural character is at one with his function; and hence each detail of heavenly affairs is transacted with the peculiar efficiency of genius. Every Angel does what he loves to do. Thus under the Divine Administration perfect freedom is reconciled with perfect order—"co-ordinated and subordinated to one general Use, which is the Common Good." †

There are none of our earthly drudgeries in Heaven; no dress-making, no house-building, no bread-finding; ‡ no languages to learn, reading and writing as easy as speech, and travel as easy as thought; for where an Angel desires to be, there he finds himself. There are however no sinecures in Heaven; no one there receives anything for nothing; the income of an Angel, as expressed in the magnificence of his garniture, is measured strictly by his usefulness; every eye may read the one in the other.

It is impossible to enumerate or describe specifically the employments of Heaven: they are innumerable, and compared with them, those known on Earth are few. There are ecclesiastical affairs, civil affairs, and domestic affairs in every society. Some societies spend their energies in the nurture of Infants, others educate Children, others instruct the Simple from Christendom, others instruct the Gentiles,

* No. 213 to 219.

† No. 392.

‡ Nos. 190 and 393.

others attend Souls in their transition by death from Earth to Spirit, others protect New-Comers from the wiles of Evil Spirits, others minister to their necessities during their probation in the World of Spirits, and others are present with those who are in Hell preventing undue mischief. In general, all Angels are associated with Mankind, and by their influence restrain sinful desires and thoughts. All these uses are effected by the Lord through the Angels; the Angels do not perform them of themselves, but from the Lord.*

“To live for others is to perform uses. Uses are the bonds of society, and their number is infinite. The delights of the love of uses are ten thousand times ten thousand; and all who enter into Heaven, enter into those delights.” †

The order and distribution of daily duties differ in different societies. In one heavenly city which Swedenborg visited, the inhabitants were wakened in the morning by sweet songs of virgins resounding through the streets. During the forenoon the whole city was silent; no noise was heard in any part, nor any person seen loitering in the streets: all were busy within doors. At noon boys and girls came forth to play, and their masters and mistresses sat in the porches of their houses watching their games and keeping order. Outside the city young men and boys held various sports, such as running, tennis, etc. The boys were also tested as to their quickness of wit in perception, speech and action, and the successful were rewarded with leaves of laurel. Concerts and theatres were provided for the entertainment of the older folk. In the theatres of Heaven the actors represent the graces and virtues of moral life; nothing vile is allowed to appear on the heavenly stage; wickedness, if mentioned, is only hinted at; and the angelic playwright obtains his effects by contrasting degrees of goodness and degrees of truth. ‡

All Angels and all Devils were once Men.

“It is altogether unknown in Christendom that Heaven and Hell are from the Human Race. It is believed Angels

* Nos. 391 to 393. † *Conjugal Love*, No. 18. ‡ *Conjugal Love*, No. 17.

were created Angels at the beginning, and that the Devil or Satan was an Angel of Light who became rebellious and was cast down from Heaven with his adherents, and that this was the origin of Hell.

"The Angels are amazed that such notions should prevail, and desire me to state that there is not a single Angel in the Universal Heaven who was originally created an Angel, nor any Devil in Hell who was created an Angel and afterwards cast down; but that all in Heaven and Hell are from the Human Race; that Angels were once Men who lived on Earth in heavenly love and faith, and that Devils were once Men who lived in infernal love and faith."*

The Immensity of Heaven.

"That Heaven is immense is evident from the fact, that all who have lived in goodness from Creation are there. How many have become Angels, and how many now become Angels, it is impossible to say. I have been told that in Ancient Times, the yield of Angels was very numerous, but that in succeeding ages the heavenly numbers fell off.

"Then too, our Earth is but one in an innumerable host of Planets, inhabited by Men and Women, qualifying like us for removal to Heaven."†

Reverting to his favourite analogy of Heaven with Man, he writes—

"The correspondence between them can never be completely filled up; for it is not only a correspondence with every part of the Body in general, but with all and each of the minute viscera and organs, yea with every single vessel and every single fibre; and not with these only, but with the delicate organic substances which most closely subserve the operations of the mind."‡

The perfection of the Heavenly Form increases with numbers—

"In number is variety, and in well-arranged variety is perfection. Every angelic society therefore finds its profit in daily accessions from Earth; and in the growth of each society the Universal Heaven prospers.

* No. 311.

† Nos. 415 to 417.

‡ No. 418.

"Hence it is plain how much they are deceived who fancy Heaven will be closed as soon as it is full. On the contrary, Heaven will never be closed, for the greater its fulness the greater its perfection; and therefore the Angels desire nothing more earnestly than to receive new-comers.*

"It has been granted me to behold the extent of Heaven which is inhabited, and also that which is not inhabited; and I saw that the extent of Heaven not inhabited is so vast, that myriads of Earths as thickly peopled as our own could not fill it to all eternity."†

Character is the only Passport to Heaven.

It has been observed, that wherever there is a Man whose Ruling Love is benevolent, there is an Angel, and wherever there is one whose Ruling Love is selfish, there is a Devil. Now character, as determined by the Ruling Love, is after death fixed and unchangeable, and by no conjuration can infernal character be transmuted to heavenly.

"It is commonly supposed, that entrance into Heaven is a gift of free mercy to such as have faith and for whom the Lord intercedes; or, in other words, that it is an exercise of arbitrary Divine favour, and that all might be saved if it were the Lord's pleasure; yea, some even go further and fancy, that did He choose, Hell might be transformed to Heaven. These notions betray complete ignorance of the nature of Heaven.

"The greater part of those who enter the Spiritual World from Christendom imagine, that if only allowed to pass the gates of Heaven, eternal bliss would be ensured. They are told for their instruction, that Heaven is not denied to any one by the Lord, and that if they please, they may go there and stay as long as they like. When they make the attempt, they are seized at the very threshold with such anguish, that they cast themselves down headlong in torment.

"Ample experience enables me to testify, that it is impossible to communicate heavenly life to those who have led an infernal life on Earth.

* No. 17.

† No. 419.

"Some who believed they could easily receive divine truths after death from the lips of Angels and therewith amend their habits, were subjected to the experiment. Some of them understood the truths they heard, and appeared to accept them; but presently when left to themselves, they rejected and even argued against what they had learned. Others denied the truths as quickly as they were spoken. There were some Spirits who wished their ruling Self-Love converted into Heavenly Love, and the trial was made; but when their Self-Love was taken away, they had no life left and lay as dead.

"From these and similar experiments, Good Spirits were convinced that no change in character is possible after death. Every Spirit is from head to foot of the same quality as his Ruling Love; and to transmute that Love into another Love would be to destroy him altogether"—would be to create another being. "The Angels declare that it would be easier to change a bat into a dove, or an owl into a bird of paradise, than a Devil into an Angel. *

"Hence Heaven and Hell are so utterly separated, that a Spirit who is in Hell dare not raise the crown of his head or even put forth a finger out of it; for just as he does so, is he tormented. This I have often seen." †

The impossibility of change after death is an inevitable deduction from the law that in the Spiritual World character governs circumstance. A Spirit can only approach and associate with Spirits like himself, and only hear and see what is in harmony with his nature. It is very plain that under such conditions, growth (in the sense of access of new powers) is impossible. We commiserate an earthly tyrant because surrounded with courtiers who echo his opinions and flatter his prejudices, he is shut off from instruction and correction: yet such is precisely the fate of every one who is transferred by death from the objective phenomena of this world to the subjective phenomena of the other.

In the foregoing descriptions of the economy of the

* Nos. 521 and 527.

† No. 400.

Heavens, the reader will not have failed to remark the vein of shrewd good sense which pervades them. If their Author be pronounced a dreamer, it will surely be confessed that never were dreams so reasonable, or so like transcripts of realities. Swedenborg's practical temper stands forth in high relief in the chapter entitled—

"It is not so Difficult as many suppose to live the Life which leads to Heaven."

"Some people imagine it is difficult to live the Life which leads to Heaven. They have been told that to live spiritually, the world with its riches and honours must be renounced, the flesh denied its pleasures, and existence devoted to meditation on God, salvation and eternal life, and in reading the Word and other pious books.

"That the truth is far otherwise has been revealed to me by much experience and conversation with Angels.

"In order that a Man may receive the Life of Heaven it is necessary that he live in the world and engage in its business; for thus by a Moral and Civil Life he receives Spiritual Life; nor can he receive Spiritual Life and become fitted for Heaven in any other way."*

Human Life is defined as threefold—as Civil, Moral and Spiritual—as that of Citizen, Friend, and Saint—

"Each of these Lives is perfectly distinct; for there are some Men who live a Civil Life, but not a Moral and Spiritual Life; others live a Moral Life but not a Spiritual; whilst others combine the three, and these live the Life of Heaven."†

This distinction must lie within the experience of every one: Swedenborg's peculiarity consists in the assertion of the impossibility of the existence of Spiritual Life unless invested in Moral and Civil Life—

"Spiritual Life is conjoined with Civil and Moral Life as the Soul is with the Body, and if sundered therefrom would be like a house without foundation. Moral and Civil Life is the action of Spiritual Life; for Spiritual Life consists in *willing well*, and Moral and Civil Life in *acting well*."‡

* No. 528.

† No. 529.

‡ No. 529.

So much premised, he proceeds to argue that to live spiritually is a matter of no great difficulty—

“For nearly everybody lives a Civil and Moral Life. Who does not strive to be reputed sincere and just? Almost all Men are outwardly honest and upright.”*

Now the Spiritual Man is not under any obligation to live differently from the Civil and the Moral Man; he is simply required *to be* what they *seem*—

“He is sincere and just, not merely because Moral and Civil Laws require, but because Divine Law commands. In all his actions, his thoughts refer themselves to the Divine Will, and thereby he is unconsciously united with Angels and led by the Lord.”†

Provided God is thus inwardly revered and obeyed, there is no need that a man should deny himself in anything—

“He may live outwardly as others do, grow rich, keep a plentiful table, dwell in a fine house, wear splendid apparel suitable to his rank, and enjoy the pleasures of the world and the flesh.”‡

In the same strain he continues—

“It is quite allowable that a man should acquire and accumulate wealth, provided he employ no cunning or wicked artifice; that he should eat and drink delicately, provided he do not make life consist in eating and drinking; that he should dwell in magnificence according to his estate; that he should converse as others do, frequent places of amusement, and busy himself in worldly affairs. There is no necessity for him to assume a devout aspect, a sad countenance, or to hang his head; he may be glad and cheerful: nor is he compelled to give to the Poor, except so far as he is moved by affection. In one word, he may live outwardly as a man of the world, and such conduct will not hinder his admission to Heaven, if only he thinks interiorly in a becoming manner of God, and in all business deals righteously with his neighbour.”§

From certain expressions in the letter of the Holy Scriptures, it has been inferred that the Rich cannot enter Heaven; but this is altogether a mistake—

* No. 530.

† Nos. 358 and 530.

‡ No. 359.

§ No 358.

“From much conversation and experience among Angels, it has been given me to know most certainly that the Rich enter Heaven as easily as the Poor; that no one is excluded from Heaven because he has lived in abundance, and that no one is admitted because he has been poor. Rich and Poor alike enter Heaven, and many who have been rich enjoy greater glory and happiness than those who have been poor.

“The Poor do not go to Heaven on account of their poverty, but on account of their life; for whether a man be rich or poor, he is what his life is, and if he live well, he is received, and if he live ill he is rejected.

“Besides, poverty seduces and withdraws men from Heaven as much as riches; for great numbers of the Poor are discontented with their lot, are greedy, and imagine wealth to be a real blessing. They are angry therefore, and cherish bitter thoughts concerning the Divine Providence. They also envy the possessions of others, and are as ready as the wicked among the rich to defraud, and to live in sordid pleasures when they have the chance. It is otherwise with the Poor who are at peace with their lot, who are careful and diligent in their occupations, who love work better than idleness, who act honestly and live a Christian life.” *

By the Rich in the Scriptures, Swedenborg explains, is meant those who possess knowledge, and by Poor those who are ignorant. Now, to be rich in knowledge is to be fortunate, and to be poor is to be miserable; but if knowledge is held in conceit—if used, not to live by and to do good with, but for intellectual display, then knowledge is a man’s condemnation, and viewed from Heaven he is as poor as he fancies himself rich. Opulence is only a real blessing when held in the spirit of poverty. Whenever any one feels proud of his possessions, mental or material, he is breathing the atmosphere of Hell. Hence we perceive the literal truth of those passages in the Gospels where the Poor are assigned pre-eminence over the Rich; for indeed, “It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than

* Nos. 357, 360, 364, and 365.

for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God"—that is, a man who thinks himself rich, who credits his innate prudence with his cash, or his innate intellect with his science.

Concerning the fate of those who have striven to acquire a title to heavenly glory by sanctimony and asceticism, we have some interesting particulars—

"I have conversed with Spirits who renounced the world, afflicted themselves in various ways, and retired into solitude for pious meditation, with the end of securing preferment in Heaven. Most of them are of a sorrowful temper and quite incapable of association with Angels, whose habit is gladness and cheerfulness. They despise whoever is not as gloomy as themselves; they care nothing for others and abhor usefulness, and are indignant when they do not receive the honour they consider due to their ascetic merits. When introduced among Angels and behold their bright and joyful activity, they are amazed as though they saw things incredible; and feeling themselves out of place, they retire and consort with souls melancholy as themselves.

"Such as have lived in outward sanctity, assiduously frequenting churches and devoting themselves to public prayer and mortification for the sake of acquiring a saintly memory, do not go to Heaven, because they have done all these things from a selfish motive. Some are so insane as to fancy themselves gods. Others, who by pious arts cunningly sought to persuade the vulgar that in them resided a divine sanctity, are cast into the Hells of the Deceitful: many of the Roman Catholic Saints are of this character." *

A summary of the whole argument is thus pithily given—

"These statements are made in order to show, that the life which leads to Heaven is not a life of *retirement from* the world but of *action in* the world. A life of charity, which consists in acting sincerely and justly in every situation, engagement and work, in obedience to the Divine Law, *is not difficult*; but a life of piety alone *is difficult*; and such a pious life leads *away from* Heaven as much as it is commonly believed to lead *to* Heaven." †

* Nos. 360, 528, and 535.

† No. 535.

Swedenborg is popularly classed with Mystics, but no reader of the preceding passages will ever be betrayed into that mistake. Not Franklin himself could have devised a more satisfactory method of getting to Heaven; and long ere Binney taught London apprentices how religion and business were to be reconciled, our Author had settled the question, "Is it possible to make the best of both worlds?" Nor is this spirit—this worldly spirit, some will say—in any way peculiar to the present chapter: it transfuses the whole of his writings: and we may be sure that if he saw visions, he allowed no one in ordinary affairs to mistake him for a visionary. In this respect he was the heir of his worthy father, the Bishop—he who while he conversed with Angels and wrought miracles, could in a breath, write to his son Jesper, arrived from abroad and out of work, "Thank God, you are not married! See that you get a good wife, and something with her. Pray God to lead you in His holy way."

THE HELLS.

Hell is the assembly of the Selfish, of all who love themselves supremely, and gratify their lusts at any cost to others. Hell is thus the reverse of Heaven, in which all prefer the welfare of others to their own. In Hell, Self-Love, which in right order forms the circumference of Human Nature, is the entire life of the Devil: he regards others as mere implements whereby he may obtain power, or praise, or pleasure.

The Societies of Hell.

The law whereby Angels congregate prevails with equal force in Hell—

"Hell is distinguished into societies in the same manner as Heaven, and their number is exactly the same. Every Heavenly Society has its antipodes in an Infernal Society, and this arrangement is for the sake of equilibrium." *

This appalling statement is sustained with the following reasons—

* No. 541.

“Every Good has an opposite Evil and every Truth an opposite Lie: neither is anything without relation to its opposite, for by opposites quality and intensity are revealed, and all perception and sensation excited. The Lord therefore continually provides, that every Heavenly Society should have an opposite in Hell, and that thus an equilibrium should be maintained between them.” *

All this may be true: we certainly could never know the sweetness and peace of righteousness save through the bitterness and torment of sin, the joy of light save through the horror of darkness, the value of health save through the cost of sickness, the charm of beauty save through the offence of ugliness: all sensation and perception are indeed excited through acquaintance with opposites; it seems impossible to conceive how we could have any sense of pleasure except through experience of pain: yet these admissions involve just such startling consequences as Swedenborg asserts, and which even he lacked courage to face, and in the Divine defence anxiously excused and disowned.

“As there are Three Heavens there are Three Hells. The Deepest Hell is opposed to the Inmost Heaven, the Middle Hell to the Middle Heaven, and the Highest Hell to the Lowest Heaven.

“Infernal Societies are distinguished according to Evils as opposed to Virtues. Every Evil includes infinite varieties like every Good: every Evil contains so many specific differences, and every specific difference so many particulars, that a volume would not suffice to enumerate them.

“The Hells are arranged so distinctly according to these differences, that nothing more orderly and distinct can be conceived; and they are near or remote according to general, specific, and particular differences.

“That the number of Hells is very great has been proved to me by the consideration, that there are Hells under every mountain, hill and rock, and under every plain and valley in the Spiritual World; and they extend beneath them in length, breadth and depth. In a word, Heaven and the

* No. 541.

World of Spirits are excavated, and a continuous Hell stretches beneath them.”*

The Ugliness of Devils.

As Angels are beautiful in the degree of their goodness, Devils are ugly in the degree of their badness. Every Devil is the effigy of his peculiar selfishness in countenance, body, speech and gesture.

“Devils are forms of contempt of others, of menace against those who do not pay them respect, of hatred and revenge; but when honour and homage are rendered to them, their faces pucker with delight.

“It is impossible to give in brief a description of the appearance of Devils. No two are alike, although there is a family resemblance in those who are in the same kind of evil, and therefore in the same society.

“In general their faces are direful and corpse-like; some are black, others fiery like little torches, others studded with pimples, warts and ulcers; frequently no face appears, but instead something hairy and bony, and sometimes nothing but grates of teeth. Their bodies are monstrous. Their speech is the speech of anger, malice and deceit.”†

The insanity of each Devil is represented in ragged and filthy garments; nor can a Devil dress otherwise, nor feel comfortable except in raiment that matches his character.‡

As each heavenly society is in the human form, and Heaven as a whole is a Grand Man, so Hell as a whole is a Grand Monster, and its societies so many little Monsters—

“It has not been granted me to see the form of the Universal Hell, but the specific forms of infernal societies have frequently been revealed to me: for at their apertures or gates in the World of Spirits there usually sits a monster, which represents the common form of the Devils who belong thereto.”§

The Scenery of the Hells.

What an Angel is, he sees; his house and scenery correspond with his mental condition; the invisible order and loveliness within are repeated in visible order and loveliness

* Nos. 542 and 588.

† No. 553.

‡ No. 182.

§ No. 553.

without. By the operation of the same law, the scenery of the Hells is a repetition of the infernal mind; what a Devil is, he sees.

“I have been permitted to look into the Hells and see what kind of places they are.

“Some appear like holes in rocks; others like coverts of wild beasts in woods; and others like vaulted caverns and hidden chambers, such as are seen in mines.

“In some Hells there appear the ruins of cities after a conflagration, in which Infernal Spirits lurk. In the milder Hells there appear rude cottages, which in some cases form lanes and streets. Within the houses Infernal Spirits engage in perpetual brawls, in blows and butchery, while the streets are infested with robbers. In some Hells there are disgusting brothels, strewn and smeared with every kind of filth. There are likewise thick forests in which Evil Spirits prowl like beasts of prey, hiding in underground dens when pursued by others: also deserts where all is sterile and sandy, with here and there shaggy rocks containing caves, and huts in other places.”*

Every Devil and Satan procures a retreat in agreement with his character—

“Those who love falsehood and hate truth seek darkness in clefts of rocks: it is delightful to them to inhabit such holes, and undelightful to dwell in the open fields. Those whose joy is intrigue and conspiracy resort to subterranean rooms, where it is so dark that they cannot see one another, and there whisper in each other’s ears in corners. Those who study sciences with no other end than the reputation of learning, and do not cultivate the rational faculties by means of them, but merely take a vain delight in a prodigious memory, frequent sandy places. Theologians who do not reduce precept to practice choose rocky spots and lodge amid heaps of stones, shunning cultivated regions. Those who ascribe the Universe to Nature, and discern no Providence beyond the Prudence wherewith they have acquired money and fame, practice Magic, and find therein the pleasure of their existence. Those who apply divine

truths to selfish ends, and thus falsify them, love urinous places and scents. Those who are sordidly avaricious dwell in cellars and luxuriate in the filth of swine, and such nidorous odours as arise from undigested food in the stomach. Those who place the highest good of life in the pleasures of the table wallow in dunghills and privies, and abhor clean places. Those who delight in adulteries dwell in mean and squalid brothels, and avoid chaste houses, and faint away if they come near them. The revengeful, who have contracted a savage and cruel nature from their lust of vengeance, love to dwell amongst graves and corpses: and so on in other instances.”*

Self-Love the Cause of these Horrors.

Some of these details are disgusting, and worse might be adduced, but as such are the issues of every Heart in which Self-Love bears sway, it would be pernicious delicacy to blink them. At first they surprised Swedenborg—

“I wondered how Self-Love and Love of the World should be so diabolical, and that those who are in such Loves should be such monsters, since Self-Love is so little thought of on Earth, where Pride, which is the outward sign of an inflated Mind, is alone considered Self-Love, because visibly offensive. Self-Love, when not so puffed up, is thought to be the fire of life by which man is incited to aspire to offices and perform uses; and it is contended that he would grow torpid unless roused by the desire for power and glory.† The world demands, ‘Who ever did any worthy, useful, or distinguished action except for the sake of admiration? and what is this but the Love of Self?’ Thus it is not known that Self-Love is the Love which prevails in Hell, and constitutes Hell in Man, and is the source of every Evil and every Lie.”‡

* No. 488.

† Mr. Disraeli, in a speech at Buckingham in 1862, observed—

“The principle of emulation is the origin and foundation of everything that is excellent in Man.”

‡ No. 555.

Hell not Horrible to Devils.

Horrible as are Swedenborg's pictures of the Hells, he presents them under a most important qualification—they are sketched in the light of Heaven, not in the light of Hell. Unless this be borne in mind, a very serious misconception will be formed of his meaning. If Hell is horrible to the Angels, Heaven is intolerable to the Devils; what one Kingdom prefers the other abhors: in every sense they are antipodes, as he illustrates by this bit of visual experience—

“In looking out of Heaven upon Hell nought is seen but the hinder parts of the heads and backs of its inhabitants; indeed, they appear as if inverted, with their feet upwards and their heads downwards, although they walk upright and turn their faces in every direction. I have myself been an eye-witness of these extraordinary phenomena.”*

In further illustration of the same law of appearance we are informed, that Devils are seen by Angels “as wild beasts of every kind, as tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, dogs, crocodiles, serpents;”† but it is to be carefully noted—

“Whatever may be the appearance of Infernal Spirits to Angels, *amongst themselves* they are Men, and according to their phantasies not without beauty.‡ This is of the Lord's mercy, in order that they may not be as loathsome to each other as they are to the Angels; but the merciful appearance is an illusion, for as soon as a ray of the light of Heaven is let into any Hell, the monstrous shapes of its inhabitants are revealed, *because in the light of Heaven everything appears as it really is*. Hence Infernal Spirits shun the light of Heaven as a pestilence, and seek their own light, which is as that of charcoal and, in some cases, of sulphur.”§

The Darkness of Hell.

Hell in the Scriptures, and in the common opinion of Mankind, is held to be a realm of darkness; and so indeed

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 613.

† *Ib.*, No. 312.

‡ *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 4533.

§ Nos. 131, 553, 571, and 585, *True Christian Religion*, No. 281, and *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 3641, 4674, 4839, 5057, 6626, and many other places.

it is to the Angels, but to the Devils its gloom is altogether congenial. Devils, we need hardly iterate, are forms of Selfishness and it is the lot of Selfishness to be stupid, to believe in means as ends, to live in lies; for as Carlyle observes, "Stupidity Intellectual always means Stupidity Moral, as you will, with surprise or not, discover if you look." In Hell, mental darkness is repeated in outer darkness; and the density of the darkness we may imagine when we know that every Truth out of harmony with Selfishness is rejected by Hell.

There are no phenomena in the Spiritual World of which we have not the hints, having the germs, on Earth; and in the lunacy of Avarice, a common form of Selfishness, we may perceive a condition which must terminate in the blackness of the pit. The Avaricious love money for the sake of money, pinch and screw and thieve to acquire gain, for what they know not! Tantalus with his lips in the lake from which he could never drink, Sisypheus eternally rolling his stone to the mountain top, the Danaïdes for ever pumping water into their sieves, are emblems of Avarice. Now, if Truth be what *is*, if to know Truth be to know what *is*, if to be wise and happy is to be brought into subjection to the Truth, and therefore into right relation and knowledge of what *is*, manifestly the Avaricious dwell in an atmosphere of lies, for they think what *is not*, and struggle after that which can never be attained: their fret and fume is in very deed the inspiration of that Spirit "who was a liar from the beginning;" and at death they cannot but find their eternal home a place of darkness.

What is the case with Avarice is true of all other forms of Selfishness—of Pride, of Vanity, of Hatred, of Lust. The thoughts of Self-Love are lies. Show Swedenborg a Selfish Man, and he will show you one who abides in delusions.

The Fire of Hell.

As the varied heat and light of the Heavens equal and express the varied love and wisdom of the Angels, so the fire and flame of the Hells equal and express the self-love and folly of the Devils.

The heat of Hell, like the heat of Heaven, is derived from the Lord as the Sun of the Universe. The Divine Efflux is changed to infernal heat in those who receive it, even as the rays of the Sun of Nature are transmuted by nightshade into poison, and by a carcase into a stench. The Angel and the Devil alike owe their life to the Lord, but the one receives and utters Him in good-will and wisdom, and the other in self-will and cunning.*

"When the Hells are opened to the Angels, there is seen as it were a volume of fire and smoke like that which arises from burning houses. Such fire exists in all in whom the Loves of Self and the World predominate."†

Here Swedenborg interposes the needful caution—

"It is to be observed, that the residents in Hell do not burn in the fire which the Angels see: the fire is merely an appearance from the Angels' point of view. The Devils themselves have no sense of burning, but experience a climate similar to what they were accustomed on Earth."‡

In this way he nullifies the common notion about the pains of Hell. He freely allows that Hell is a horrible place, but asserts that its horrors are the pleasures of its inhabitants, and that their severest punishment consists in the influence of Heaven—

"Whenever the heat of Heaven flows into Hell, the Infernals shiver as with ague and are inwardly tormented; for their life is thereby quenched, and they are plunged in total darkness. Heavenly heat is never thus applied to Hell except when it is necessary to quell outrageous riots."§

Whilst the Selfish find their delight in gloom and filth, they are miserable with all the misery of Selfishness—

"Hell-fire, besides standing as a synonym for Self-Love, is also used to describe the spite and anguish which are the fruits of Self-Love. The Selfish desire to injure all who do not serve and worship them, and in proportion to their disappointment is their rage for vengeance. Hence every Infernal Spirit cherishes hatred against every other, and afflicts his acquaintance unmercifully as far as he has power.

"When a Spirit from Earth enters his own Hell, he is

* No. 569.

† No. 571.

‡ No. 571.

§ No. 572.

received kindly, and is led to believe he is among friends: but this only lasts for a few hours whilst his comrades explore his cunning and measure his strength; which ascertained, they begin to torment, and to reduce him to slavery by cruel punishments. Nevertheless chances of emancipation occur; for as every one desires to be greatest, there are frequent insurrections in which those in slavery are set free that they may assist some new Devil to obtain dominion, who in turn subjects his opponents to bondage. Such alternations go on perpetually in Hell; and such rivalry and tyranny are also designated Hell-fire." *

Gnashing of Teeth.

Swedenborg explains the gnashing of teeth in Hell as "the continual dispute and combat of falses with contempt, enmity, mockery and blasphemy. Every one fights in favour of his own illusion and calls it truth; and when these disputes are heard *out of Hell*, they sound like gnashing of teeth; and indeed are turned to gnashing of teeth whenever the light of Heaven breaks into the infernal regions." †

There is no King Satan.

"It has been hitherto supposed that there is some one Devil who rules over the Hells, that he was created an Angel of Light, and that he was cast down with his crew into Hell because he rebelled against God.

"The Devil and Satan however mean Hell considered under different aspects. The Devil means the inmost Hell, composed of the very worst Spirits. Satan denotes the outer Hell, composed of Spirits not so malignant. Lucifer denotes those of Babylon who pretend to dominion even in Heaven." ‡

The Devil and Satan are therefore equivalents for Hell, even as in politics we talk of France and Turkey as individuals, meaning all the while the people of France and Turkey. Considering Hell as a grand Monster, the Devil is defined as its Will and Satan as its Understanding.

"Infernals are called Satans who have lived in falses and

* Nos. 573 and 574.

† No. 575.

‡ No. 544.

consequent evils, and Devils who have lived in evils and consequent falses. In heavenly light, Satans appear pale and livid like corpses, and in some cases, black like mummies; and Devils, of a fiery dusky complexion, and in some cases, intensely black like soot.” *

The Government of Hell.

God alone, and no Devil, is the king of Hell; and though His name is denied and abhorred throughout the infernal regions (for all in whom Self-Love rules are Atheists) yet over every Evil Spirit the Divine Hand is stretched in blessing, so that not the least effort is made by any Fiend which is not converted to His service. †

The Hells are governed mediately by the Heavens. “Hell is kept in order and connection by oppositions against Heaven.” ‡ Every Infernal Society has an antagonist, and is balanced by a Heavenly Society; “and in a more particular sense the societies of Hell are ruled by Angels, who inspect them, restrain the insanities and disturbances with which they abound, and prevent their members from tormenting each other beyond prescribed limits. § Sometimes also Angels are sent to moderate insanities and disturbances by their presence.” || Of course such business is assigned to Angels who have a taste for it.

“The most malignant Spirits, cunning and terrible, are set over their companions as governors, and are worshipped as gods. As every Devil has the lust of dominion in his heart, he burns with hatred against his governor, who in turn regards his subjects as the vilest slaves, although courteous towards them so long as they adore him.” **

The whip is the sceptre of the Hells—

“Some are ruled by fears contracted on Earth, but as these lose their force, the dread of punishment is added, and this dread is the chief means of deterring them from mischief. The punishments of Hell are various, and are gentle or severe according to the lusts which require restraint.

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 281. † *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 2706.

‡ *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 62. § No. 391. || No. 543.

** *True Christian Religion*, No. 45.

"It is worth repeating, that the fear of punishment is the only means of restraining the violence and fury of the Infernals. There is no other." *

Hell, a Workhouse.

Hell is not a world of idleness and rapine—

"Its caverns are eternal workhouses. I have been permitted to enter some of them, that I might describe them. All there appeared like beggars, and none of them had any recollection of their condition on Earth. The Angel who attended me pointed out one as a servant, another as a soldier, another as a priest, another as a statesman, and another as a person of great wealth; yet none of them knew otherwise than that they had always lived as comrades in their present servitude. The reason was, that although they had differed in externals on Earth, they had all the while been inwardly united by a common character, and death simply revealed their hidden unity." †

Devils are compelled to earn their living—

"When they arrive at their cavern in Hell from the World of Spirits, they enter, and the door is shut after them. Then the governor of the cavern comes and says to them, 'You cannot go out of this place any more: behold your companions; they all work hard, and in proportion to their work they receive food from Heaven. I tell you this, that you may not plead ignorance.' Their companions then say to them, 'Our governor knows for what work every one is best fitted, and enjoins it daily, and on the day we finish what he gives us to do, we receive food; but if we do not finish it, we receive neither food nor clothes; and if any one does mischief to another, he is thrown into a corner of the cavern upon a bed of cursed dust, where he is miserably tormented until the governor observes some sign of penitence; then he is taken off and ordered again to his work.' The new-comer is also informed, that every one is at liberty to walk, converse, and sleep when he has done his work. He is then led into an inner part of the cavern, where there are harlots, and he is permitted to select one for himself and

* Nos. 509 and 543.

† *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 281, 570, and 661.

call her his woman; but he is forbidden under severe penalties to indulge in promiscuous connections.” *

It would be easy to amplify these notes, but the reader has probably had enough.

The Equilibrium between Heaven and Hell.

Amongst Swedenborg's assertions, there is none more startling than that which affirms an equilibrium between Heaven and Hell—

“All the Societies of Heaven are arranged most distinctly according to the genera and species of Good, and all the Societies of Hell according to the genera and species of Evil, and beneath every Society of Heaven there is a corresponding Society of Hell, which is its opposite; and from their opposition results equilibrium.

“The equilibrium between the Heavens and the Hells is affected by the number of Spirits who enter them, which amounts to many thousands a day; but to know and perceive in which way the balance inclines, and to regulate and equalize it with perfect exactness, is not in the power of any Angel, but of the Lord alone. The Divine, which proceeds from the Lord, is omnipresent, and observes in every direction if there be the slightest preponderance, and redresses it.” †

To the Equilibrium thus maintained he ascribes Free-Will—

“Between Heaven and Hell is a great interstice, and in this interstice is the World of Spirits, into which a most copious exhalation of Evil arises out of Hell, and as copious an influx of Good descends from Heaven. Every Man as to his Spirit is in the midst of this interstice, and between the play of the equal forces enjoys freedom of determination.

“Unless Man were between both, he would have no power of thought, nor any will, and still less any freedom and choice; for all these flow from the Equilibrium of Good and Evil.” ‡

Whether this exquisite balance between Heaven and

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 153.

† Nos. 593 and 594.

‡ Nos. 546 and 599, and *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 475 and 497.

Hell is preserved, I do not know: Swedenborg says it is, and the statement is not incredible: but if true of the Universal Mind, it is certainly not of the Individual. If we are to consider Diffusive Love as Heaven and Absorbent Love as Hell, no pains are requisite to prove that in countless cases there is no approach to equilibrium between the heavenly and the infernal propensities: yea, we might ask, if freedom be the result of a poise between the Love of Others and Self-Love, who is free? There may be some method of reconciling what Swedenborg has to say on this head with common experience, but it would appear as if in this matter he was exercising his fancy far out of sight of reality. He has another theory by which he accounts for our sense of freedom, self-hood, and personality, namely, that the Divine Life, whereby Angel and Man and Devil exist, bears into all its recipients the feeling of independence, which in God is a reality, but in His Creatures an illusion—which illusion He corrects by revelation. That theory is, to my mind, the finest interpretation ever offered of the mystery of consciousness, but the second explanation—the Equilibrium between Heaven and Hell—seems to derive no sanction from experience or revelation.

The Lord casts no one into Hell, but Evil Spirits cast themselves in.

The wide distinction between damnation according to popular belief and according to Swedenborg must have been noted. Both agree that Hell is a land of night, of fire, and of horror, but whilst it is commonly imagined that the Evil are cast into Hell *against* their will, Swedenborg asserts that they abide there *with* their will, yea, desire nothing more earnestly,* and that the sharpest pains of the Wicked result when they venture out of Hell, or come in contact with Heaven. Such being the case, he writes—

“Some persons have believed very confidently that God turns away His face from Man, rejects him, and casts him into Hell, and is angry with him on account of his evils: others go further, and affirm that God punishes Man

* No. 547.

and brings evil upon him. They also confirm this opinion from the Literal Sense of the Word, in which expressions occur which appear to sustain it; for they are not aware that the Spiritual Sense of the Word, which explains the Literal Sense, is entirely different, and that hence the genuine doctrine of the Church, which is derived from the Spiritual Sense of the Word, teaches otherwise. True doctrine declares, that the Lord never turns away His face from Man, never rejects him, never casts any one into Hell, and is never angry; and every one, whose Mind is in a state of illustration," [*i. e.*, whose mind is in the Light of Heaven] "perceives this when he reads the Word, because God is love itself, goodness itself, mercy itself: goodness itself cannot do evil to anyone, nor can love and mercy cast Man out; it is contrary to their very essence, and therefore contrary to the Divine Nature." *

The Evil cast themselves into Hell, and in Hell "they are severely punished in order that they may be deterred from doing evil, and to *appearance* the judgment and the punishment are of the Lord's infliction; but the truth is, His relation to the evil doer is like that of a king, or a judge, or the law, none of which is the cause of punishment, because none of them compelled the criminal to do wrong." †

Thus does Swedenborg seek to dispose of the terrible questions which spring out of the creed of everlasting perdition. His solution is plausible and may yield temporary satisfaction to some, but the core of the difficulty—the responsibility of the Creator for Hell—is untouched. Neither Swedenborg nor his generation was afflicted with the benevolent concern for Devils which we experience, and hence probably his superficial treatment of the case. Nevertheless I believe, that in his doctrine of Hell or Self-Love lies hid the just vindication of the Divine Love in the existence of Evil: but of this we shall be better qualified to speak when we have looked over his subsequent treatise on the Divine Providence.

Some will ask, Who can yield credence to these other-

* No. 545.

† Nos. 548 to 550.

world experiences? To answer this question, Swedenborg devotes his last paragraph: here it is, for the serious consideration of inquirers:—

“What is said in this work concerning Heaven, the World of Spirits and Hell will appear obscure to those who have no delight in the knowledge of Spiritual Truths, but clear to those who have delight, and especially to those who are in the affection of Truth for its own sake—that is, who love Truth because it is Truth; for whatever is loved enters with light into the Mind, and this is eminently the case when that which is loved is Truth, because all Truth is in light.”*

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PLANETS AND THEIR PEOPLE.†

“BY the Divine mercy of the Lord,” writes Swedenborg, “things interior are open to me, so that I can converse with Spirits and Angels; and inasmuch as I desired to know whether worlds like our own existed, what sort of places they were, and by what manner of people inhabited, the Lord allowed me to enter into intercourse with the Spirits and Angels of other Earths, with some for a day, with some for a week, and with some for months, so that my curiosity might be satisfied.”‡

Ere going further, it will be well to note three points. First, that Swedenborg did not profess to visit the Planets themselves: they are in Nature, and to see them with his fleshly eyes, he must have been transferred to them bodily. Second, that his information was obtained from the Spirits of the several Earths whom he encountered in the Spiritual World. Third, that as these Spirits were in connection with

* No. 603.

† *De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari, quæ vocantur Planetæ: et de Telluribus in Cælo Astrifero: deque illarum Incolis; tum de Spiritibus et Angelis ibi; ex Auditibus et Visis.* Londini: 1758. 4to., 72 pp.: a reprint of some chapters in *Arcana Cœlestia*.

‡ No. 1.

the Planets whereon they were bred, he was sometimes favoured to see through their eyes the scenery from which they had ascended.

Of the habitability of the Planets, he entertained no doubt, considering that orbs so like our own must have been created for similar uses, and urging the peculiar reason, that for the nutrition of the Grand Man a far larger field is requisite than our speck of earth—

“The Angelic Heaven is so immense that it corresponds to every particular in Man, exterior and interior, myriads of Angels going to the formation of every member, organ and viscus, and to the affections of each; and it was given me to know that this Heaven cannot by any means exist except by drafts from innumerable Earths.” *

The first world to which we are introduced is—

Mercury.

When the Mercurians met Swedenborg, they instantly explored his memory in search of all he knew. For the cities and lands he had visited they cared nothing, but simply for what was done therein, for the laws, customs and characters of the inhabitants. Facts of this description they picked out and classified with amazing quickness and skill. When writing his *Arcana Cœlestia*, they told him what he set forth was very superficial and commonplace. He replied, that his readers found it so subtle and elevated, that there was much which they could not comprehend. They then wondered how such could ever become Angels, when they were told, that these dull ones, if they only lived in faith and charity, entered a higher Heaven than theirs.

Their thirst for information and their facility in its acquisition are almost incredible. They explore everybody they meet, to discover what he knows. In consequence of their immense knowledge, they are excessively haughty. About this pride they were reprovèd: they were told that although they might know a great deal, it was as nothing to that which they did not know. “True,” they replied, “but we

* Nos. 5 and 9.

are not haughty; we only glory in our grasp of memory." They were answered that knowledge is only valuable for its use; to which they rejoined, "Our delight is in knowledges, and to us knowledges are uses."

The Spirits of Mercury never remain long in one place, but roam through the Universe in companies in quest of intelligence. They do not devise their routes, but are conducted as by instinct where they may acquire information in development of what they already possess. They are not distinguished for judgment; they draw no conclusions from their learning; they are simply satisfied with knowing.

"I was anxious to know what kind of face and body the people of Mercury have. Instantly there appeared before my eyes the figure of one of their women. Her face was beautiful, but smaller than that of a woman of our Earth: she was more slender, but of equal height: she wore a linen head dress gracefully disposed. A man was also presented. He too was more slender than the men of our Earth: he wore a garment of deep blue, fitted tightly to his body, without folds or frills.

"There was then shown me a species of their oxen. They did not differ much from ours, except that they were smaller and in some respects like deer."*

Venus.

In Venus are two kinds of men; one mild and humane, the other savage and almost brutal. Some from the mild part said they acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ as God, and added that on Venus they had seen Him.

With the savage ones Swedenborg did not speak; but Angels informed him, that they delight in rapine, and especially in eating the spoil. Their delight in eating was communicated to him, and "perceived to be exceedingly great." They are for the most part giants; the men of our Earth would scarcely reach their middles. They are stupid; they make no inquiry into heavenly things; all their thoughts are absorbed in cares about land and cattle. Such as are saved undergo severe trials—

* No. 44.

"I have seen some after they had passed through extreme suffering taken up into Heaven, and when they were received there I was made sensible of such a tenderness of joy proceeding from them, that tears were drawn from mine eyes."*

Mars.

The best Spirits of our solar system are from Mars. They are of a celestial temper not unlike that of the Most Ancient Church on our Earth.

The people of Mars have no governments, but dwell in societies of friends as do Angels in the Heavens, with whom some of them have open intercourse. They are very careful to expel from their communities any who begin to think perversely and thereby incline to evil. By this timely severity, the perfect order and peace of mutual love is preserved, and the encroachments of the lusts of power and property averted.

As was the case in the Adamic Church, language in Mars is almost tacit, being effected by "internal respiration," supplemented by lively facial action. Thought is thus expressed with a fulness and delicacy altogether impossible to our noisy and cumbrous speech. Affectation and deceit are unknown; none can utter aught else than is really felt.

The people of Mars worship our Lord, saying, He is God alone, that He leads and directs them, and often appears amongst them. Of themselves, they say, they are Devils, and that solely by the Divine attraction are they held in Heaven and withheld from Hell.

An appearance of an inhabitant of Mars was presented. His face was like that of a man of our Earth. He had no beard, but instead a blackness where the beard grows. The upper part of his face was sallow.

The food of the people of Mars consists of fruit and pulse, and chiefly of a round fruit which buds out of the ground. Their garments are made from the fibrous bark of trees, woven and stiffened with gum. They have an art of making fluid fires wherewith they lighten their nights.

Jupiter.

With Spirits from Jupiter, Swedenborg had more familiar acquaintance than with others. They reported their world to be as densely peopled as it could be, and fruitful exceedingly. The inhabitants have no desires beyond the necessities of life, and hence their numbers. They are distinguished into nations, tribes, and houses, and social intercourse is confined to relatives. When told of the wars, murders and thefts on our Earth, they turned away in horror.

The presence of the Spirits of Jupiter was revealed in the inexpressible sweetness and gentleness of their sphere—

“The tranquillity and delight they inspired sensibly filled my breast and heart; at the same time there was a removal of cupidities and anxieties about the future which cause disquiet and excitement.”*

“It was shown me what kind of face the inhabitants of Jupiter have; *not that I saw the inhabitants themselves*, but Spirits with faces similar to those they had when they dwelt on Jupiter. Two faces were presented. They were like the faces of our Earth, fair and beautiful; sincerity and modesty shone forth from them.”†

Great care is bestowed on the face in Jupiter; it is washed frequently, and is shaded from the sun. The face, they say, is of the first importance, for it is the mirror of the mind; and with them is the chief instrument of conversation. By their eyes and lips they communicate their thoughts and feelings, and devoid of deceit, they allow every fibre to have free play. Vocal discourse is also used, but it is not so loud as with us.

Some of their Spirits were permitted to see the faces of people in this world through Swedenborg's eyes. They pronounced them unhandsome, and were surprised to see some studded with pimples and misshapen, saying, such were unknown amongst them. Nevertheless “some countenances which were smiling and peaceful, and slightly full about the lips,” gave them satisfaction.‡

* No. 51. † No. 52. ‡ That is, which were just like Swedenborg's.

They do not walk erect in Jupiter as we do, nor creep on fours, but as they move along assist themselves with their hands, and alternately half elevate themselves on their feet, and at every third step turn the face sideways and backwards, bending the body a little suddenly: a motion almost like that seen in some swimmers, who, as they help themselves with their hands, turn their heads round.

It is thought indecent to be seen otherwise than with the face in front. In walking they keep the face elevated; to look downwards they consider vile and abject; the humblest amongst them moves about with an upward gaze; and any who acquire a contrary habit are expelled from society.

They delight in long meals, not for the sake of eating, but for conversation. They do not dress their food to please the palate, but simply to make it wholesome, finding in the end, that what is wholesome is savoury. They sit cross-legged at table on fig leaves spread on the ground; and are always cautious to keep their faces in front, and not to be seen from behind.

They lie in bed with their faces to the window and not to the wall. They fancy that to keep the face to the light is to look towards the Lord; whereon remarks Swedenborg—

“I have sometimes observed when in bed such a direction of the face, but I never knew before whence it was.” *

They go naked in their warm climates, except about the loins; nor are they ashamed, having chaste minds. Some Spirits from our Earth, hearing of their mode of walking and their nakedness, commenced jeering; but they were told nakedness gives no occasion for shame or scandal to the innocent, but only to the lascivious. With our Spirits those of Jupiter are not willing to associate, saying, they are cunning, quick at mischief, and thinking little good.

Wisdom, they consider, consists in the right application of truth to the business of life. Of the Sciences which we in Europe cultivate, they know nothing, and desire to know nothing. Some of our Spirits boasted of acquaintance with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Criticism and Metaphysics, but it

was made manifest that there is no Wisdom in any quantity of such stuff. The Spirits from Jupiter went further, and contemned such Science as clouds over true intelligence: in so far they were mistaken, and were shown that whilst verbal knowledge is indeed worthless, Wisdom derives from Science material for use and development.

The houses in Jupiter are low and of wood, coated with bark of a pale blue colour: the walls and ceilings are decorated with little stars. They are fond of picturing the sky on the insides of their houses, believing the stars to be the abodes of the Angels. They have also tents decorated in the same manner: to them they retire in the heat of the day, and in them take their meals. In the construction of their dwellings, and in their domestic economy, they are scrupulously nice.

They worship the Lord, calling Him the only Lord. The Spirits were asked whether they knew that the Lord is a Man. They answered, that they all know He is a Man, because in Jupiter He has been seen by many as a Man: that He instructs them, preserves them, and is eternal life to those who serve Him in being good. They said further, that He reveals what they ought to believe and how they ought to live, and what is thus revealed is handed down from generation to generation; but they fancy that this revelation is innate—is written in their hearts, for whenever they hear truths, they instantly recognize and acknowledge them.

They do not know that the Lord was born on our Earth: they said it was no concern of theirs; it was enough to know that He is Man and Lord of the Universe.

They set no times apart as holy, but every morning at sunrise, and every evening at sunset, worship and sing in their tents.

They are very cautious that no one should fall into erroneous religious opinions. Those who do err are first admonished, then threatened; and if they persist, are suffocated by chastising Spirits. Thus the worship of the Lord is preserved in purity.

The average duration of life is thirty of our years. It is

of the Lord's Providence that life should be so brief, for otherwise the population would be greater than the land could support. They arrive early at maturity and marry young; and their prime delights are found in conjugal and parental relationships. Death has no terror, inasmuch as continued existence in Heaven is their familiar prospect. They do not die of disease, but tranquilly as in sleep. They are warned of the approach of death by a bald head. By this vision they know their decease is certain within a year, and at once prepare for the change.

Saturn.

The people of Saturn acknowledge our Lord as the only God, and sometimes He appears to them in an Angelic Form. When they reach a certain age, they converse with Spirits, who instruct them concerning the Lord, how He is worshipped, and how they ought to live.

They dwell in families, every family by itself; each family consisting of a man and wife and children. When the children marry, they leave their parents' house and think no more about it; wherefore the Spirits of Saturn appear two and two.

They bestow little thought on food and raiment: they subsist on the fruit and pulse their fields yield, and protect themselves from the cold with a coarse skin or coat. Knowing that their real life commences at death, they care nothing for their bodies, except so far as they subserve the ends of eternal existence. Hence they do not bury their dead, but cast them forth and cover them with branches of trees.

Being questioned about the great belt which encircles their Earth, they said, it does not appear to them as a belt, but as something whitish like snow strewed in the sky. Some call their nocturnal light, which is great, the Lord, but these are not tolerated. The nocturnal light is from the belt and the moons.

The Moon.

The Spirits from the Moon are dwarfs, like children of seven years old, but more robust. Their faces are not

unhandsome, but longer than ordinary. They do not speak from the lungs, but from air in the abdomen, and with a noise like thunder. This peculiarity results from the nature of the Moon's atmosphere.

It is commonly believed that the Moon, by reason of the absence of air and water, is uninhabited—at any rate on the hemisphere which is subject to our gaze. Swedenborg meets the aerial objection, but has nothing to say as to the aqueous; and in this summary manner would settle all scepticism—

“It is well known to Spirits and Angels, that there are inhabitants in the Moon and in the Moons of Jupiter and Saturn. Even those who have not seen and conversed with any Lunar Spirits entertain no doubt that the Moons are inhabited, for they too are Earths, and where there is an Earth, there is Man—Man being the end for which every Earth exists, and without an end nothing was made by the Great Creator. Every one who thinks from reason, in any degree enlightened, must see that the Human Race, from which the Heavens exist, is the final cause of creation.”*

In the main, this argument may be sound, but since we have immense deserts in Asia and Africa, and vast unpeopled paradises in South America, why should it surprise us if there be here and there a vacant Moon or Planet in the Universe? Our own Earth existed for myriads of ages in preparation for Man—why not other Earths?

In noticing the *Worship and Love of God*, published in 1745, occasion was taken to repudiate the foolish story, that Swedenborg had, long before Herschel, announced the existence of a seventh Planet; and if proof were wanting that he was as ignorant as his contemporaries of Uranus and Neptune and the scores of little Earths which revolve between Mars and Jupiter, it would be supplied in the present treatise, wherein there is not a hint of any world outside Saturn. Probably some will convert this ignorance into a weapon of offence, saying, How can we trust him where we cannot test him, when we find him ignorant where we might test him? when it would have been so easy to have given us incon-

trovertible evidence of supernatural power by anticipating Herschel, Adams and Leverrier? It is neither my inclination nor vocation to parry such thrusts; I would simply observe, that his ignorance on this and similar scores might be inferred from the conditions of his seership as stated by himself. When pressed by the Queen of Sweden as to the persons with whom he could converse in the Spiritual World, he answered, that he could discover only those of whom *he could form some idea*, whether from personal acquaintance or from history or repute.* The same must have been true of the Spirits of the Planets. He could only search for what he knew existed. Some clue of fact, however slight, was requisite to establish *rapport*, even as a mesmerized clairvoyant demands a letter or a lock of hair as a starting-point of exploration. Inasmuch as he knew nothing naturally of Uranus or Neptune, how could he ask for their Spirits in the Spiritual World? He might indeed have struck upon them by reason of some chance affinity, but even in that case it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have indicated to his apprehension their place in Creation. No quest indeed can be more hopeless, than for physical information in the spiritual sphere.

The Sun.

Far back, in 1719, Eric Benzelius suggested to Swedenborg, that Hell might be the Sun; to which he replied, "It would be absurd to imagine, that the Sun's heat is used to torment the bodies of the damned. The nearer the Sun the finer are the Elements. In the Sun itself their fineness is probably such, that their particles are almost devoid of composition and put off the name of Matter. . . I therefore incline to believe that God has His seat in the Sun, as the Bible says."

Of the Sun in the present treatise he tells nothing, not even whether it is inhabited by a race with the constitution of salamanders. In other writings he frequently asserts "the Sun is pure fire," but without explaining what he means by pure fire, except in one place where he states,

* The conversation is related by General Tuxen.

“the Sun consists of created substances whose activity produces fire.”* In these assertions there is slight, if any, advance on the speculation of 1719, save in the doctrine that the Sun’s radiance is fed from the Spiritual Sun—the Sun of the Heavens, the effluence and glory of the Infinite Majesty.

We now come to a chapter entitled—

“Reasons why the Lord was pleased to be born on our Earth.”

“The chief reason was, that the Word might be written and published throughout the Earth, and preserved to all posterity; and that thus it might be made manifest universally *in the other life* that God had become Man.”†

For these ends we have singular qualifications. We write and we print: Divine Truth can be fixed in our manuscript, and in bibles can be spread everywhere by traders. Elsewhere there are neither printers nor travellers.

“In every other Earth, Divine Truth is communicated orally by Spirits and Angels, and in most of them the people live isolated in families. Hence Truth is but slightly diffused, and unless constantly renewed is perverted or perishes. With us, on the contrary, the Word is written, and is secure in its integrity for ever.

“In other worlds, God is worshipped under a Human Form, that is, as the Lord, and He appears to the inhabitants as an Angel; but when they learn in the Spiritual World from the Spirits of our Earth, that God is actually Man, they receive the tidings with joy.”‡

It is to be carefully borne in mind, that, in Swedenborg’s eye, the peoples of all Earths are one people—a Grand Man. Our function in the common Humanity is that of the skin. In us, life reaches its circumference and obtains fixity and fulcrum. The Divine Wisdom, which in more interior regions is in constant flux and renewal, is with us set fast in the story of Israel and Jesus Christ; and what is thus done for us and with us, is done for the Universe, since all

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 472. † No. 113. ‡ Nos. 120 and 121.

worlds are included in us as is the body in the skin. We are mean, but in our meanness is our importance.

In conclusion, we are treated to a description of Five Earths beyond our Solar System.

The First Earth.

The people worship an Angel, who appears to them for the Lord. They said the Most High God is the Sun of Heaven, but is too great for them to adore, and appears to their Angel, but not to them.

In some degree their Earth was seen, and there appeared green fields and trees and fleecy sheep. Some of the lower orders came into view; they were clothed like the peasantry of Europe; likewise a man and his wife, she tall and graceful, he with stately carriage and a look of haughtiness. The Angels said, such were manners in that world, and that whilst the women were humble they loved the men, who, in spite of their lofty bearing, were well disposed.

"I was informed, that the inhabitants have relation to something in the Spleen of the Grand Man; in which information I was confirmed by an influx into my Spleen whilst they conversed with me."*

A Second Earth.

The Angels of this Earth have relation to vision in the Grand Man, and are remarkably keen-sighted.

"I compared them to eagles which fly high and scan all below; but they were offended with the comparison, fancying I likened them to eagles for rapacity. I replied, I compared them to eagles, not as to rapacity, but as to sharp-sightedness."†

Being questioned as to the God they worshipped, they answered, they worshipped a God visible and invisible—a God under a Human Form and a God without Form. Some of their Spirits were seen worshipping an idol of stone like a man, but not handsome. "I said to them, they ought

* No. 132.

† No. 140.

not to worship what was dead, but what was alive. They replied, they knew God lived, and not the stone; but when they looked at the statue they were enabled to concentrate their minds on the invisible Deity."

Being examined as to their Earth, they said it had green fields, gardens and orchards; lakes abounding in fish; blue birds tipped with gold; animals great and small, one of them like our camel. They do not eat the flesh of animals, but fish, fruit and pulse: nor do they live in houses, but in groves, forming a roof against sun and rain by twisting the boughs.

Their faces were not unlike those of our world, except that the eyes and nose were small. This appeared to Swedenborg a deformity, but they consider a small nose and eyes marks of beauty.

"A female was seen in a dress dotted with roses of various colours. I asked whence they obtained their materials for clothing. They answered, they gather a fibre from certain plants which they spin into thread, and that they then lay the threads in double and triple rows and fix them with a glutinous liquor. Afterwards they dye the cloth with the juices of herbs. It was shown me how they make the thread. The women sit on the ground and twist it with their toes, and when twisted, draw it towards them, and work it with the hand." *

A Third Earth.

The Spirits of this Earth were very different from the Spirits of ours, and approach to them was therefore exceedingly difficult. When Swedenborg asked if they would take a look at our world through his eyes, they declined the pleasure, saying first, they could not, and then, they would not. In the end, he persuaded them to witness a representation of some of the finest palaces of Europe; but they made light of them, asserting, they had far more magnificent structures in living wood.

Their temples are constructed of growing trees, of great girth and height, planted in rows. By exquisite art in

* No. 146.

twisting and pruning, a floor is made of the lower branches, galleries of the higher branches, and an arched roof of the topmost. Light is admitted into the vast interiors through windows of crystal.

The inhabitants live isolated in households, but assemble in public worship. On these occasions they experience internal joy, excited by the glory of the temple and the worship. God, they adore under a Human Form, "consequently our Lord." *

They dwell in low, oblong cottages set in plains; high places they consecrate to the Lord. Beds are ranged like shelves round the walls. Opposite the door is an alcove in which stands a table, and behind the table is a fire-place wherein luminous wood is deposited, which lights up the house as with burning charcoal.

They were asked what was done to the Wicked on their Earth. They replied, a wicked person is not suffered to exist. Whoever yields to evil, is reproved by a certain Spirit and threatened with death if he persist: if he does persist, he is taken off in a swoon. Thus their world is preserved from pollution.

A Fourth Earth.

One of the smallest in the Universe, scarcely 250 miles in circumference. Its Sun is about a quarter of the size of ours.

The houses of the people are long and low, with a window for every room; the roofs are arched, and there is a door in each gable. It was said, they are built of earth and covered with turf, and that the windows are closed with a transparent texture. Men, women and children were seen. The faces of the women are full and handsome: they appeared as shepherdesses, and their flocks moved wherever they pointed with their crooks. The sheep were large, and had broad woolly tails. Fields of corn ripe for harvest and of grass with flowers, trees laden with fruit like pomegranates, and shrubs with berries from which is made wine, were seen.

A Fifth Earth.

When Swedenborg drew near the Spirits of this Earth, he found himself regarded with suspicion. They had been afflicted with the visits of some monks (from the World of Spirits pertaining to our Earth) who had annoyed them with nonsense about having faith in what they chose to tell them. They had answered these missionaries, that they did not know what "having faith meant;" that whatever they saw to be true they believed without effort; and whatever they did not so see, was incredible by any effort. Swedenborg assured them, they had done wisely in shunning their visitors, "because their intention was not to teach, but to secure gain and dominion; that they study by various arts to captivate men's minds, and then to hold them soul and body in slavery."*

Social worship is celebrated every thirtieth day, whereat preachers discourse from pulpits on Divine truths which lead to good life. Revelations are made to preachers and others early in the morning between sleeping and waking, at which times Angels discourse with them on heavenly matters. When they awake, an Angel in white is seen at the bedside and suddenly vanishes, which is accepted as a sign that what has been heard is Divine.

Their houses are of wood, low and flat-roofed. In the front dwell husband and wife, in the middle, their children, and at the back, men and maid-servants. They find the joy and business of their lives within the family circle. They go naked, and in their innocence are ignorant of shame.

Their year consists of two hundred days, and their day is equal to nine of our hours. They enjoy perpetual spring and summer: their fields are ever green and their trees in constant fruit. They drink milk with water, and have it from cows which are woolly like sheep.

Their marriage customs are curious. When a girl becomes marriageable, she is kept closely at home, and at a certain time is taken to a connubial house, where she is set

* No. 169.

in a row with other virgins behind a screen, which reaches to their waists. An old man and an old woman sit by to preserve order, whilst young men in search of wives enter and inspect the market. When one sees a damsel to his taste, he takes her by the hand and leads her off to his house as his wife. No mistakes in choice are made, for in that world there is no deceit; the face is the true picture of the mind, and the youth recognizes his wife and the virgin her husband by a sure instinct.

Thus ends Swedenborg's tour among the Spirits of the Earths. What is to be said about it? Do you credit his story? asks a reader. I do not see why I should not. It only appears incredible when its conditions are kept out of sight, and when (as is commonly done) it is said, he professed to visit the Moon and Planets bodily—which he expressly says he did not, maintaining in the most explicit manner, "That neither Spirits nor Angels can see anything on Earth, nor Man anything in the Spiritual World."* Whatever Swedenborg might be, he was no fool, and perfectly appreciated the objections which would be raised to his claim, and thus calmly and reasonably answered them—

"Knowing that many will doubt the possibility of seeing anything on another Planet, I may state how it is effected. Distances in the Spiritual World are altogether different from distances on Earth. In the Spiritual World, distances represent differences of character. Those who are alike appear in the same place; those who are unlike appear apart. Hence to be present and converse with the Spirits of any Earth, it was simply necessary that the Lord should induce such changes in the state of my mind as would bring me into harmony with them. This done, we at once appeared together."†

When thus connected with the Spirits surrounding the respective Earths from which they had arisen, he pursued his advantage yet further; he used their eyes with the eyes of the Men and Women with whom they were associated, as glasses wherewith to view their Earths; even as he in

* No. 135.

† No. 135.

turn was in the habit of lending his eyes to Spirits, as a means of renewing their acquaintance with scenes and persons from which death had divided them.

In a word, he approached the Planets from their spiritual side—by an inversion of the method of the astronomer. It is an explanation of the process of his knowledge which, though quite open to question, cannot be dismissed with a sneer.

Whether (admitting at least the plausibility of his explanation) his account of the Earths is credible, is another matter. That he was himself sincere—that he saw what he says he saw, and heard what he says he heard—I regard as beyond debate; but the Spiritual World is by eminence the land of illusions. According to his own testimony, your shadow there irretrievably affects your experience: what you are, you see. “It is to be well observed,” he remarks in the book before us, “that the notion one holds on any subject is in the Other World reflected to the life.”* In the light of this truth, we must read all his revelations about places and persons; discerning therein quite as much of his own likeness as of the things themselves. It is quite certain, no one else could repeat his explorations and render an account in agreement with his. His tour had a theological purpose; his itinerary is a report on the Religion of the Universe. Everywhere he finds the Good in accord with him; nor may we feel surprise or offence that it should be so, for, who is there that does not consider his private opinions as one with Wisdom?

Supposing we concede the reality of his relations, how rudely they overturn our common conception of Civilization! Beyond our Earth there are no Letters, no Books, no Sciences, no Travelling, but one placid unvarying round of domestic business and domestic joy. Freedom of thought and speech, which we regard as the acme of social culture, is unknown. Dissenters are not only tabooed, but punished, and if obstinate, extinguished. Not in any way do other worlds grow attractive under our explorer’s touch. Grateful indeed may we be that our lines are cast in our naughty,

* No. 158.

bustling, superficial sphere. Our place may verily be in the Skin of the Grand Man, but we have no desire to exchange it for any other organ or tissue. "Good!" would say our Author; "and in your content, behold the vindication of the Divine Love in your creation and appointment!"

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LAST JUDGMENT.*

IF the good people of London in 1758 had read *Heaven and Hell*, they would have found in it abundant matter for nine days' wonder; and scarcely second to their astonishment over the anonymous author who professed a familiar acquaintance with the abodes of the Blessed and the Damned, would have been their amazement at his assertion, that the Last Judgment had come off in the preceding year, 1757, and that whilst the world, immersed in business and pleasure, was profoundly unconscious, he had been an eye-witness of the momentous transaction!

Stated thus baldly, anything more preposterous will seem inconceivable: but as we grow familiar with Swedenborg, we discover beneath his strangest affirmations a substratum of reason which redeems him more or less effectually from folly or fanaticism. In the case before us, if we are willing to understand what he meant by the Last Judgment, his statement will, at least, lose its first glare of wildness.

He requires us to believe, that the scene of the Last Judgment was the World of Spirits, and that its execution does not involve the destruction of Nature. Our Earth will never perish, for it is the birth-place of the Human Race, and the Human Race is the seminary of Heaven, and Heaven would be starved if deprived of its ground of sustenance.

* *De Ultimo Judicio, et de Babylonia Destructa: ita quod omnia, quæ in Apocalypsi prædicta sunt, hodie impleta sint. Ex Auditis et Visis.* Londini: 1758. 4to, pp. 55.

In the review of the *Arcana Cœlestia* we recorded his opinion of the hopeless condition of the Christian Church. In common with former Churches, it had run its course and attained its period. Standing in the Spiritual World and seeing the issue of Christendom through the gates of death, he had to bear this testimony—

“I can aver that the Spirits from the Christian World are the worst of all, hating their neighbour, hating the faith, denying the Lord, and given to adultery more than the rest of Mankind. Hence I have been given to know of a certainty, that the last time is at hand.”*

Now it is very plain, that if Heaven be rooted in and nourished from the Church, Heaven, about the middle of last century, must have been in a miserable plight; and if Saints on Earth be vivified and strengthened by communion with Saints in Heaven, they too must have endured sore privation by reason of their incorporation in so sinful a generation.

At this point it is to be observed, that not Heaven and Hell, but the World of Spirits exists in most immediate contact with Mankind. The World of Spirits is a magnificent reduplication of our familiar Earth: there, as here the Righteous and the Wicked are intermingled until their inward choice is openly declared: and as the condition of Spirits there is so like that of Men here, by the strong law of affinity, they are associated with us directly, whilst (to speak according to the *appearance* of Space) Heaven lies on one side and Hell on the other.

So much premised, let us try if we can follow Swedenborg through the Last Judgment, which, to cite his words, “It was granted me to see with my own eyes, that I might describe it; and which was commenced in the beginning of the year 1757, and fully accomplished by the end thereof.”†

In *Heaven and Hell* we read, no one remains in the World of Spirits more than thirty years; but it was not always so; with 1757 commenced a new *régime*. Previous to the Judgment in that year, whilst the decidedly

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Preface to Pt. ii.

† No. 45.

Good, by reason of their decision, had gone straight to Heaven, and the decidedly Bad, by reason of their decision, had gone straight to Hell, Hypocrites had for centuries made the World of Spirits their home, and there organized imaginary Heavens or fools' Paradises, repeating on a prodigious scale the civil and ecclesiastical impostures of Earth, assisted by myriads of pious and well-meaning simpletons, who, destitute of any inner sense of character, accepted for gold whatever glittered as gold.

If we compare the World of Spirits to a stomach which digests Men for absorption into the system of the Grand Man, we might say, that up to 1757, the stomach had performed its functions inefficiently; so much so, that at the end of each Dispensation it had to be purged of a gorge of undigested matter. Thus we are told—

“A Last Judgment has twice before been executed in connection with our Earth. There was a Judgment at the end of the Most Ancient Church: it is described in Genesis under the figure of the Deluge. There was a second Judgment by the Lord at His Advent on the Ancient Church from its commencement in Noah to its consummation in Judaism. A third and final Judgment is now passed upon the Christian Church.”*

The scene of the Last Judgment was the World of Spirits. There were the nations and people to be judged, and thus as on a map were they seen distributed—

“In the middle appeared Protestants, assorted according to their countries—Germans to the north, Swedes and Danes to the east, Dutch to the east and north, and English in the centre. Surrounding the Protestants were the Papists, thickest towards the west and south. Beyond the Papists, to the south-west, were Mahometans. Outside of all, in vast numbers, forming a circumference as of sea, were Gentiles.”†

The judgment on the Mahometans and Gentiles was the work of a few days. Their settlements were broken up; the Evil were driven into infernal marshes and deserts;

* No. 46.

† Nos. 48 and 58.

and the good were led off to heavenly places where they were instructed by Angels—

“Those Gentiles who had worshipped God under a Human Form, and had led lives of charity in agreement with their religious principles, were conjoined with Christians in Heaven, for they acknowledge and adore the Lord more than others: the most intelligent are from Africa.”*

Rome he identifies with Babylon of the Apocalypse, and draws up this indictment of Papal iniquity—

“How pernicious, how inwardly abominable Babylon is, may appear from the following summary. They who belong to it, worship, but confess no Saviour in the Lord; for they entirely separate His Divinity from His Humanity, and impropriate His Divine Power. They remit sins, they send to Heaven, they cast into Hell, they save whom they will, they sell salvation: and since they arrogate Divine Power, it follows, that they make gods of themselves from the highest, whom they style Christ’s Vicar, to the lowest: thus they usurp the Lord’s place, and if they render Him nominal honour, it is merely that they may the more firmly retain the substance.

“They not only falsify the Word, but take it from the people, lest the least ray of truth should break into their minds; and not satisfied with this, they proceed to annihilate it by according to Papal Decrees an authority superior to the Word. They thus shut up the way to Heaven from the people; for the acknowledgment of the Lord, faith in Him, and love to Him, are the way to Heaven, and the Word is what teaches that way: whence it is, that without the Lord, by the medium of the Word, there is no salvation. With all diligence they strive to extinguish the Light of Heaven, and the denser the darkness, the greater their satisfaction.

“They teach the people they have Eternal Life by their Priesthood, and not by private and immediate relation to the Lord. They place worship in a devout exterior, leaving the mind a vacuum. They introduce idolatries of various kinds: they make and multiply saints; they tolerate their

adoration, boast of their multitudinous miracles, set them over cities, temples, and all sorts of places, and consecrate their very bones; turning the hearts of all from devotion to God to the worship of His creatures.

“Moreover they use much artful precaution lest any one should escape from their darkness into light, from idols to God. They multiply monasteries, from which they send out spies and guards in every direction; extort confessions under threat of hell-fire and purgatorial anguish; and those who are daring enough to speak against the Papacy, they consign to the horrors of the Inquisition.

“All these things they do with single purpose—that they may possess the world with its treasures, satiate their lusts, and be the mightiest of mankind, holding the laity as their slaves. In their success, we see Heaven subjected to Hell and infernal order enacted on Earth.”*

He discovered them carrying on the same business in the World of Spirits, but on a more stupendous scale—

“Masses were performed, not in the ordinary language of Spirits, but in one composed of high-sounding words which induced awe and were utterly unintelligible. Saints were worshipped and their images set up, but the Saints themselves were nowhere to be seen; for such of them as had desired to be worshipped had been dispatched to Hell, and those who were careless about reverence were lost in the crowd.

“The Papists encircled the Protestants, and in the southern section dwelt the ablest and most zealous. Great numbers of the rich and noble lodged there in subterranean houses with guards at the entrances from dread of robbers. There too was a great city inhabited by myriads of Spirits, and full of churches and monasteries. Into it ecclesiastics brought all the treasures they were able to collect by artifice, and hid them in labyrinthine crypts. On these treasures they set their hearts, confident they could never be destroyed. I was amazed at the art displayed in the construction of the crypts, and their extension without end. Most of the Jesuits dwelt in this city, and cultivated the friendship of the rich in their neighbourhood.

"In the west dwelt those who had lived in the Dark Ages, for the most part under ground, one progeny beneath another. They rarely spoke with those who lived in succeeding centuries, being of a different disposition and not so craftily wicked; for, as in their times there was no contention with Protestantism, there was less of the cunning of hatred and revenge.

"In the western quarter were many mountains inhabited by the most wicked, who denied God in their hearts, and yet professed belief in Him with gestures of extreme devotion. They devised nefarious schemes to keep the simple under their yoke and force others into it: their artifices I may not describe, they were so ineffably wicked.

"In general the consultations of the Babylonians tend to this, that they may dominate over Heaven and Earth, conquering one by means of the other; and to effect this they perpetually hatch new laws and doctrines.

"I was permitted to hear certain prelates in debate about a doctrine of many articles all driving to one end—fraudulent dominion over Heaven and Earth, and the ascription of all power to themselves and none to the Lord. The doctrine was afterwards read to the bystanders, when a voice from Heaven proclaimed it to be dictated from the deepest Hell; whereon a crowd of black and direful Devils ascended from thence, tore the document out of the hands of the priests with their teeth, and bore it off to the pit, to the amazement of the onlookers."*

Into this Babylon, Angels descended and made visitation. By their presence the Evil were detected, and the Good delivered from their illusions and led out and away from their wicked associates.

"This done, there were great earthquakes. The Babylonians then perceived the Last Judgment was at hand, and were seized with trembling. Those in the south, and especially in the great city, were seen running to and fro, some with the intention of flight, some of hiding in the crypts beside their treasure, and others with whatever valuables they could lay hands on. After the earthquake,

* Nos. 56 to 58.

a flood burst from below, and overthrew everything in the city and surrounding region. Then followed a vehement east wind, which laid bare every structure to its foundations. All were then led forth from their hiding-places and cast into a sea of black waters: those who were cast in were numbered by myriads. Afterwards a smoke arose, and a thick dust borne by the east wind was strewn over the sea; such dust signifying damnation. Lastly there was seen a blackness over the whole region, which when viewed narrowly, appeared like a dragon—a sign, that the vast city and its province had become a desert.

“Earthquakes likewise devastated the western and northern quarters. The west, where the people of the Dark Ages abode underground, was laid bare and swept clean with the strong east wind, and myriads cast into the black sea. Some were consigned to the Hells of the Gentiles; for part of those who lived in the Dark Ages were idolaters like Gentiles.

“In the east, mountains were seen to subside into the deep, and all those who dwelt upon them were swallowed up. Others opened in the middle, and down vast spiral gulfs hosts were cast. Some mountains were turned completely upside down.

“Those among the Papists who were in good though not in truths, were conveyed to suitable places and instructed in the Word by priests from Protestantism, and were afterwards received into Heaven.”*

He says little concerning the Judgment on the Protestant centre, save that it was of longer duration than that executed on the Gentiles and Catholics.

The concourse thus dispersed is signified in the Apocalypse by “the first Heaven which passed away.” “It was called Heaven, because they who were in it dwelt on high and lived in natural delights which they fancied heavenly.”† The Judgment as a whole, he further asserts, is the theme of the Apocalypse; and hence “all things therein predicted are at this day (1757) fulfilled.”‡

He excuses the slightness of the present treatise as the precursor of a more comprehensive work—

* Nos. 61 and 63.

† No. 66.

‡ No. 40.

"I am anxious to open the whole Apocalypse from beginning to end, and will publish the exposition within two years, together with certain things in Daniel which have hitherto lain hidden, because the Spiritual Sense was unknown." *

The exposition did not appear until 1766—eight years instead of two from the date of the promise. His procrastination seems to have been reproved, for in another volume we read—

"I heard a voice from Heaven, saying, 'Enter into your chamber and shut the door, and apply to the work begun on the Apocalypse, and publish it within two years.'" †

Of the results of the Last Judgment, he formed a very modest estimate. The communication between Heaven and the Church was restored—

"So long as there were congregations of undecided Spirits between the Lord and the Church, it was impossible for Man to be enlightened. It was as when a sunbeam is cut off by a black cloud, or as when the sun is eclipsed by the interjacent moon." ‡

The advantage gained by the dispersion of the cloud is perpetuated, for—

"It is permitted no longer to form Societies below Heaven and above Hell. As soon as Spirits now enter the Intermediate State, they straightway get ready to join the Angels or Devils with whom they are in connection." §

It may be asked, why was this new order initiated in 1757? why until that year was the World of Spirits subject to glut? Swedenborg does not answer, but explains—

"There were many reasons why imaginary Heavens were tolerated in the World of Spirits: the principal was, that the Wicked by outward sanctity and righteousness had there entered into conjunction with the Simple-Good even in Heaven—for the Simple-Good among Spirits and Angels regard chiefly outer appearances. Had therefore this connection between the Wicked (but externally moral) and the Simple-Good been violently dissolved, Heaven would have

* No 42.

† *Conjugal Love*, No. 552.

‡ *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 11.

§ No. 64.

suffered in the shock to the Simple-Good, who constitute Heaven's basis and lowest kingdom.

"That the Heavens 'which passed away' were on this account tolerated until the last time, is taught by the Lord in the parable of the wheat and tares which the householder would not allow to be separated until harvest, 'lest,' as he argued, 'while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.' " *

The littleness of Swedenborg's expectations becomes most apparent when he speaks of the influence of the Judgment on Mankind—

"The state of the World will be quite similar hereafter, for the great change which has been wrought in the Spiritual World does not induce any change in the Natural World outwardly. The affairs of states, peace, treaties, and wars, with all else which pertains to communities of men will be in the future as in the past. The Lord's saying, that 'in the last times nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and that there will be famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places,' does not signify that such things will occur in the Natural World, but things corresponding thereto in the Spiritual World.

"As for the Church, it will be dissimilar hereafter; it will be similar indeed in the outward form, but dissimilar in the inward. Divided Churches will exist as heretofore; and diverse doctrines be taught as heretofore; and the same Religions will continue among the Gentiles. The Man of the Church however will be in a more free state of thinking on matters of faith, because spiritual liberty has been restored to him; . . . and since spiritual liberty has been restored, the Spiritual Sense of the Word is now unveiled, which in his former condition he could not have understood, or, if he had understood, would have profaned." †

That is all! Happily, Swedenborg, sharing the common lot of prophets, is belied by events. The world has not gone on "quite the same as heretofore." New impulses and new ideas have been transforming society since he prophesied. Europe of this year is parted from the Europe of 1757 by

a gulf so wide as to be almost impassable by the most sympathetic imagination. Had he only been faithful to his own doctrine, that spiritual life and spiritual change must find embodiment in corresponding natural life and natural change, or perish, he would not have committed himself to such hopeless soothsaying. He predicts that the Churchman will enjoy more freedom in matters of faith, but fails to perceive that such freedom is inextricably connected with freedom in earthly matters. Kings and priests would readily concede any amount of freedom in heavenly affairs if, with all the quickness of selfishness, they did not discern that such freedom cannot be so limited, but descending from Heaven to Earth, *will* start dangerous questions about government and the distribution and enjoyment of the goods and honours of this life. Swedenborg however was by temper and education a conservative (if we may call a man a conservative who does not know he is one); in him was no spark of the secular revolutionary spirit. The Christian petition, "that the Father's will be done on Earth as in Heaven," in the largest and noblest—that is, in its social sense, he never apprehended. Throughout his writings, I detect not a hint of dissatisfaction with the political condition of his times. To the social wrongs and horrors which stirred the hearts of Voltaire and Rousseau, Paine and Bentham, he was insensible: and principles which it was their glory to enunciate, and which have been passing into the conscience and constitution of civilized society, never entered his conception. Nevertheless, let us remember, God's great work is detailed in sections and executed by many and diverse instruments, and be thankful for what is effected by each.

"With the Angels," he continues, "I have had various converse about the state of the Church hereafter. They said, of the future they are ignorant, for knowledge of the future is the Lord's alone, but they do know, the former captivity of the Churchman is at an end, and now he is free to recognize interior truths and be spiritualized thereby if he will. Nevertheless they have slender hope of Christendom, but much of a far distant Nation which is capable of receiving spiritual light, and becoming a Spiritual Celestial

Man; and they said, that at this day interior Divine Truths are revealed in that Nation, and are received in life and in heart, and that it worships the Lord." *

This angelic testimony confirms the opinion so freely iterated in the *Arcana Cœlestia*, that when a Church comes to its end a new one is always planted in virgin ground. As the Angels were so communicative about the Nation so far removed from Christendom, it is a pity they did not condescend to indicate its whereabouts. From later information, we presume they referred to a Nation secluded in Central Africa.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW JERUSALEM AND ITS HEAVENLY DOCTRINE. †

THE *New Jerusalem* is the complement of the *Last Judgment*. We therein learnt, that "the first Heaven which passed away" consisted of imaginary Heavens in the World of Spirits; but in the Apocalypse we also read of a "first Earth which passed away." This Earth, says Swedenborg, signifies the Christian Church dead and done for. Subsequent to the passing away of Heaven and Earth, John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." What then is meant by the New Jerusalem? "It is the Church with respect to doctrine." ‡

The Christian Church having come to an end, a New Church is established, and for its establishment a new code of doctrine is requisite. This code Swedenborg delivers, saying, "It is for the New Church, and is called Heavenly Doctrine because revealed to me out of Heaven." § In fine,

* No. 74.

† *De Nova Hierosolyma et ejus Doctrina Cœlesti: ex auditis e Cælo. Quibus præmittitur aliquid de Novo Cælo et Nova Terra.* Londini: 1758. 156 pp., 4to. With the exception of a few paragraphs the treatise is a compilation from *Arcana Cœlestia*.

‡ No. 6.

§ No. 7.

he requires us to recognize in the treatise we now open, the reality of which the Holy City seen by John was the emblem; with the proviso, that the Doctrine, which by a change of symbol is called the Lord's Bride, never becomes His Wife until incarnated in human practice.

The *New Jerusalem* is composed of twenty-four short chapters, to which are appended a multitude of references to illustrative passages in the *Arcana Cœlestia*. Following the line of these chapters, let us try to extract the pith of each.

Introduction.

The Church has come to its end, for Charity has ceased, and where there is no Charity there can be no Faith; nevertheless the Churches of Christendom justify their divisions on the score of Faith.*

It was not thus with the Ancient Churches. In them all were acknowledged as brethren who lived in charity, how much soever they might differ as to truths; nor were they offended that any one did not agree with another, knowing well that opinions were but the intellectual manifestations of feelings, and that if sincerely expressed they must needs be as various as their holders' countenances.

As Church after Church declined into self-love and worldliness, the knowledge of this vital and intimate union between thought and feeling, truth and love, opinion and inclination grew dim, and was finally forgotten. Creed and character became dissevered; it was not allowed that they had any necessary connection; and doctrines were accepted and rejected as though they were garments or badges. Such being the case, it was no longer considered unreasonable to expect and enforce uniformity, or to divide and excommunicate on the ground of differences of opinion.

Now there is nothing more certain than that Goodness alone has confidence and manifestation in the Truth, and that therefore none but the Righteous can believe in the Lord, or possess real Faith; and their Faith is simple or

* "When I speak of the Churches in the Christian World, I mean Protestant Churches, and not the Popish or Roman Catholic Church, since that is not a Christian Church." No. 8.

profound in the strict measure of their Goodness. Hence we may see how Faith ceases when Charity ceases.

Goodness and Truth.

The Lord is the Cause and Life of all things: He is Goodness itself and Truth itself: consequently every detail of Creation has relation to Goodness or to Truth, and may be referred to one or the other.

Goodness and Truth being one in the Lord, have a perpetual tendency to union in Creation. Their conjunction is called the Heavenly Marriage by the Angels; and all in Heaven are the subjects of that Marriage. For this reason, Heaven is compared to a Marriage, and the Lord is called Bridegroom and Husband, and Heaven or the Church, His Bride and Wife.

As all things of Creation in order are related to Goodness and Truth, so all in disorder are related to Evil and Falsity; and between Evil and Falsity there is the same affinity as between Goodness and Truth, and their union constitutes the Infernal Marriage.

Evil and Falsity are opposed to Goodness and Truth, Evil hating Truth and driving it away as an enemy. No one who is confirmed in sin can know what Goodness and Truth are, for he feels his own evil to be good, and takes his illusions for truths. The Righteous however can know Evil and Falsity, for they are in light, and from their light can perceive darkness.

Will and Understanding.

A Man consists of two distinct faculties—a Will and an Understanding, yet so created as to form one Mind. His Will is the habitation of the Divine Love, and his Understanding of the Divine Wisdom: his Body is their passive instrument.

The Evil have no proper Will or Understanding. In them the Will is closed to holy human loves, and is simply an organ of brutal lusts; and the Understanding, void of spiritual truth, merely provides science for the satisfaction of the said lusts.

The Internal and External Man.

Man has two sides, an External and an Internal—one open to the Natural World and the other to the Spiritual World.

The relations of the Good and the Evil to the Spiritual World are very different. The internal of the Good Man is shone upon by the Sun of Heaven, and all his thoughts, even concerning earthly affairs, are illustrated thereby. The Internal of the Evil Man is merged in his External, so that he has no help from spiritual light, but is limited to what he calls the Light of Nature.

“Such is his darkness that he does not know there is an Internal Man, much less what the Internal Man is; neither does he believe in a Divine Being, nor in a life after death, nor in anything pertaining to Heaven and the Church. Nature is to him as God, falsity as truth, evil as good.”*

In the Word, the Internal or Spiritual Man is described as alive, but the External or Natural Man as dead.

Ruling Love.

A Man's Life is his Love: what his Love is, the Man is. A Man has many Loves, but always one king over the others as over servants. If the Love of Property rules, gain is his constant thought; possession, his chiefest joy; loss, his keenest sorrow. If the Love of Approbation rules, praise is his aim all the day, and the drift of every word and deed. Whatever favours his Ruling Love he calls good; whatever opposes it, he calls evil. “From it he derives his peculiar character; it is the very *esse* of his nature; nor can it be changed after death, for it is the Man himself.”†

There are four Loves under which all varieties of Good and Truth and Evil and Falsity are comprised. The two Loves which include all Good and Truth are, Love to the Lord and Love to the Neighbour; and the two Loves which include all Evil and Falsity are, the Love of Self and the Love of the World. The two latter are in direct opposition to the two former. The Loves of the Lord and the

* No. 44.

† No. 57.

Neighbour constitute Heaven, and the Loves of Self and the World, Hell.

Loves of Self and the World.

"The Love of Self consists in wishing well to ourselves alone, and not to others unless it be for the sake of ourselves. This Love it is true, may confer benefits when its own gain and glory are advanced thereby; but unless these are to be secured, it argues, 'Why should I do this? Of what advantage will it be to me?' Hence it is evident, the Man who is animated by Self-Love does not love Church, or country, or fellow-citizen, but himself alone.

"He who loves himself, loves those who are connected with him; in particular, his children and other near relations, and in general, all who co-operate with him, and whom he calls his friends. Nevertheless his love for these is only Self-Love, for he regards them, as it were, in himself, and himself in them. Amongst those whom such a Man designates his friends, are all who flatter him, honour him, and pay court to him.

"Such is the nature of Self-Love that in proportion as rein is given to it, that is, so far as external restraints are removed (as fear of the law and its penalties, loss of honour, gain, office, life) it grasps at universal dominion, not only over Earth but Heaven, yea over God Himself, for its rage is boundless. This propensity lurks in the heart of every one who is under the dominion of Self-Love, although it may be invisible to the public eye and unknown to himself." *

We have here a fair specimen of Swedenborg's practice as psychological dissector, and of the manner in which complex mental phenomena are resolved into simplicity under his hand. He pronounces Self-Love a simple, insatiable force of appropriation, but modified in countless ways by the action of other forces and circumstances. As instances of its almost unchecked manifestation, he cites the cases of princes who have striven after universal empire, and of priests who have claimed the prerogatives of Deity.

* Nos. 65 to 71.

The Love of the World shows itself in the passion for property of every kind, with no end beyond possession. Those who are its subjects "greedily covet the goods of others, and, whenever unchecked by the fear of the law and the loss of reputation, mercilessly appropriate them."*

Love to the Neighbour or Charity.

Our first duty—the duty which includes and defines all others—is to love and serve the Lord, and consequently, to encourage and lend aid to nothing which does not exist in accordance with His Will. From this point we may discern who is our Neighbour—

"As far as the Lord is resident with any Man, so far is the Man a Neighbour. The distinctions of Neighbour consist in varied measures of goodness, and as all goodness is from the Lord, He is Neighbour in the supreme sense of the word: and therefore where goodness is loved, the Lord is loved: thus we see how Love to the Lord and Love to the Neighbour are conjoined."†

Love to the Neighbour is an internal force whereby we are moved to do good without any hope of remuneration. In whomsoever the Love prevails, every thought, word and deed is directed towards usefulness, and in usefulness is his joy.

It is a common saying, that every Man is his own Neighbour, and that Charity begins at home, which is quite true if rightly understood. It is the duty of every Man to provide himself and his dependents with food, raiment and shelter, for otherwise they would be burdens on the community; but whilst a Christian must take care of himself in the first place, he does so that he may keep himself in a condition to be serviceable to others. Charity with him begins at home that it may be qualified to go abroad.

The selfish acknowledge those as Neighbours who favour and further their designs, deducing the origin of Neighbour from Self. To them the Love of the Neighbour for the sake of the Neighbour is incomprehensible—

"They cannot understand how heavenly felicity can

* No. 76.

† Nos. 86, 89, and 90.

result from service out of mere goodwill and without a view to reward. They imagine if honours and riches were abstracted from life, all its joys would be gone, whereas it is only when such ends are abandoned that heavenly joy, which infinitely transcends all others, begins.”*

Faith.

An Angel and a Devil cannot hold the same creed. Why? Because their Loves, their Wills, their Hearts are opposites.

The assertion may be met with the fact, that the Evil frequently hold and defend the opinions of the Good with the greatest enthusiasm. Granted, but “they regard the Doctrine of the Church as a means of acquiring gain and fame, and in proportion as the ends are coveted, the means are also loved and believed. The real case stands thus. Inflamed by the Loves of Self and the World, they speak, preach and act until they work themselves into a Persuasive Faith wherein they would find it hard to distinguish what they do and what they do not really believe. They have no inner sense whether what they teach be true or false; neither indeed do they care, provided they obtain credit with the vulgar, for they have no affection for Truth for its own sake, and therefore are ready to abandon their opinions whenever advantage or offence impels them.

“Man may know, think, and understand much, but when he is left to solitary reflection, he rejects everything which is not in correspondence with his Ruling Love. Hence after death every memory which is not at one with his Will is rejected as something foreign.”†

Piety.

Piety consists in prayer, church-going, reception of the holy supper, and the maintenance of a devout spirit. Such conduct is praiseworthy, but there is a tendency with many to reduce Religion entirely to piety, and to imagine that life would be well spent in devout exercises. This is a gross mistake. Piety in itself is worthless; it is only a means to an end, and that end is the cultivation of goodwill

* No. 105.

† Nos. 113 to 118.

to the Neighbour, the endeavour to promote his welfare, the discharge of every duty in justice and equity, or in a word, the performance of uses. Divine Worship consists primarily in Charity and secondarily in Piety, and he who separates the one from the other, that is, who is pious but not charitable, does not worship God. He thinks indeed *of* God, yet not *from* God: his thoughts are busy about himself continually, and not at all about his Neighbour, whom he regards with disdain, unless he be pious after his own pattern. He likewise thinks of Heaven as a reward, prides himself on his merits, and holds usefulness in contempt. *

The Lord has no need of our prayers, nor has He any satisfaction in our praises, except so far as they re-act on ourselves and strengthen us to fulfil His Will with more resolute, calm and gentle dispositions.

Conscience.

Conscience and Faith are so much alike, that what has been said about the one might be said about the other.

Conscience is not intuitive. It is formed from truths acquired from the Word, assented to, and practised. As truth is obeyed, Conscience waxes in strength and grows firm and clear, until at last impulse, thought, word and deed come into such thorough unity, that righteousness is more a habit than an effort. In those who attain this maturity of Conscience there is nothing to conceal, and peace is their perfect portion: their only pain is when they fall below the standard of the truth they know.

The Selfish have no Conscience, for they have no regard for their Neighbour, nor for Truth except so far as it seems advantageous. Hence they feel no pain when they do wrong, if only they escape outward hurt and blame. If found out, they may endure much suffering, but then it is their Self-Love which is wounded.

Liberty.

Liberty is the free action of Love. What a Man desires to do, and is free to do, that he calls liberty. Now as there

* No. 124.

are two kinds of Love—Love of Self and Love of Others—there are two kinds of Liberty—the Liberty of Selfishness and the Liberty of Benevolence; or, in other words, an Infernal and a Heavenly Liberty.

Infernal Liberty is continually aggressive—Self-Love being nothing but a force of absorption. Hence Infernal Liberty is never fully enjoyed; its demands are refused and resisted on every side; it provokes warfare all around. Accordingly the life of the Selfish is one of constraint, disappointment, slavery.

On the contrary, Heavenly Love is subject to no such bondage and misery. Its action is diffusive; its efforts are met with welcome on every hand; and its Liberty is co-extensive with its energy.

Merit.

Swedenborg, we see, ascribes salvation to the prevalence of Love to the Lord and the Neighbour, and it is a frequent objection raised against him by Protestants, that he concedes Heaven to Merit. How far such a charge is true, may appear from these maxims—

“Those who do good with a view to merit are not influenced by the love of good, but by the love of reward: they are not Spiritual but Natural Men.

“To do good which is really good, a Man must act from the love of good; and whoever is thus influenced cannot bear to hear of Merit: he has a lively satisfaction in his business, and is grieved when it is insinuated that he is seeking his private advantage, insisting that the good which he does is not for his own sake, but for the sake of those for whom it is done.

“The delight which is inherent in the love of doing good without an eye to profit, is in itself an eternal reward.”*

Heaven, he does not in any sense allow to be a price for so much work done or suffering endured. Those who hope to inherit Heaven as a recompense for so much service, sacrifice, sorrow, abstinence, or penance act from selfishness as distinctly as though they were under the direction of

* Nos. 150 to 157.

Benjamin Franklin: the only difference between them and worldly economists is, that their estates lie on different sides of the grave.

Further: the thought of Merit is excluded, inasmuch as Love to Others in the Heart is the Lord in the Heart, and he who entertains the Divine Guest cannot but disdain and shrink aside from personal praise. That the Lord should use us as His instruments, and that He should put forth His Hands through our hands is bliss itself; but to appropriate His Merit is to change sweetness to bitterness and beauty to ashes.

Repentance and Remission of Sins.

Repentance is the confession of sin, its hatred, and its renunciation. It is not a general confession in which a man charges himself with all wickedness, but the knowledge of his particular faults, accompanied with abhorrence and determination to desist from them. No Repentance is effectual in fear, misfortune, sickness, or death, which take away the free use of reason. The Wicked in such states may promise Repentance and perform good actions, but as soon as the cause of alarm is removed and freedom returns, they resume their former life. Sin to be rightly hated, must be hated for itself and not for its inconveniences.

A man examining himself in the work of Repentance, must try his heart closely, asking, Why do I grieve over my sin? If it is because his sin has brought him into shame or difficulty, his grief is no more than the anguish of Self-Love. In true Repentance sin is loathed because it is an offence against God and the Neighbour, and not for any private consideration.

Evils are not washed away by Repentance as is filth by water. Evils exist from the dominion of Self-Love in the Will; by Repentance Self-Love is deposed from the centre to the circumference of the Mind, and Love to the Lord and the Neighbour elevated instead. The cause of evil is not therefore extirpated, but reduced to useful servitude under the new king.

Regeneration.

The consummation of Repentance is Regeneration.

At this day we are all born Selfish—with the Loves of Self and the World holding mastery in our nature. Our forefathers have been given up to those Loves, we inherit their organizations, and too frequently confirm and enlarge our inheritance. Therefore are we wretched, without peace, driven hither and thither by unruly passions and insane thoughts, and devoured by cares and sorrows. For this our lost condition, the Word, and the Word only, prescribes and provides a remedy. We must be born anew. The inherited order of our life must be inverted; and the order is inverted when Self-Love and Love of the World are deposed and subjected to the Loves of the Lord and the Neighbour. This inversion is Regeneration.

Temptation.

“Those who are being regenerated undergo Temptations or mental pains induced by Evil Spirits.

“The object contended for during Temptation is the dominion of Good over Evil, or of Evil over Good. If Evil prevails, the Natural Man obtains the dominion; if Good prevails, the Spiritual Man. If Man falls in Temptation, his state becomes worse than before, for Evil has acquired power over Good, and Falsity over Truth.”*

Repentance, Regeneration, and Temptation are transacted in Man with the sensation that he is principal in the several operations; but Revelation assures him the sensation is an illusion, and that the Lord is governor in all: and in this reflection is humility and peace.

Baptism.

Swedenborg divests Baptism of all value save as a sign—as a promise of something to be done. “No one receives Heaven or Faith by Baptism; for Baptism is only a memorial that Man is *to be* regenerated, and that he is capable of being regenerated by the truths of the Word.”†

* Nos. 187 to 193.

† *Heaven and Hell*, No. 329.

Expressing so much and no more, it is reasonable that infants should be baptized.

The water used in Baptism signifies truth, and as the body is cleansed by the one, so is the mind by the other. The washing of Baptism has no other meaning; and as every one who is regenerated undergoes combats against evils and falsities, baptismal water represents such conflicts.

Holy Supper.

“The Holy Supper was instituted by the Lord as a means whereby the Church may have conjunction with Heaven; it is therefore the holiest solemnity of worship.”*

How is the Holy Supper so efficacious? Thus—The bread corresponds to Goodness and the wine to Truth. Those who partake of the Supper worthily have (in previous self-examination and repentance) received the Lord as Love and as Truth, and in eating the bread and drinking the wine they repeat externally what has been accomplished in them internally, and by the repetition the inner transaction receives an outward embodiment whereby it is confirmed and fulfilled, and Heaven wedded with Earth.

Resurrection.

By Resurrection is not meant the resuscitation of the rent or worn-out carcase laid in the grave. On the contrary, it is the deliverance of the Spirit from the bondage of the flesh, when Man awakes in the other world with his whole nature intact.

“This continuation of life is meant by resurrection. The reason Men believe they will not rise until the Last Judgment, is because they do not understand the Word, and because Sensual Men place all their life in the body, and imagine that unless it be re-animated, existence is impossible.”†

Heaven and Hell.

We have already noted Swedenborg’s exhaustive definition of Heaven and Hell—that Heaven is Love to the Lord and Love to the Neighbour, that Hell is Love of Self and

* No. 210.

† No. 227.

Love of the World, and that the glory and loveliness we associate with the one and the darkness and horror with the other, are no more than the visible manifestations of the qualities of the several Loves.

Man cannot be changed after death; as he dies, he remains; he may be cultivated like a piece of land, but neither enlarged nor transformed.

The Church.

Love and Faith in Man—or more accurately the Lord in Man—constitute the Church. In whomsoever the Divine Life is manifest (that is, in whomsoever the Lord's will is done) in him is Heaven, in him is the Church, whatever his circumstances and whatever his nominal creed.

"The community among whom the Lord is acknowledged and the Word exists is called the Church. . . Doctrine formed from the Word is one of the conditions of the existence of a Church, for without doctrine the Word cannot be understood: but Doctrine alone does not form the Church, but Life according to Doctrine."*

Gentiles who acknowledge God and live in obedience to the truth they know "are in communion with the Church; for no one who believes in God and lives well is damned. Hence it is evident the Lord's Church exists everywhere, but specifically where He is confessed and the Word read."†

Sacred Scriptures or Word.

Swedenborg posts himself firmly in opposition to those who regard theology as a spontaneous evolution of the Human Mind—

"Without Divine Revelation, Man could know nothing of God or Eternal Life; for he is born in utter ignorance, and must obtain all his information from external sources; moreover, by generation he inherits the Loves of Self and the World as ruling motives, and these prompt him to exclude God from his thoughts and to find in himself the grand centre of importance. Hence without Revelation, God and Heaven would remain unknown to him."‡

* Nos. 242 and 243.

† No. 244.

‡ Nos. 249 and 250.

As Man is to live for ever, and as his future life is determined by his life here, to meet his ignorance and atheism, the Lord externally reveals Himself and the means of salvation; "and what He has thus revealed forms the Word."*

"The Word is Divine in all its parts and in every particular. Within are Internal Senses adapted to Angels: without is the External Sense adapted to Men. The Internal Senses can only be apprehended by those who are *enlightened*; and none are enlightened save those who love the Lord and have faith in Him; such interiorly enjoy the light of Heaven."†

Whoever finds the *Arcana Cælestia* uninteresting or unintelligible may therefore know the reason why.

Providence.

The Divine Providence is universal, extending to the minutest details of existence. As in God "we live, and move, and have our being," we may well see that co-extensive with His omnipresence is His providence.

The end of the Divine Government is the happiness of Creation; and an essential condition of that happiness is, that Man should live *as* of himself, that his life should *seem* to be his own, that he should feel altogether self-contained and independent. In this *sense* of freedom Man is Man: take it away and Humanity vanishes.

Man to be happy must be good; and it is the Lord's will to make him good in order that he may be happy; but this, His purpose, He works out only under cover of Man's *sense* of independence and freedom: that *sense* He preserves at every hazard. By a myriad of arts He draws him to goodness; He permits him to fall into sin, that in its bitterness he may learn the sweetness of righteousness; and, when in the end, He brings him to Heaven, He still gives him to *feel*, that he is his own master and that his bliss is the purchase of his own efforts. That the Creature be kept humble whilst he enjoys the *sensation* of independence, the Lord instructs him by external revelation in the true state

of the case—that He does *all* and Man nothing—but the *feeling* which constitutes manhood and individuality is never broken—nay, be it repeated—is jealously guarded and maintained by Infinite Providence.

It is our constant tendency to question the Divine Providence, in view of the wrong and suffering which prevail on Earth; but “the Divine Providence does not regard what is fleeting and transitory, but what endures to eternity.”* The Lord, infinitely merciful, is indifferent to no suffering, but, infinitely wise, spares no suffering if only it conduce to Man’s spiritual improvement—that is, to his eternal welfare. It matters little that any of us should experience many sorrows throughout the longest life on Earth, if thereby we acquire a single grace which may endure throughout eternity.

The Lord.

Under three aspects God is known—

“In the Lord is a threefold principle: there is the Infinite Divinity, the Divine Humanity, and the Divine Proceeding: this is an arcanum from Heaven, and is revealed for the benefit of those who shall have a place in the Holy Jerusalem.”†

The Divinity is the Father, the Humanity is the Son, the Proceeding is the Holy Spirit—thus a trinity, not of person, but of characteristics.

Under most finite conditions, God revealed Himself in Judea, that He might redeem Men from the dominion of Hell and conjoin them to Himself by a bond which should never be broken. Assuming human nature of the most carnal stock in the Virgin, by a life of perfect obedience to the Divine Will, “everything derived from Mary was extirpated”‡ and replaced from the Divine, until finally God Himself stood incarnate in Jesus Christ.

Ecclesiastical and Civil Government.

Swedenborg winds up his treatise with a chapter under this head. He ranges the affairs of the world under two

* No. 269.

† No. 297.

‡ No. 295.

heads—Ecclesiastical and Civil—one referring to Heaven and the other to Earth.

The reason for Civil Government he finds in the depravity of Mankind—

“In every Man the passion for ruling over others and possessing their goods is hereditary, and is the source of all strife, revenge, deceit and other evils. Unless then this passion were curbed on the one hand by the fear of the law, and encouraged on the other hand by the hope of honour and gain, there would speedily be an end of the Human Race.”*

In confirmation of this opinion about the origin of Civil Government, it may not be forgotten that he describes the Adamic Church as destitute of any organization outside the Family, and that he dates the rise of Kingdoms from its ruin; likewise, that in the Planets wherever heavenly life prevails, Kings are unknown.

“Rulers ought to be persons well skilled in legislation, men of wisdom, who fear God”†—a maxim we should gladly have enlarged with a recipe for the election of such rulers and their maintenance in office.

“Since the King cannot by himself administer all things, he has to find deputies,‡ and lest any of them should sanction what is contrary to order, they are arranged as superior and inferior officers, so that one may check another.”§

“The law, which is justice, when enacted, ought to be observed by the King and by his subjects. The King who lives according to the laws, and therein sets an example to his subjects, is truly a King.

“The King who is invested with absolute power, and who considers his people such slaves that he has a right to their property and lives, and who exercises such imaginary right, is a tyrant and no King”||—Very true.

Very true; but as to the duty of subjects in such a case, he is silent. Would he have lent his sanction to “the sacred right of insurrection?”

* No. 312.

§ No. 313.

† Nos. 313 and 323.

|| Nos. 323 and 324.

‡ No. 320.

In a similar strain of bland dogmatism he treats of Ecclesiastical Government—

“Governors over things which relate to Heaven are called Priests, and their office the Priesthood.

“The duty of Priests is to teach Men the way to Heaven, and to lead them therein. . . . They ought not to claim any power over the souls of men, inasmuch as they cannot discern the interiors of the heart; much less ought they to claim the power of opening and shutting Heaven, because that power belongs to the Lord alone.

“They ought not to use compulsion in matters of faith, since no one can be forced to believe what he does not think true. He who differs in opinion ought to be left in the quiet enjoyment of his own sentiments, provided he make no disturbance: if he disturbs the peace of the Church he must be separated; for this is consistent with the order for the sake of which the Priesthood is established.” *

Such soothsaying reads prettily enough: it is only when pressed to a practical application that its emptiness appears. Priests are to suffer dissent if the Dissenter keeps quiet, but if he prove troublesome, then he is to be separated. Where are the Priests so forbearing? Where the Dissenters, not disturbers? Where the earnest heretic, who cares a straw though all the Priests of Christendom cursed him in chorus? When the Church could prosecute a Dissenter to prison and to death, excommunication had a meaning; but when, as now, deprived of teeth and claws, the Church can only scold, her anathemas only make sport for the newspapers. Swedenborg failed to perceive how the diffusion of knowledge throughout society was gradually swamping the distinction between Clergy and Laity—he, late Assessor of Mines, a signal example thereof. The times had changed since an author would have had to expiate the novelties of an *Arcana Cœlestia* at the stake; but though a prodigious gainer by the liberal revolution, he laboured under an obscure impression that Authority and Liberty were reconcilable: hence the suggestion of toleration in the Priest

* Nos. 316 to 318.

and quiescence in the Dissenter, and the occasional dropping of sentences like these—

“In Kingdoms where justice and judgment are preserved, every one is restrained from speaking and acting against Religion.

“It is right that Men be forced or restrained by threats and punishments from speaking ill of the Laws of a Kingdom, the Morals of Life, and the Sanctities of the Church.”*

When the Clergy and the Learned were synonymous, it was possible to treat the Laity as children, but since common education has obliterated the distinction, the Priest has had to exchange the character of father for that of brother, and whether he date from Rome or Canterbury he has to deal as with equals in evidence and argument. For a Priest under these circumstances to threaten a Dissident with “separation” would be as absurd as impudent.

“Dignity and honour ought to be paid to Ministers on account of the sanctity of their office; but those Ministers who are wise ascribe all such honour to the Lord, from whom all sanctity is derived. The honour of any employment is not in the person of him who is employed, but is annexed to him on account of the dignity of the office in which he is engaged; and what is so annexed does not belong to the person but the employment, being separated from the person when he is separated from the employment.”†

Here the confusion arising from regarding the Church indifferently as a symbol and a reality is continued. When, as in the Jewish Church, and the Catholic Church of the middle ages, the function of the Priest was theatrical and independent of his personal character, such directions might have force; but now when the stage is free to everybody, and players and spectators rub shoulders in equality, “to render dignity and honour to a Priest on account of the sanctity of his office,” is impossible with sincerity. If anybody renders me priestly service, I can no more withhold from him reverence than love from mother or brother; but on the other hand, that I should “pay dignity and

* *Divine Providence*, Nos. 129 and 136.

† No. 317.

honour" to any creature who may chance to be styled a Priest, is flatly impossible except in hypocrisy. We have outgrown symbolism, and can find no satisfaction therein. The symbolic church lingers, but to every living soul it is an anachronism. Where is there a Bishop, not a fool, who does not feel that his official title bears no relation to reality, and who would not shudder to find himself accepted by his acquaintance at his nominal value? The notion of honouring a man for his rank or office is utterly out of date. We honour a man for what he does—not for what he is labelled. If he occupies an office unworthily, his official rank, instead of a title to respect, is a warrant for contempt and condemnation. There is no more reason why we should honour a stupid fellow who is dubbed Reverend, than a foolish Author or an inefficient Carpenter.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WHITE HORSE.*

The pamphlet is an explanation of John's vision—

"I saw Heaven opened, and behold a White Horse, and He that sat on him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness He doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire; and on His head were many crowns; and He had a name written that no man knew but Himself; and He was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood; and His name is called the Word of God. And the armies which are in Heaven followed Him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen white and clean. And He hath on His vesture and on His thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords."†

The vision, says Swedenborg, is representative of the opening of the Spiritual Sense of the Word, and thus wise—

* *De Equo Albo de quo in Apocalypsi, Cap. XIX. Et dein de Verbo et ejus Sensu Spirituali seu Interno, ex Arcanis Cælestibus.* Londini: 1758. 4to, 23 pp.

† Rev. xix. 11-16.

"I saw Heaven opened"—signifies entrance into a heavenly state, wherein one discerns truth eye to eye with Angels.

"And behold a White Horse"—In Heaven whatever is seen externally is a revelation of what exists internally; the meaning therefore of the White Horse must be sought in the Mind of the Seer.

The Horse is frequently mentioned in the Word, and always as the representative of the Human Understanding.

"I have often observed in the Spiritual World that when any were thinking rationally, they appear to others as if riding on Horses, though themselves quite unconscious of the fact. There is also a place in that World where many assemble to discuss truths of doctrine, and when others approach them, they see the whole plain covered with Chariots and Horses."

"I have likewise seen bright Horses and Chariots of fire, when certain Spirits were taken up into Heaven—a sign that they were then instructed in heavenly truth and become intelligent: whereon it occurred to me, what is signified by the Chariot of fire which carried Elijah up into Heaven; and what is signified by the Horses and Chariots of fire that were seen by Elisha's young man when his eyes were opened." *

White, as every one knows, is the colour which corresponds to truth. A White Horse is therefore the emblem of an Understanding vivified by truth.

On the White Horse sat a Rider "called Faithful and True, with eyes as a flame of fire, and on His head many crowns." The Rider is the Lord; His flaming eyes, His wisdom alit with His love; His many crowns, "all the goods and truths of faith." Only and in so far as He—as Divine Wisdom—occupies the Human Understanding has it either real vigour or true glory.

The name of the Rider is "the Word of God"—the source of all spiritual wisdom, but "an unknown name" to every soul which has not in some measure entered into union with the Lord.

The vesture of the Rider seen as "dipped in blood" signifies, "the Word in the Letter, to which violence had been done" by perversion to false doctrine.

"The armies of Heaven following Him upon White Horses" are those who by obedience to the Divine Will are transformed to the Divine likeness. "Their clothing of fine linen clean and white" is the manifest evidence of their spiritual purity.

To six pages of such cursory exposition are adjoined fifteen pages of references to passages in the *Arcana Cœlestia*, treating of the Sacred Scriptures, their Internal Senses, and the conditions of their apprehension. The pamphlet is a useful digest and index to an important series of statements.

It may please the reader to have Swedenborg's opinion of the significance of the Horse in the Greek mythology—

"That a Horse signified the Understanding was quite well known in the Ancient Churches, with whom the science of correspondences was the chief of sciences. From those Churches, the knowledge of the correspondence of the Horse was transmitted to the Greeks. Hence when they would describe the Sun, in which they placed their god of wisdom and intelligence" [Apollo], "they attributed to it a Chariot and four Horses of fire: and when they would describe the god of the Sea, since by the Sea was signified Sciences derived from the Understanding, they also attributed Horses to him" [Neptune]: "and when they would describe the rise of the Sciences from the Understanding, they feigned a winged horse, which with its hoof broke open a fountain."*

In the *White Horse*, Swedenborg prints for the third time a list of the books which under the cover of our Bible constitute the Word. Behold the dogma!

"Which are the books of the Word.—The books of the Word are those which have the Internal Sense: those which have not the Internal Sense are not the Word.

"The books of the Word in the Old Testament are, the

five BOOKS OF MOSES, the BOOK OF JOSHUA, the BOOK OF JUDGES, the two BOOKS OF SAMUEL, the two BOOKS OF KINGS, the PSALMS OF DAVID, the Prophets, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, the LAMENTATIONS, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, HOSEA, JOEL, AMOS, OBADIAH, JONAH, MICAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI. In the New Testament, the four Evangelists, MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, JOHN, and the APOCALYPSE. Other books have not the Internal Sense.

“JOB is an ancient book, which indeed contains an Internal Sense, but not in series.”*

It may be useful to bring under the eye the number of books expunged from the sacred canon by this sentence. They are—

RUTH, the two BOOKS OF CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTHER, JOB, PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, and the SONG OF SOLOMON ; the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, and all the EPISTLES of PAUL, JAMES, PETER, JOHN, and JUDE.

The canon thus reduced stands however the chance of enlargement by the discovery of the Word of the Ancient Church, which “is still preserved among the people of Great Tartary,” and is “in use in the Heavens derived from the Ancient Church.”

CHAPTER XXII.

IN LONDON.

WHERE did we leave Swedenborg to make this long digression? In London in 1758 publishing the five books we have been reviewing, *Heaven and Hell*, *Earths in the Universe*, *Last Judgment*, *New Jerusalem*, and *White Horse*: a set of which he presented to each of the English Bishops and to many of the Nobility; with what result we shall learn by-and-bye.

* No. 16.

The English.

To the English, Swedenborg was well disposed, and he understood them fairly.

“The better sort of English are the centre of all Christians, in consequence of possessing an interior intellectual light, which they derive from the liberty of speaking and writing and thence of thinking.

“There is among them such a similitude of disposition that they club together, and seldom seek other company. They are kind in relieving each other’s necessities; and they love sincerity.

“They love their country and are zealous for its glory. They regard foreigners as one who from the roof of a palace surveys through a telescope those who dwell at a distance from the city.

“Politics so engross their attention, that they neglect the sublimer studies which conduce to superior intelligence. At their universities indeed such studies are eagerly pursued by the young, but they are set aside in the business of life. Nevertheless their rationality is rendered quick and lively and sparkling with light by their political activity.”

The English habit of rushing in helpless packs, like sheep after any leader, did not escape his notice—

“The light of the English mind is not active of itself, but is made so by others, especially by men of reputation and authority, shining with peculiar brightness as soon as such men declare their sentiments. It is on this account that the English in the Spiritual World have governors and priests set over them of distinguished character and great talents, in whose opinions they acquiesce.”

Probable; for when not shameful, it is laughable to encounter the average Englishman on the uprise of a question and note the hesitation of his tongue, and then, as soon as his *Times* or other oracle has spoken, to hear his self-confident and resonant Baa!

“From observations in the Spiritual World it is very evident, that there is a two-fold theology taught in England, one grounded in Faith and the other in Charity; the former

being received by the Clergy, and the latter by many of the Laity, particularly by the inhabitants of Scotland and its borders; with these the Solifidians are afraid to enter into controversy, because they combat them both from the Word and from Reason."

Unquestionably there is a two-fold theology taught in England; but that the Scots should be found on the side of Charity is more than we should have ventured to expect; for beyond other Protestants they have held aloft the grand dogma of the Reformation—Justification by Faith alone. We may however be deceived by appearances. Chalmers preached for years before he was seduced by the Dragon, and his seduction was far more a matter of fancy than of fact; and if Scotland has been prolific in Holy Willies, she has always had a Burns for the vermin, and multitudes who have never mistaken the correctest orthodoxy and the dismalest piety for doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God.

"It was perceived that many of the English will receive the Heavenly Doctrine, and thereby come into the New Jerusalem; and this because they receive the truths of faith more easily than others, and see them in a more internal light"—

A perception verified in events.

London.

There are two large cities like London in the World of Spirits into which many of the English enter after death: one is the resort of the good, and the other of the evil.

"I was permitted to visit and traverse the more excellent London. I spoke with certain there, and said, how good Londoners would be surprised if they knew that death would reveal to them their familiar city."

Pleasant tidings indeed for Dr. Johnson, Charles Lamb and kindred sprits!

Spiritual London is similar to earthly London as to streets, but not as to quarters and houses. The centre answers to the Exchange, and there dwell the governors of the city. The East is inhabited by those whose lives

have been distinguished by charity; and there are magnificent palaces. The South is peopled by the wise, and is a bright and splendid region. The North is peopled by those who have eminently enjoyed the liberty of writing and speaking. The West is the residence of those who glory in the doctrine of justification by faith alone. The Clergy of the West are not tolerated in the city: they dare not enter it by the main thoroughfares, but slink in bye-alleys. In the West is the entrance to London, and the exit for the wicked.

"The food and dress of the Londoners are similar to what they were on Earth. I inquired and found they had wine, beer, coffee, chocolate, tea, and the like. I asked also after the liquor punch, and learnt they had it likewise but that it was only allowed to the industrious and sincere."

The other great city called London is the receptacle of those who are inwardly wicked. Out of it are ways leading to Hell, down which its inhabitants go when they are prepared.

England and Italy.

"A comparison was made between the English and Italians. Their governments are altogether opposite. In England there is liberty of speaking and writing both on civil and spiritual matters, but no liberty to use guile, or rob, or murder; and if Englishmen cheat, or steal, or slay, there is no remission of justice. It is the reverse in Italy, where there is liberty to deceive and kill, and asylums and dispensations for the wrong-doers, but no liberty whatever for speaking or writing on civil or ecclesiastical affairs because of the Inquisition. The feelings of the Italians being thus shut up are converted into a slow fire of hatred, revenge, and cruelty; whilst the same feelings in the English burn out directly and harmlessly in free expression." *

Sir Isaac Newton.

Swedenborg seems to have had little knowledge of famous

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 39 to 46, *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 806 to 812, and *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII., App., pp. 1 to 5 and 87 to 90.

Englishmen. Newton, he found in a suburb of London in "the World of Spirits, where dwell several of the Learned—

"I have spoken with Newton concerning a Vacuum and concerning Colours.

"Respecting a Vacuum he said, that on Earth he believed there was a Vacuum, but that when the Angels perceived that by a Vacuum he had an idea as of Nothing, they averted themselves, saying, they could not endure the idea, because with the idea of Nothing, the idea of the essence and connection of things perished. Something and Nothing are altogether opposites; so much so, that a Man should experience a sense of horror at the idea of Nothing, and should guard himself against it, lest his mind should as it were, fall into a swoon."

Newton held that white Light is composed of seven Colours, and adduced in evidence its decomposition in the prism. The Angels met him with quite another opinion. They had Light and Colours in Heaven: they knew that Light proceeded from the Lord as a Sun, and that it did not contain Colours, but that Colours resulted from its incidence on surfaces of varied form. Indignant, they exclaimed, Who does not see that the Newtonian doctrine of Colours is paradoxical, yea absurd! and they took leave of the Philosopher, vowing they should see him no more until he had altered his mind.

A certain Spirit then approached him and said—

"Think, I beseech thee, concerning Colours, not from any little prism, but from the forests and grassy plains of the Earth from which thou hast come. Canst thou conceive of the continual efflux of their green from the Sun? or similarly of the gray tints of stones, rocks, and mountains? If thou canst, then tell me what becomes of this outflow of solar Colour? where does it rest? If the Sun is for ever shedding such material, might not new Earths be condensed therefrom?"

Newton considered deeply, and then confessed—

"Now I know, Colours are modifications of Light in objects. Light is returned in Colour according to the forms in which it is received."

"These," writes Swedenborg, "are Newton's words, which he desired me to communicate."*

We have here an anticipation of Goethe's controversy with the Newtonian doctrine. Goethe asserted that Light is not compound, but the simplest and most homogeneous thing we know, and explained the phenomena of Colour by means of what he called the Opaques in which Light is received. He maintained that on the one side there is Light, and on the other Darkness, and that Colours in all their variety, are no more than degrees of transparency in the media into which Light passes. For years and years he experimented and accumulated illustrations in defence of this theory.

Swedenborg, writing when Goethe was a babe in his cradle, said—

"For the production of Colour there must necessarily be a ground which either absorbs or reflects the rays of Light from the Sun, or which is, in other words, either black or white. Now, according to the various conditions of this ground as to absorbing or reflecting power, or, as it is termed, as to blackness or whiteness, is that modification of the inflowing rays of Light which gives rise to Colour, some of which partake more or less of the obscure or black property, and others more or less of the shining or white property, and hence arises diversity of Colour."†

This opinion is frequently repeated or assumed by Swedenborg in the course of his works, and in its defence he would have been pertinacious as Goethe, with the advantage of being able to cite Newton as convert and witness in his favour.

* *Spiritual Diary*, Part VII., App., pp. 85 to 87, and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 82.

† *Arcana Cælestia*, Nos. 1042, 3993, and 4530, *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 1324, and *True Christian Religion*, No. 763.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AT HOME IN STOCKHOLM.

SWEDENBORG left London for Stockholm in the summer of 1759. He landed at Gottenburg on the 19th of July, and there gave public proof of his seership. None less than Philosopher Kant is the reporter of the transaction—

“On Saturday, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when Swedenborg arrived at Gottenburg from England, Mr. William Castel invited him to his house with a party of fifteen persons. About 6 o'clock, Swedenborg went out, and after a short interval returned to the company, pale and alarmed. He said a dangerous fire had just broken out in Stockholm, at the Sudermalm (Gottenburg is 300 miles from Stockholm), and was spreading very fast. He was restless and went out often. He said the house of one of his friends, whom he named, was already in ashes, and his own was in danger. At 8 o'clock, after he had been out again, he joyfully exclaimed ‘Thank God! the fire is extinguished the third door from my house.’

“This news occasioned great commotion throughout Gottenburg, and particularly amongst the company in which he was. It was announced to the Governor the same evening, who sent for Swedenborg in the morning, and questioned him concerning the disaster. He described the fire precisely, how it had begun, in what manner it had ceased, and how long it had continued. The Governor's attention gave fresh importance to the news, and increased the consternation of the citizens, many of whom were in trouble on account of their friends and property.

“On Monday evening a messenger arrived at Gottenburg, who had been dispatched from Stockholm whilst the fire was raging. In the letters brought by him, the fire was described precisely as by Swedenborg.

“On Tuesday morning, a royal courier arrived at the Governor's with the melancholy intelligence of the fire, of

the loss which it had occasioned, and of the houses it had damaged and destroyed, not in the least differing from that which Swedenborg had given immediately it had ceased; for the fire was extinguished at 8 o'clock."

Asks Kant triumphantly—

"What can be brought forward against the authenticity of this occurrence? My friend, who wrote this to me, has not only examined the circumstances of this extraordinary case at Stockholm, but also at Gottenburg, where he is acquainted with the most respectable houses, and where he could obtain the most authentic and complete information; *as the greatest part of the inhabitants, who are still alive, were witnesses to the memorable occurrence.*"

For a reason which will presently appear, attention is requested to the last words in italics, as implying that Kant's friend must have prosecuted his inquiry *some years subsequent to 1759*, the date of the fire.

The story of the vision of the fire spread through Stockholm, and Swedenborg's house was beset with curious visitors seeking interviews on various pretexts. Amongst them was the widow of Marteville, Dutch Ambassador to Sweden. She was sued for 25,000 guilders, which she knew her husband had paid, but could nowhere find the receipt. The lady married again, and from her second husband we have the narrative of the affair—

"About a year after the death of Marteville, my wife felt a desire to see the notorious Swedenborg, who at that time was her neighbour in Stockholm. Several ladies of her acquaintance shared her curiosity, and accordingly accompanied her to his house. Swedenborg received them in a very beautiful garden, where they found him in an elegant summer-house.

"My wife asked whether he knew her late husband. He replied, that he did not; that when Marteville was at Court, he was detained in London."

The matter of the missing receipt was then set forth, and on entreaty, Swedenborg promised that if he should encounter Marteville in the Spiritual World, he would make the requisite inquiry.

"Eight days afterwards, Marteville appeared to my wife in a dream, and mentioned to her a secret place in his English cabinet where she would find not only the receipt, but also a hair-pin set with twenty brilliants, which had been given up as lost. This happened about two o'clock in the morning.

"Full of joy, my wife rose and found them in the place designated. She returned to bed and slept till nine o'clock.

"About eleven in the forenoon, Swedenborg was announced. His first remark, before my wife had time to speak, was, that he had seen several Spirits during the night, and amongst them Marteville. He wished to talk with him, but Marteville excused himself on the plea that he must go and discover something of importance to his wife.

"This is the true account of the affair in which my wife was concerned. I do not attempt to penetrate the mystery. I am merely required to make a plain statement of facts, and this duty I perform."

Kant relates and certifies this story likewise.

Marteville died in 1760. It was about a year after that his widow inquired concerning the missing receipt. Kant could not therefore have heard of the occurrence till 1761 at the earliest.

In the same year, 1761, the Queen of Sweden (Louisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick II. of Prussia) received a letter from the Duchess of Brunswick, in which she mentioned, that she had read in the *Göttingen Gazette* an account of a man at Stockholm who pretended to speak with the Dead, and she wondered that the Queen in her correspondence had not referred to the subject. The Queen had doubtless heard of the Marteville affair, and that, coupled with her sister's curiosity, probably prompted her to look after Swedenborg. Out of many authorities, I select Captain Stahlhammer's account of what ensued—

"A short time after the death of the Prince of Prussia Swedenborg came to Court, where he was in the habit of attending regularly. As soon as the Queen saw him, she exclaimed—

“‘Well, Mr. Assessor, have you seen my brother?’ Swedenborg answered, he had not; whereon she replied—

“‘If you should see him, remember me to him.’

“In saying so, she did but jest.

“Eight days after, Swedenborg came to court, but so early that the Queen had not left her apartment, where she was conversing with her maids and other ladies. He did not wait for the Queen’s coming out, but passed directly to her room, and whispered in her ear. The Queen, struck with astonishment, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she had come to herself, she said to those about her—

“‘*There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.*’

“She owned he had spoken of her last correspondence with the Prince, the particulars of which were known to themselves alone.

“The only weakness,” adds Stahlhammer, “of this truly honest man, was his belief in the apparition of Spirits; but I knew him for many years, and I can confidently affirm that he was as fully persuaded of his intercourse with Spirits as I am that I am writing at this moment. As a citizen and as a friend, he was a man of the greatest integrity, abhorring imposture, and leading an exemplary life.

“I am no follower of Swedenborg. The love of truth alone has induced me to give a faithful relation of an event which has been so often stated with details entirely false; and I verify what I have written with my signature.

“CHARLES LEONARD DE STAHLHAMMER.

“STOCKHOLM, 13th May, 1788.”

There is a mass of documents in amplification and variation of this and the Marteville story, but happily we are able to enjoy them in trustworthy condition.

M. Dieudonné Thiebault, a professor in the Royal Academy of Berlin, relates a conversation he had with the Queen on Swedenborg, in which, “though she laid great stress on the truth of her own experience, she professed herself incredulous as to his conferences with the Dead.

“‘A thousand events,’ said she, ‘appear inexplicable and supernatural to us, who know only the immediate consequences; and men of quick parts, who are never so well pleased as when they exhibit something wonderful, take advantage of this to gain an extraordinary reputation. Swedenborg was a man of learning, and of some talent in this way, but I cannot imagine by what means he obtained the knowledge of what had been communicated to no one. However, I have no faith in his having communication with my deceased brother.’”

Thiebault was a Frenchman of the school of Voltaire, and the Queen was probably affected by his influence, for at other times she seems to have been in a more rational condition. Chevalier Baylon records—

“I found an opportunity of speaking with the Queen concerning Swedenborg, and she told me the anecdote respecting herself and her brother with a conviction which appeared extraordinary to me. Every one who knew this truly enlightened sister of the Great Frederick, will give me credit when I say, that she was by no means enthusiastic or fanatical, and that her entire mental character was wholly free from such conceits. Nevertheless, she appeared to be so convinced of Swedenborg’s supernatural intercourse with Spirits, that I scarcely durst venture to intimate some doubts, and to express my suspicion of secret intrigues; for when she perceived my suspicion, she said with a royal air, ‘I am not easily duped;’ and thus put an end to all my attempts at refutation.”*

There are not perhaps in literature three better attested narratives of the supernatural than these of the Stockholm fire, the Marteville receipt, and the Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Prussia; nevertheless it is not in the power of evidence to command credence, though verdant logicians may think so. “If you are not disposed to believe,” says our wise Author, “you never will believe.” As the atheistical Baron de Grimm, after reciting the story about the Queen of Sweden, observed, “It is confirmed by authorities

* These testimonies are from Tafel’s Collection.

so respectable, that it is impossible to deny it; but how is it to be believed!"

In the interview with Swedenborg, the Queen opened the business by asking—

"Is it true you can converse with the dead?"

"Yes."

"Is it a science that can be communicated to others?"

"No."

"What is it then?"

"A gift of the Lord."

"Can you then speak with any one deceased, or only with certain persons?"

"I cannot converse with all, but with such as I have known in this world; with all royal and princely persons, renowned heroes, and great and learned men whom I have either known personally or from their actions or writings; consequently, with all of whom *I can form an idea*: for it may be supposed, that a person I never knew, nor of whom I can form any idea, I neither could nor would wish to speak with."*

The declaration that he could only converse with those of whom *he could form some idea*, is peculiarly noteworthy. His spiritual knowledge was thus circumscribed by his natural knowledge, and modified by his prejudices. Hence we discern a possible explanation of his strange verdicts as to the character of certain saints and sinners.

Let us turn aside for a little and discuss Kant's relation to Swedenborg.

A lady, Charlotte Knobloch, had written to Kant asking information, and an opinion concerning the strange stories afloat of Swedenborg's dealings with Spirits.

In his reply, he excuses himself for delay on the score of the necessity of a thorough inquisition, lest he should be charged with credulity. He is not aware that any one has detected in him a love of the marvellous. He is

* Reported by General Tuxen from Swedenborg's own lips.

acquainted with a great number of the most probable ghost stories, but he has always considered it a rule of sound reason to incline to disbelief; not that it is impossible to see Spirits, but because so little is known of their nature, because the evidence and end of their appearance are usually so insufficient and doubtful, and because deception is so frequent. Hence he has never allowed himself to suffer terror in grave-yards or the dark. Such was his position until the accounts of Swedenborg came under his notice.

A friend, a Danish officer, who attended his lectures, first told him the story of the message conveyed by Swedenborg from the Prince of Prussia to the Queen of Sweden, "the authenticity of which surprised me. In order not to reject blindfold the prejudice against apparitions and visions by a new prejudice, I resolved to inform myself as to the particulars of the surprising transaction." He wrote letters and made various inquiries, which all confirmed the accuracy of his Danish friend's report—

"I then wrote to the singular man, and the letter was delivered to him at Stockholm by an English merchant. I was informed that Swedenborg politely received the letter, and promised to answer it; but the answer was omitted. In the meantime I made the acquaintance of an English gentleman who spent last summer at Königsberg.* Relying on the friendship we had formed, I commissioned him, as he was going to Stockholm, to make careful inquiry as to the miraculous gift which Swedenborg is said to possess.

"In his first letter, he stated, that the most respectable people in Stockholm declare that the singular transaction mentioned by you had happened just as you have heard described. He had not then had an interview with Swedenborg, but hoped soon to find an opportunity; but he found it hard to credit what the most reasonable people in the city asserted respecting his communication with the Spiritual World.

* Supposed to be Mr. Green, who died in 1792. Kant's intimate acquaintance with Green commenced about 1766 or 1767.

"His succeeding letters were of quite a different tenor. He had not only spoken with Swedenborg himself, but had visited him at his house, and he is now in the greatest astonishment at his remarkable case. Swedenborg is a reasonable, polite, and open-hearted man: he is also a man of learning; and my friend has promised to send me some of his writings shortly. He told this gentleman without reserve, that God had granted him the power of communicating with departed Souls at pleasure. In proof whereof, he appealed to certain known facts. As he was reminded of my letter, he said he was aware he had received it, and that he would have answered it ere this, had he not intended to publish the whole of the strange affair to the eyes of the world. He was going to London in the month of May this year, where he would publish a book in which the answer to my letter at every point might be met with."

It would have been good for both had Swedenborg met Kant's advances, but Swedenborg was an indifferent correspondent. I am puzzled to imagine the nature of Kant's letter to him. Probably it was some metaphysical inquiry which Swedenborg reckoned he would sufficiently satisfy by his treatise on *Intercourse between Soul and Body*, which he published in London in 1769, and which, it might be supposed, was specially addressed to Kant.

Kant proceeds to relate the story of Madame Marteville's lost receipt, which story he had also tested and found trustworthy; and lastly the case of the Stockholm fire.

The Letter is highly creditable to Kant. It displays a courage and candour very rare in modern philosophers, most of whom would as soon be shot as stand good for a ghost story however authentic.

The Letter was first published at Königsberg in 1804 in the *Description of the Life and Character of Immanuel Kant by Ludwig Ernest Borowski: revised and corrected by Kant himself*. Kant died at the beginning of 1804, aged 80.

In Borowski's book, the date affixed to the Letter is—

"KÖNIGSBERG, 10th August, 1758."

Which date is obviously wrong. The Stockholm fire

took place in 1759, Ambassador Marteville died in 1760, and the Prince of Prussia in 1761, and Kant could not write of these events before their occurrence. Probably 1758 was substituted for 1768—number 5 for number 6: anyhow the blunder has proved mischievous; thus—

In 1766, Kant issued a pamphlet entitled *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer interpreted by Dreams of Metaphysic*. The motive of the publication, he frankly confessed was jealousy—

“The system of Swedenborg is unfortunately very similar to my own philosophy. It is not impossible that my rational views may be considered absurd by reason of that affinity. As to the offensive comparison, I declare, we must either suppose greater intelligence and truth at the basis of Swedenborg’s writings than first impressions excite, or that it is a mere accident when he coincides with my system—a *lusus naturæ*. Such a wonderful agreement exists between his doctrines and the deepest results of reason, that there is no other alternative whereby the correspondence can be explained.”

Granted; it was hard, very hard. With labour incalculable, Kant had excogitated a system which was to make his fortune as a Philosopher, and officious friends keep telling him, “I find you have been anticipated on this point and on that by the Swedish Spirit-Seer.” It was mortifying; as mortifying as when an inventor after countless pains perfects some contrivance and discovers himself anticipated by a patent.

Kant however did not meanly deny, or pretend to question, that he had been anticipated. He set himself to read Swedenborg, and master the case. Unfortunately he made a bad beginning. He bought the eight quartos of *Arcana Cœlestia* for £7, and grudged the money. The books, I conjecture, which had excited the attention of his friends, were Swedenborg’s treatises on the *Divine Love and Wisdom* and the *Divine Providence*, published in Amsterdam in 1763 and 1764, and which in their themes and dimensions would have been far more to Kant’s purpose than the large and rambling *Arcana Cœlestia*.

Having purchased the ponderous work, and still worse,

he says, read it, surely so much trouble was not to go for nothing! He will try to give his readers its quintessence in a few drops, so that in the end they may thank him, as a certain patient thanked his doctor for prescribing only a little Peruvian bark, when he might have ordered the whole tree to be swallowed. The style is very flat. The volumes are packed with nonsense. There is nothing in them admitting of the faintest proof. The author nevertheless is sincere. He relates his own experience, and that is worth attending to.

The reduction of the *Arcana Cœlestia* to a quintessence was a feat beyond even Kant's ability. Instead, he offers a few notes on Swedenborg's other-world relations, most of them involving misapprehensions. Coming to his conception of Heaven as a Grand Man, he is especially scandalized. He can only suppose that a childish fancy of his school-days (as when a teacher likens a tract of country on a map to the form of a girl sitting) must have suggested this monstrous phantom to its creator: and he declines to follow the most provoking of phantasts any longer. If he were to attempt to give the immediate intuitions of the wild dreamer, they could only disturb the reader's rest at night.

A criticism of this sort, a Swedenborgian might say, is crucial. Kant in judging Swedenborg judges himself, and in his judgment pronounces his own incompetence.

In such a verdict I could not concur; for Kant's difficulties are the common difficulties of those who first come to Swedenborg, and are only overcome after prolonged acquaintance with him.

But to our point. I said, the wrong date affixed to Kant's Letter to Charlotte Knobloch in Borowski's book, had proved a mischievous error; and this because one writer after another has converted the Pamphlet of 1766 into a retraction of the conclusive testimony in favour of Swedenborg given in the Letter: but if Kant had discovered himself mistaken, why did he not suppress the Letter? why did he hand it to the printer and wantonly perpetuate his illusions? Such a construction of the case has no warrant whatever beyond the erroneous date of 1758.

That the Letter was written subsequently to the Pamphlet, is proved by its tenor and details. In the Pamphlet, the three stories in evidence of Swedenborg's seership are ascribed to vague hearsay, whilst in the Letter, he shows what pains he has taken to verify them. "I have never pretended," he writes to Charlotte Knobloch, "that such visions are impossible: I have only alleged the absence of satisfactory evidence;" and proceeds to explain how in Swedenborg's case he acquired such evidence.

Baron Hazel of Rotterdam wrote to Swedenborg, begging that he would teach him how to open intercourse with the Spiritual World. He did not answer Hazel's letter directly, but through a common friend, Count Bonde. In the first place he objected to be known—

"STOCKHOLM, August, 1760.

"I would reply to Hazel's letter as he desires, but I must not engage in correspondence with a foreigner about writings published anonymously in England, and thereby announce myself as their Author. *The bookseller is also forbidden to make me known.* Nevertheless present my respects to Hazel, and assure him I rejoice very much that he has found pleasure and light in reading my writings. It is a token that he has been illustrated from Heaven."

As to intercourse with Spirits, he refers him to *Heaven and Hell*, and adds—

"The Lord provides that Spirits and men should seldom converse together. Their open intercourse would be more dangerous than can be imagined. Unless the Lord Himself introduces a Man to the Spiritual World, and especially preserves and protects him (as He has done in my case), he may endanger his soul and imperil his life. The Lord Himself guards me from the many and malicious devices and temptations of Spirits. I therefore dissuade from all desire to possess this intercourse. The Lord Himself has been pleased to introduce me to the conversation and society of Spirits and Angels for great ends, which are set forth in my writings.

"EM. SWEDENBORG."

Scherer, secretary to an embassy, was in Stockholm in those days, and heard Swedenborg's name in all companies. Some gave full credit to his visions, some pronounced them incomprehensible, and some fanatical. Scherer himself was incredulous, but to him we owe this anecdote—

A company, after listening one evening with rapt attention to a description of the Spiritual World, put Swedenborg to test—Would he state which of those present would die first? He did not refuse, but sat for a time in profound meditation. At last he spoke—"Olof Olofsohn will die to-morrow morning at 45 minutes past 4 o'clock." The test was met, but not offensively, by a name not included among his auditors.

In the morning, one of the party went to the house of Olofsohn to see if the prediction was fulfilled. On the way he met Olofsohn's servant, who told him his master was dead of apoplexy. Strange to say, the clock in Olofsohn's house had stopped at 4-45, the minute at which he had expired. *

Swedenborg received his numerous visitors with courtesy, and afforded them whatever satisfaction lay within his power. He writes—

"I have related a thousand particulars concerning departed Spirits, informing certain persons who are now alive of the state of their deceased brethren, married partners, and friends." †

Here, too, we may remark his hereditary shrewdness. He would receive no strangers, and especially women, alone. He required the presence of one of his servants, and the conversation conducted in Swedish. "I will have," said he, "witnesses of my discourse and conduct, so that no ground whatever may exist for scandal."

Robsahm says, "How he was looked upon in foreign lands I do not know, but in Stockholm even those who could not read his writings were always pleased to meet

* John Benedict Von Scherer, professor at Tübingen, and a distinguished man in Germany. The authority for the anecdote is Dr. Tafel, who was acquainted with Scherer.—*Intellectual Repository*, March, 1846.

† *Conjugal Love*, No. 28.

him in company, and paid respectful attention to whatever he said."

From Mr. Horace Marryat we have this absurd anecdote, in all probability as fictitious as its opening sentence—

"Swedenborg was very odious in society. Crossing the Mälar in company with some ladies, he began as usual holding conversations with nobody. 'Why, Mr. Swedenborg, what are you chattering about?' asked one of the party. 'Silence, woman! I am holding converse with my Spirits.' The lady was not to be shut up in that manner. 'Spirits! why how many have you on board the boat?'—'Twelve, madam, who never leave me;' and he angrily turned his back on the inquirer. The Dalkullas exchanged glances. On arriving, Swedenborg proffered a coin in payment. 'Thirteen marks, if you please, Sir—not one stiver less.'—'And why, pray?' remonstrated he. 'Did you not say, Sir, that you had twelve Spirits on board? Are we poor girls to pull them over this lake for nothing?' The visionary, who feared neither Ghost nor Devil, paid down the fare demanded, sooner than encounter the clatter of two women's tongues."*

The Clergy did not regard Swedenborg with unconcern, but they were puzzled how to lay hold of him. They observed that he seldom went to church, or partook of the holy supper. This was owing partly to his aversion to Lutheran doctrine, and partly, Robsahm says, to the disease of the stone which troubled him. In 1760 two Bishops, his relations, remonstrated with him in a friendly manner upon his remissness. He answered, religious observances were not so necessary for him as for others, as he was associated with Angels. They then represented that his example would be valuable, whereby he suffered himself to be persuaded.

He consulted his servants as to whom he should resort for the sacrament, "for he was not much acquainted with the preachers." A clergyman was named. He objected that "he was a fiery zealot, and that he had heard him

* *One Year in Sweden*, Vol. I., chap. xxxiv.

thundering from the pulpit with little satisfaction." His assistant was then proposed. "I prefer him," said Swedenborg. "I hear he speaks what he thinks, and has thus lost the good-will of his people, as generally happens in this world."

Robsahm asked the rector of his parish, an aged and venerable pastor, what he thought of Swedenborg and his revelations. He answered, "God alone can judge of them. I cannot think of him as many do. I have met him alone and in company, and have found him to be a good and holy man."

At first he used to speak freely of his intercourse with Spirits and of the Inner Sense of the Scriptures; but as he found himself misunderstood and taken for a heretic or lunatic, he grew more and more reserved.

In general, he would not dispute on religious matters. If forced to defend himself, he did so with mildness and in few words. If any one would not be convinced, and became excited, Swedenborg retired, saying, "Read my writings with care and without prejudice, and they will answer you in my stead, and give you reason to change your opinion."

A Doctor of Divinity from Gottenburg, and a follower of Zinzendorf, attacked Swedenborg in company. The Doctor had not read his writings, and was personally insolent. Disregarding all that was offensive, Swedenborg replied with so much grace and effect, that all present felt he was victor alike as theologian and gentleman.

"It is a singular circumstance, that almost all who have read Swedenborg's works with a design of refuting them, have ended in believing in them."

Robsahm, from whom I am quoting, continues—

"Swedenborg was in nowise led by that self-love which is observable in those who advance new religious opinions. Nor did he seek to make proselytes. He communicated his ideas only to those he thought virtuous and lovers of truth."

He explained to Robsahm the reason why the Clergy were so unwilling to receive his exposition of the Scriptures—

"It is because they confirm themselves in the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, and likewise in some evil, until they do not see evil as evil, but find every day more pleasure in it and less delight in good. Besides, if they were to see that I speak the truth, they would be kept silent by their love of the world's praise."

A certain preacher had been much run after in Stockholm for his flowery sermons. "Has he gone to Heaven?" asked Robsahm. "No," replied Swedenborg; "he went straight to Hell. He left his devotion in the pulpit. He was not pious, but a hypocrite. He was proud, vain of his natural gifts, and ravenous for money. Truly, false appearances stand us in no stead hereafter! They were all stripped off after his decease, and he is now known for what he is inwardly."

Bishop Hallenius (successor of Jesper Svedberg in Skara) visited Swedenborg. The conversation turned on sermons, when Swedenborg shocked his guest with the assertion—

"You state what is false in yours."

The Bishop asked the gardener, who was present, to leave the room: his master commanded him to stay.* Both turned over the Scriptures in search of texts in confirmation of their opinions; and the interview ended with Swedenborg reproaching Hallenius for his avarice and injustice—

"You have already prepared yourself a place in Hell; but I predict that some months hence you will be attacked with a grievous illness, during which time the Lord will seek to convert you. If you then open your heart to His holy inspiration, you will be changed. When this happens, write to me for my theological works, and I shall send them to you."

Some months after, an official of the Bishop came to tell Swedenborg that Hallenius had been very ill, but was now well; that he was altogether a new man; that he was doing good everywhere, and returning three and fourfold what he had unfairly acquired.

Thenceforward the Bishop of Skara was an open advocate of the doctrines of the New Church, and maintained that

* Robsahm had the anecdote from the gardener's wife.

Swedenborg's writings were a most precious treasure given for the welfare of mankind.

Much business in the Inner World did not seduce Swedenborg into forgetfulness of the Outer. The Swedish Diet met in January, 1761, and as a member of the House of Nobles, he took an active part in its deliberations. Count Höpken (then and for many years Prime Minister of Sweden) records "that the most valuable and well-written memorials on finance were presented to the Diet of 1761 by Swedenborg; in one of which he refuted a large work in quarto, quoting the controverted passages, and all in less than one sheet."

He was also a member of the Secret Committee of the Diet; an office to which he was only eligible as a politician trusted and influential.

Consider, reader, the dignity and the abounding common-sense which could thus overcome the reputation of a visionary and command the respect and confidence of men of the world!

His temper and conduct are illustrated in his *Rules of Life*—

"I. Often to read and meditate on the Word of God.

"II. To submit everything to the will of Divine Providence.

"III. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and to keep the conscience clear.

"IV. To discharge with fidelity the functions of my employment and the duties of my office, and to render myself in all things useful to society.*"

Three of Swedenborg's addresses to the Diet are preserved.

The first is in support of Count Höpken's administration. In it he anxiously deprecates opposition to the government.

*The authenticity of these Rules is not questioned, but I should like to hear of them in autograph. They made their appearance in a Eulogium in memory of Swedenborg delivered in 1772 by Samuel Sandel in the House of Nobles, Stockholm. The Rules, says Sandel, "I have found noted down in several of his manuscripts." Dr. Tafel, who was well acquainted with Swedenborg's manuscripts, told me he never saw the Rules.

No government, as no man, is without faults; but it is wicked to fix eyes on faults alone and overlook merits. England and Holland are the two best governed countries in Europe, *except Sweden*, yet a large volume might be filled with complaints of wrongs done in them. The Swedish government is the most perfect in existence. In all its departments it is wisely ordered. There are wrongs no doubt; they are inevitable, but there are likewise remedies. No Swede is a slave. Every one enjoys the fruit of his labour in peace and complete freedom. Let all abuses which may have arisen since last Diet be rigorously corrected; but especially let us repress the discontent which turbulent minds would excite against the Constitution.

How familiar the Tory strain and the patriotic exaggeration! The time will surely come when it will be regarded as indecent to brag over one's country as over one's self. There is no worse matter for contemplation than our merits, whether individual or national. Any virtues we may possess are always equal to their own care, whilst our faults and defects demand perpetual attention. True, there is an evil discontent—a lust for change without any view to amendment; but it is most effectually met by the truth—by evidence that the alterations desired are wanton; and not by vain-glorious assertions which inflame conceit and establish iniquity, and cause the honest and modest to hang their heads in shame.

There was much of evil discontent in Sweden, and against it Swedenborg was pleading. Two factions, the Hats and the Caps, strove together. The Hats struggled to confer on the King absolute power: the Caps to maintain the existing Constitution which left the Government practically in the hands of the Diet. Swedenborg belonged to the Caps. In these politics, foreign powers had much influence. France sided with the Hats, and Russia with the Caps, and each kept leaders in pay; France even allowing the King a pension.

The second address is an exposure of the dangers of an absolute monarchy, with an artful application of the “no popery” cry. A despotism would place Sweden at the

mercy of the Papacy—it would only be necessary to seduce the King to secure the nation—

“We know from experience how the Babylonian Whore (which signifies the Popish Religion) fascinated and bewitched the reigning Princes of Saxony, Cassel, and Zweibrücken; also the King of England, shortly before the House of Hanover was called to the British throne, and how she is still dallying with the Pretender; how in Prussia likewise she tampered with the present King, when crown prince, through his own father; not to mention King Sigismund and Queen Christina. We are well aware too how this Whore is still going her rounds among the Courts of Reformed Christendom. If therefore Sweden were an absolute monarchy, and this Whore, who understands so well how to dissemble and adorn herself like a goddess, were to intrude herself into the cabinet of a future monarch, is there any reason why she should not as easily beguile him as she did the afore-named kings and princes? What opposition would there be, what means of self-defence, especially if the Army, which is now upon a standing footing, were at the King’s disposal? What could the combined Clergy and Peasantry effect against the Army, the King’s determination, and the craft of the Jesuits? Would not all heavenly light be dissipated? would not a night of barbarian darkness overspread the land? and if they would not be martyrs, must not the people bow the neck to Satan, and become worshippers of images, and idolaters?

“The dread of this and every other slavery, which I need not here describe, must hang over us for the future, should any alteration be made in our excellent Constitution, or any suspension of our invaluable liberty. The only guarantee and counter-check against such calamities would be oath and conscience. Certainly, if there were an oath, and the majority were sufficiently conscientious to respect it, civil and religious liberty and all that is valuable, might remain inviolate; but, on the other hand, we must bear in mind that the Pope can dissolve all oaths and absolve every conscience by the keys of St. Peter.

"It is easy for a King to assert, and with every sign of sincerity, that he has no thought or desire for absolute power; but what each fosters in his heart and keeps studiously apart from the outward man, is known only to God and himself, and to intimate friends through whom what is hidden occasionally manifests itself. I shudder when I reflect what may happen, and probably will happen, if private interests, subverting the general welfare, should here attain ascendancy. I must observe also, that I see no difference between an absolute King in Sweden and an idol; for all turn themselves heart and soul to the one as to the other, obey his will, and worship what passes from his mouth."

The foreign relations of Sweden are then reviewed. The friendship of France should be cultivated in preference to that of England. France is at a distance and can have no cause to interfere with Swedish territory, or regard the prosperity of Sweden with jealousy. England, on the contrary, is now one with Hanover, and Hanover owns lands which once were Sweden's—an offence "never to be forgotten or overlooked," and which renders our interests irreconcilable. As long therefore as England is united with Hanover, we can enter into no such alliance with her as with France.

Whatever Swedenborg's wisdom in matters spiritual, he was in nowise ahead of his generation in matters political.

The third address is on finance. He laments the depreciation of Swedish credit, so that a six-dollar note is only worth two in coin, and will probably soon be worth only one—

"How can the nation be saved from ruin? Only by the restoration of a pure metallic currency.

"Many plans might be devised to compel the circulation of the notes at their nominal value, and thus remedy the prevalent high prices; but such measures would be ineffectual. . . . In money itself consists the value of the notes, and consequently of all goods. If an empire could exist with a representative currency, and yet no real currency, it would be an empire without its parallel in the world."

Soon Swedenborg discovered that his dispassionate voice was lost in the Diet. Robsahm says, "though he took great interest in its early proceedings, when he came to know that envy, hatred, and self-seeking prevailed among the members, he was seldom seen in the House; and in conversation freely expressed his dissatisfaction."

Prime Minister Höpken on Swedenborg.

From letters of Höpken I select two or three passages, not only for their facts, but as illustrative of the impression made by Swedenborg on an able man of the world, his contemporary.* Höpken writes—

"I have not only known Assessor Swedenborg for two and forty years, but some time ago was daily in his company. One who like me has lived long in the world in a public position, must have had numerous opportunities of knowing men virtuous and vicious, strong and weak; and in all my experience I do not recollect a character of more uniform excellence than Swedenborg—always contented, never fretful nor morose.

"He was a true philosopher and lived like one. He laboured diligently and lived frugally without sordidness. He travelled continually, and his travels cost him no more than if he had lived at home.

"He was a natural philosopher on Cartesian principles. He detested Metaphysics as founded on fallacious ideas transcending our sphere, by which Theology has been drawn from simplicity and made artificial and corrupt.

"He might with or without reason (I do not indeed venture to determine) be accused of having given too free play to a heated imagination in his revelations.

"Not having intercourse with Spirits myself, I can neither affirm nor contradict what he has to say about them; but his supernatural relations are no more extraordinary than the Apocalypse and other parts of the Bible.

* The letters were addressed by Höpken (with one exception) to General Tuxen after Swedenborg's death. Their dates range from 1772 to 1781. They were first printed in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, for 1790-91, and are to be found at length in Tafel's Collection.

Of his doctrines however, I can judge: they are excellent, irrefutable, the best ever taught, and conducive to the happiest social life.

"Whilst the Swedenborgian system forms virtuous men and citizens, it represses all kinds of enthusiasm and superstition, which beget such cruel vexations and such ridiculous singularities."

He had accepted Swedenborg's estimate of the popular faith—

"The prevalent Religion is mystical and full of paradoxes. It is as incoherent and unreasonable as if formed for cattle rather than rational men. According to its tenets, you may perpetrate any villanies and yet be saved. The doctrine of its priests is polytheism; one god is the creator of the world, and another the author of religion."

Here comes a tit-bit—

"I have sometimes told the King that if ever a new Colony is formed, no better Religion could be established there than that developed by Swedenborg from the Sacred Scriptures, and for these reasons—

"I. This Religion, in a higher degree than any other, must produce the most honest and industrious subjects; for it places, and places properly, *the worship of God in uses*.

"II. It causes *the least fear of death*; death being regarded merely as a transition from one state to another, from a worse to a better situation. Upon his principles, I look upon death as of hardly greater consequence than drinking a glass of water."

What a fine eighteenth century flavour there is in this suggestion of a new Colonial Religion!

About this time, 1762, Swedenborg sent a paper to the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, *On Inlaid Work in Marble for Tables, and for ornamental purposes generally*.*

In his parlour in Stockholm, he had a table of black marble on which appeared a hand of cards thrown down;

* The paper, in Swedish, is printed in the Transactions of the Academy for 1763, vol. xxiv., pp. 107-113.

it was finely inlaid. He made a present of it to the Royal College of Mines.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NOTES IN AMSTERDAM.

SWEDENBORG would appear to have left Stockholm before July, 1762. This we draw from an anecdote recorded by Jung Stilling—

Peter III., Czar of Russia.

"I was in Amsterdam," said Stilling's informant, "in the year 1762, on the very day that Peter III. of Russia died. I was in a company of which Swedenborg made one. In the midst of our conversation his countenance changed; it was evident his soul was no longer present, and that something extraordinary was passing in him. As soon as he had come to himself, he was asked what had happened. He would not at first tell, but being pressed, he said—

"‘This very hour the Emperor Peter has died in prison,’ (mentioning, at the same time, the manner of his death.) ‘Gentlemen will please to note down the day, that they may be able to compare it with the intelligence of his death in the newspapers.’

"In due time the newspapers announced Peter's death on that very day."

Peter was strangled by Count Orlov, at the instigation of his wife, who as Catherine II. reigned in his stead.

The Empress Elizabeth.

The name of Peter suggests that of the daughter of Peter the Great, the Empress Elizabeth, who died in 1761. To General Tuxen said Swedenborg—

"I have seen no one so splendidly ministered to in the World of Spirits as the late Empress Elizabeth of Russia."

Tuxen expressed much astonishment.

"I will tell you the reason, which few would surmise. With all her faults, she had a good heart; and in her indolence there was a certain consideration. She purposely deferred signing papers until they had so accumulated that she could not read or examine them. At last she would affix her signature to as many as possible, on the representations of her ministers, and then retiring to her closet, would fall on her knees, and beg forgiveness of God if, against her will, she had signed anything that was wrong."*

He told a similar story to Oronoskull, chaplain to the Russian ambassador at Stockholm, † who asked him whether he had seen Elizabeth. Swedenborg replied—

"I have often seen her, and I know she is in a very happy state. Her good sentiments towards her people were made known in the other life; for there it was declared that she never went into Council without praying to God for assistance to govern her country with wisdom and justice."

Oronoskull received the information "in silence, and with tears of happy surprise."

Well might Tuxen express much astonishment, and Oronoskull shed tears of happy surprise—a Messalina in body was revealed an Agnes in soul—

A very Heathen in the carnal part,
But yet a sad good Christian at the heart.

Elizabeth seems to have excited a strong interest in Swedenborg. In his Diary he breaks from Latin into his mother tongue to describe her courtship and marriage with the Count de la Gardie, a noble Swede who died in 1741, twenty years before his future wife. Elizabeth was never married in this world, though she left several natural children. The story is a long one, but here are its heads—

"Elizabeth and De la Gardie met and loved.

"He had been married, but had applied for a divorce.

* *New Jerusalem Magazine*, 1790, p. 260.

† We have the anecdote from Robsahm, who adds, "Oronoskull led a very orderly and decent life, contrary to the usual custom of many Russian priests. He borrowed Swedenborg's writings, and read them with great pleasure, and being anxious to see and converse with the Author, I invited them together to dinner."

His case was investigated, and as no sympathy was found to exist between him and his wife, they were released from one another.

“Elizabeth spoke with her predecessor Anna. She was living with her husband, who was a drunkard, and not with her lover Biron.

“Next she saw the Bishop of Lübeck, to whom she had been betrothed. She had no inclination for him, especially as there was a good-looking woman with him, who had been his mistress on earth, and of whom he was very fond.

“Afterwards she spoke with somebody from Holstein, who had courted her, but she found she did not like him.

“Then she wandered far from home, forgot where she was, and who she was, as often happens. De la Gardie met and walked with her; and once more they were charmed with each other. As he led her homewards, by accident they got parted.

“Again she traversed the same road, and by the Lord’s providence again encountered De la Gardie. They then perceived that they were designed for man and wife. He conducted her to her palace: they were closeted a long time together, and arranged their marriage.

“The Empress was appointed to preside over the best society of Russians, who loved her dearly.

“An Angel, in a beautiful white dress, was dispatched to Heaven to fetch a Priest to wed them. The Priest asked if they were resolved to marry. When they answered, they were resolved, he wished them God’s mercy and blessing, and no more. This happened on the 5th of March, 1762.

“Congratulations followed. Little children wished them joy from Heaven: their sweet voices so touched Elizabeth that she retired to another room and wept from excess of pleasure. On her return, eight children, somewhat larger, made a very pretty speech, and as they departed, she kissed them. Then came young men and women, and after them young Russians, who had been reared from infancy in Heaven. Then two or three hundred companies of Russians offered their felicitations with warmth and brevity. This

occupied a long time, and as other crowds arrived, they all spoke in chorus. There was then a magnificent dinner with thirty guests.

"Their love grew very strong. She longed to be one with her husband even as to body; and though two as to body they became one as to life, and almost to sensation.

"On the 25th of March, they were seen by many as little children walking in innocence." *

There are incoherences in the narrative which, in conjunction with the Swedish, awaken recollections of the Diary of 1744. For instance, its course is broken by this strange interpolation—

"It was shown me how it is with those who do not deny God, His Word and His Doctrine, but who think little about them. I was led some way down to them, and they complained bitterly that though internally honest something ailed them inwardly. It was said they are well fed with cream and good meat, but it does not do them much good. They try some business, but as soon as their work is done, it begins again. They are very fond of boiled meat with horseradish."

Peter the Great and the Russians.

Swedenborg spoke with Peter, but says no more than that he was willing to be worshipped by his people as God.

The Russians he describes as void of self-love, inoffensive, and unwilling to inflict pain; modest and docile; deficient in intellect; thievish in the extreme—"they will do and dare anything for money."

Their confidence in the Czar is pitiful. They believe their lives and possessions are his, and they meekly surrender them to his service. Swedenborg told those he met, that it was enough if they let the Czar have what was needful for the national defence; that their lives were none of his; and that he, equally with themselves, was subject to God. In the World of Spirits, the good among the Russians forget the Czar, and learn to revere the Lord alone.†

* *Spiritual Diary*, No. 6027.

† *Ib.*, Nos. 5949 and 5963.

The Merchant of Elberfield.

This other anecdote we owe to Jung Stilling—

“There was a merchant in Elberfield with whom I lived in close intimacy during my seven years of residence there. He was a mystic in the purest sense. He spoke little, but what he said was like golden fruit on a salver of silver. He would not have told a falsehood for the world.”

Business required the Merchant's presence in Amsterdam, and having heard much of Swedenborg, he determined to make his acquaintance. He called at his lodging, and was politely received by a venerable and kindly old man. The Merchant explained his errand—

“May I ask where are you from?”

“I am from Elberfield. Your writings contain so much that is beautiful and edifying that they have made a deep impression upon me; but the source from whence you derive them is so strange and uncommon, that you will perhaps not take it amiss if a sincere friend of truth desires incontestible proof that you really have intercourse with the Invisible World.”

“It would be very unreasonable if I took it amiss; but I think I have given proofs which cannot be contradicted.”

“I suppose you refer to the well-known reports of the Queen of Sweden, the fire in Stockholm, and the lost receipt?”

“I do; and they are true.”

“Yet many objections are brought against them. Might I propose that you give me a similar proof?”

“Why not? Most willingly!”

“Well then: I had a friend, a student of divinity at Duisburg, where he fell into a consumption and died. A short time before his death, we conversed on an important subject. Can you ascertain from him, what that subject was?”

“We shall see. What was your friend's name?”

The Merchant gave the name.

“How long do you remain in Amsterdam?”

“About eight or ten days.”

"Then call on me in a few days. I shall try to find your friend."

Some days after, the Merchant returned in anxious expectation. Swedenborg met him with a smile, saying—

"I have spoken with your friend. You conversed on *the restitution of all things*."—

And with the greatest precision stated what each had maintained.

The merchant turned pale, for the proof was unquestionable.

"How fares it with my friend? Is he blessed?"

"No; he is not yet in Heaven: he is still in Hades: he torments himself continually about the restitution of all things."

"My God! what, in the other world?"

"Certainly: a man takes with him his habits and opinions, and it is very difficult to get rid of them. He ought therefore to lay them aside while on Earth."

"My friend," says Stilling, "took his leave, perfectly convinced, and returned to Elberfield." *

St. Peter and St. Paul.

A General paid Swedenborg a visit, and was kept waiting in his ante-chamber a considerable time. When he made his appearance, he apologized, saying, "Indeed General, St. Peter and St. Paul were with me; and you can easily apprehend, that when one receives such visitors, one is in no hurry to dismiss them." †

Writing about this time he testifies—

"I have conversed with some who lived many years ago, with some who lived before the Deluge and some after it, with some who lived in the Lord's time, *with one of His Apostles*, and with many who lived in succeeding ages. They all seem like men of middle age, and say, that they do not know what death is." ‡

* Stilling's *Pneumatology*, London, 1834.

† Barruel's *Memoirs of Jacobinism*, Vol. IV., p. 133, English ed. 1798.

"The anecdote is vouched for by Mr. Euler, the Prince of Orange's Librarian," states Barruel. Euler had sent the General to Swedenborg.

‡ *Divine Providence*, No. 324 in 1764.

The Dutch.

The love of trade is the ruling passion of the good Dutchman; and it is a heavenly affection.* He loves money as a means of trade, and not, as the avaricious Jew, trade as a means to money.

"The Dutch adhere to their religious opinions more tenaciously than others. Even if convinced they are wrong, they will not confess, but revert to their old opinions and abide in them unmoved. They thus deprive themselves of the interior vision of truth, and allow their reason no freedom of inquiry."

In consequence of this stubborn temper, the Dutch undergo peculiar treatment in the World of Spirits.

Having no disposition to receive heavenly truth, it is not immediately presented to them. Instead, Heaven is described: afterwards they are allowed to ascend and behold it; and on their return the memory of its scenes induces a longing to dwell amid its pleasantnesses.

In this mood, the Faith of Heaven is brought under their notice, and when they show their aversion to it, their trade is taken away, and they are reduced to extreme distress. In their misery, they are led to those whose trade is flourishing, and who live in abundance, and the thought is insinuated, that they are unhappy because they do not shun and detest evils as sins and cherish divine truths. Such experiences are renewed at intervals until they arrive at the conviction, that their only deliverance from outward affliction is to be found in a renewed inward life and intelligence. Then as they receive divine truth and live righteously, they acquire wealth and enter Heaven. In their new character, they display their old stability; they may be called Constancies; no reasoning or sophistry can move them.

* In conformity with this fact he assures us—

"Many who were engaged in trade and merchandize on Earth, and who grew rich by their business, are in Heaven; but fewer of those who were in stations of honour and who became rich by their offices."—*Heaven and Hell*, No. 360.

The active life of commerce is thus more conducive to the formation of angelic character than the ease and settled income of place—a shop or a mill than Somerset House or Whitehall.

The Dutch dress in the Spiritual World as in Holland, but more neatly. The streets of their cities are roofed over and closed with gates. They love to conceal their habits and designs from strangers. If an inquirer enters a city, he is led at his departure to a gate which is found shut; then to another, also shut; and so on until he is so tired, that he resolves never to repeat his visit.

Dutch wives who try to rule their husbands are confined to a certain side of a city, and never meet their husbands except when invited. They then go visiting where married partners, free from the lust of dominion, dwell in amity. The wives, when they observe the neatness and happiness pervading these model households, are filled with desire to go and do likewise; and as soon as the desire has acquired sufficient vigour, husband and wife have a house allotted in the centre of the city, and live together as becomes Angels.*

Famous Dutchmen are as rare as famous Englishmen in the Spiritual Diary. Leeuwenhoek is mentioned as in dread of a miserable existence as a Spirit in case he had no scientific investigations to pursue. It is observed, that his lot would be sad indeed if he had merely cultivated his Memory: it is Reason which survives death and confers intellectual distinction amongst the Angels: and it matters little by what scientific means the Rational Faculties are educated on Earth so that they are exercised and developed.†

The Germans.

Of the Germans, he finds it difficult to speak, for Germany is divided into numerous governments and religions, "yet as all people of the same language have a common genius," the common genius of the Germans may in some degree be discovered and described.

"As the Germans in each particular Dukedom live under a despotic government, they do not enjoy the liberty of speaking and writing like the Dutch and English; and where the liberty of speaking and writing is restrained, the

* *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 800 to 805, and *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 48 to 52.

† *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5785.

liberty of thinking is under restraint likewise . . . *for influx always adapts itself to efflux.*

"Hence the noble German people pay little attention to matters of judgment, but much to studies which exercise the memory; wherefore they particularly cultivate literary history, and in their writings rest much on the sentiments of learned and eminent men of their own nation, whose decisions they quote in abundance, and adopt such as they prefer for their own.

"This their state is represented in the Spiritual World by a person carrying books under his arms, who, in case he is questioned on any matter, says he will give an answer immediately, and then opens one of his books and begins to read."

The Germans therefore discuss Theology in the inferior region of the Memory, and seldom in the higher realm of the Understanding. They thus differ from free nations as swans in a river from eagles in the air—

"Free nations are like the larger kind of stags with high branching horns, that range with full license through the plains, the groves and the forests; whereas nations that are not free are like deer enclosed in parks which are kept for a prince's use. Again, free people are like flying horses, by the ancients called Pegasi, which fly not only over seas, but over Parnassian hills and the seats of the Muses beneath; whereas people that are not free are like high-bred horses adorned with costly trappings in kings' stables.

"Such too are the differences of judgment in the mystic points of theology between a free people and those who are not free." *

In this comparison there are points of truth, but the freedom of German scholars in their handling of Theology will start into vivid contrast with the timidity (to use a mild word) of the English; but the very freedom of the Englishman may explain his caution, and the bondage of the German, his lawlessness. The opinions of the English scholar run the risk of acceptance and practice by the vulgar: the German anticipates no life for his opinions

* *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 813 to 815.

outside the realm of ideas. As in the world of politics, the bold theorist is tamed whenever there is laid on him the responsibility of government, so a German would probably speculate less wildly if he had any expectation, that his ideas would do more than titillate the fancies of a select circle of scholarly spirits.

Hamburg.

"I inquired in what part of the Spiritual World the people of Hamburg are to be found, and was informed they appear nowhere collected into one Society, but are dispersed and intermixed with the Germans in various quarters."*

The Jews.

Amsterdam, the city of Baruch Spinoza,† was populous with Jews.

The Jews inhabit two large towns in the World of Spirits, and are forbidden all intercourse with Christians. They are governed by converted Jews, who warn them not to speak disrespectfully of Christ, and punish those who do. The streets are full of dirt up to the ankles, and the stench in the houses is so strong that none but Jews can enter.

An Angel sometimes appears overhead with a rod in his hand and causes them to believe he is Moses. He assures them it is foolish to go on expecting the Messiah; that Christ is the Messiah, and that He governs them and all creatures. Most hear and forget the words of the Angel, and are cast down and banished into forests and deserts where they thieve and rob one another. A few who pay heed are sent into the synagogues of converted Jews, and there receive further instruction: they put off their tattered garments and put on new: a neatly written copy of the Word is given to them; and they are transferred to a city which is not unhandsome.

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 816.

† Swedenborg's predecessor by a century—1632-77. So far as I am aware, Spinoza is never referred to by Swedenborg. Some have fancied or detected similarities in their philosophies, but it is not improbable that Swedenborg never read a page of the Jew's.

"The Jews trade in various commodities in the World of Spirits, especially in precious stones which they obtain in unknown ways from Heaven, where such stones exist in abundance. The origin of this traffic is, that they read the Word in the original tongue, and precious stones correspond to the Word in the Literal Sense. They also make artificial precious stones, and by fantasy induce a belief that they are real; for this offence they are severely fined by their Governors."

Less than any people the Jews are able to believe they have passed into the Spiritual World. They persist they are still on Earth, that Messiah is to come, and will gather them from every corner into Canaan, and there establish them in dominion over the Gentiles.

After the Last Judgment a new Jewish settlement was observed in the World of Spirits. It consisted of those who were indifferent to the worship of their fathers, who doubted whether Messiah would ever come, and who thought and acted from reason in many affairs. Most of these were Portuguese Jews.*

Holland was the refuge of the persecuted Jews from Portugal; Spinoza was cast out of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam: the rational spirit which made of him an outcast, was in all likelihood not a singular possession.

Swedenborg had brought to Amsterdam a considerable packet of manuscript and a large literary scheme. Amsterdam was henceforth his centre of publication. Except a pamphlet in 1769, intended for Kant's satisfaction, he printed no more in London.

Five years of silence were broken in 1763 by the appearance of no less than six separate treatises. The first, the *Doctrine of the Lord*, contained this Preface—

"Some years since, five small works were published, namely, *Heaven and Hell*, the *New Jerusalem*, the *Last Judgment*, the *White Horse*, and the *Planets and Earths in the Universe*; in which works many things till then unknown were made manifest. Now, by command of the

* *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 841 to 845, and *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 73 to 82.

Lord, who has revealed Himself to me, the following works are to be laid before the public—

1. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord.*

2. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scripture.*

3. *The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem from the Commandments of the Decalogue.*

4. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning Faith.*

5. *A Continuation of the Last Judgment.*

6. *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence.*

7. *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Omnipotence, Omnipresence, Omniscience, Infinity, and Eternity.*

8. *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.*

9. *Angelic Wisdom concerning Life.*

“By the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem is to be understood the Doctrine for the New Church, which is now being established by the Lord; for the Old Church is come to its end.”

The first five of these and the 8th were published in 1763, and the 6th in 1764: the 7th and 9th, notwithstanding “the command of the Lord,” never appeared.

Ah! what is to be said about that?

Let us hear what Swedenborg had to say.

Dr. Beyer wrote to ask for the work on the *Divine Omnipotence, &c.* Swedenborg answered from Stockholm, 1767—

“There is much on the subject interspersed in the *Divine Providence*, and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, and also in the *Apocalypse Revealed*; and the matter will be still further pursued in the *Mysteries of Angelic Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love*: but forasmuch as to write a separate treatise on these Divine Attributes would require an elevation of thought to which readers are unequal, I have dealt with

them in conjunction with other matters which fall within the scope of the understanding."

It may be added, that the first chapter of his last work, the *True Christian Religion*, is a discussion of the Divine Attributes.

"A plausible but inefficient excuse," it will be said. "Swedenborg received the Lord's command to publish nine books with titles specified. He publishes seven. When taxed about the absent 8th, he answers, that its themes would be too lofty for public apprehension, and that he has dealt with them, so far as practicable, in other modes. Good: but are Divine behests to be thus tampered with? If Swedenborg did not foresee the difficulty of the task, surely his Director did! and if He did, can we suppose He gave the command?"

Against such an interpretation of Swedenborg's programme, I protest. When he says the Lord commanded him to publish nine books, he meant no more than you or I should, if either of us were to assert, "I feel it right, or it is my duty to do this, or say that." If we cared, we might distinctly and truly convert the dictate of our conscience into the command of the Lord, as our Author tells us was the habit of the members of the Ancient Church.* Yet it is obvious, that in our case as in Swedenborg's, a discretion, wide or narrow, might be exercised in the mode of fulfilment. Nevertheless such a style of speech is not to be commended. Like the letters D.V. used by well-meaning but weak-minded Christians, it betrays occasional atheism, as if sometimes we were in God's hands and sometimes out of them. If Swedenborg by his words meant to assume any private and confidential relation to God, his letter to Beyer affords the appropriate commentary on the pretence.

The 9th work on Life was never accounted for.†

* *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 1410.

† It is referred to in *Sacred Scripture*, No. 32, and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, Nos. 4 and 255.

The promise of the treatise on the Divine Attributes is repeated in *Doctrine of the Lord*, No. 46, *Sacred Scripture*, No. 32, and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, Nos. 9, 51, and 130.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD.*

THIS treatise is a scriptural argument—an endeavour to construct out of the statements of the Old and New Testaments a harmonious doctrine concerning the connection of the Divine and the Human in Jesus Christ.

In the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, Swedenborg following Aristotle, asserts, that the soul of every man is derived from his father and his body from his mother. In the *Doctrine of the Lord*, this order of generation is assumed—Jesus Christ as to His soul was God, and as to His body was Man.

First we are told, “the whole Sacred Scripture treats of the Lord, and the Lord is the Word.”

John testifies, “the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” What is the Word? Swedenborg answers, “The Word is Divine Truth or Divine Wisdom, which is one with Divine Love, and is therefore Jehovah Himself.”†

This admitted, we may readily perceive how the “whole Sacred Scripture treats of the Lord—the Word.” The Scriptures are nothing but a record of the struggles of priests, kings, prophets and apostles to reduce their circumstances to the Divine Will—to utter the Divine Word or Wisdom in human life: consequently, the Scriptures treat everywhere of the Word and of Jewish strife therewith;—but how of Jesus Christ? Thus. What all failed to do, He did. In Him, the Word was manifested in consummate perfection—in Him the Divine Wisdom was verily made flesh.

Hence it is not difficult to feel the force of the statement, that the Lord Jesus Christ “fulfilled the Law and the Prophets.” All the Law prescribed, all the Prophets yearned after, was accomplished in Him; thus spiritually considered, the Law and the Prophets are His biography.

* *Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Domino*. Amstelodami, 1763. 4to, 64 pp.

† No. 1.

The "fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets" receives further extension under the assertion, that the body assumed from the Virgin was the epitome of Judaism: when therefore the Divine Word burst upon the world through that environment "every jot and tittle was fulfilled" in a sense as exact as profound.

We have already learnt Swedenborg's opinion of the Jews: they were the most sensual of Mankind; they delighted in every sin which their decalogue forbade; and, more than any people, were proud, cruel, covetous, adulterous: these characteristics, most lustily developed in the royal line of Judah, were concentrated and included in the body born of Mary of Bethlehem. That body was in affiliation with every Hell; it was a field to which all the forces of evil had access; its lusts were an open circle to pandemonium.

The Jews likewise contemporary with the Divine Advent inherited and repeated the national life: all the indignities their fathers had offered to the Divine Wisdom as manifested in Law and Prophet, they fulfilled in their treatment of the Divine Word revealed in Jesus Christ.

Hence in the story of the Evangelists, we discern the story of Israel, as reversing the process, in Jewish History we discover a prophetic biography of Jesus Christ.

"The Lord came to reduce to order all things in Heaven and thence on Earth, and this He accomplished by combats against the Hells. It is known in the Church that the Lord conquered Death, by which is meant Hell, but it is not known that He effected the conquest by combats or temptations of which the passion of the cross was the last."*

Swedenborg confesses with all his heart, "It is most certainly true that if the Lord had not come to Earth all Mankind must have perished,"† but the danger he refers to no vindictiveness in Deity, but to the insurgent predominance of Self-Love or Hell in Human Nature. The occasion of the Divine Advent was, that the love which is Heaven had well nigh ceased from the human heart, and

* Nos. 12 and 14.

† Nos. 18 and 33.

the love which is Hell had well nigh become its exclusive life. Evidence is superfluous that Jesus Christ entered a world dark as night and burning to perdition in the fires of selfish and sensual lusts.

The salvation of Man in such a case was practicable in one way only—by the creation within his breast of the love which was dying out of it. * This re-creation was impossible on Man's part: he had forgotten what he had lost—he had no sense of his degradation. The Creator alone could introduce king and order to the chaos of his nature.

Let it be clearly stated—the Divine Advent, among many, had two purposes—1st, the re-creation of Heavenly Loves in Man; 2nd, the reduction of his Selfish Loves to the service of the re-created Heavenly Loves. *This*, in other words, was and is the conquest of Death, Devil, Hell.

These purposes were accomplished in Jesus Christ. By Him a new heart was set in Humanity—love unselfish, diffusive, universal. He took Hell or Self-Love in Judaism and bowed and broke it into helpless subservience to Divine Love.

The work begun and perfected in Jesus Christ is a seed of unquenchable fire in the Universe of Angels, Men and Devils. His Spirit is spreading with ever waxing vigour in wider and wider circles. All the good influences which stir in us are His. He renewed the world's youth: out of Him there is nothing but stagnation and death. As He said, "I am the Vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered."

In this light the common notion of the crucifixion as a vicarious sacrifice rendered to Divine justice for Adam's sin disappears. Redemption was not comprised but completed in the crucifixion: redemption was the business of the Saviour's life; the crucifixion was its last terrific incident.

The body assumed from Mary was gradually dispersed, and, as dispersed, Deity was revealed. As day by day the lusts of the Jewish nature were resisted and subdued, that

nature was done away. The last combat with Hell—the final separation from all that was Mary's was accomplished on the cross with the cry, "It is finished!"

Swedenborg sustains these positions by reference to the Athanasian Creed—

"It is affirmed by that Creed, 'that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man, who although He be God and Man, yet is not two but one Christ; one by the taking of the Manhood into God: one altogether by unity of Person: for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ.'

"From these words it clearly appears that it is an article of faith in the Christian Church, that the Divine and Human in the Lord are not two, but one, as the soul and body is one Man; and, that the Divine in Him assumed or took to Itself the Human.

"It is also evident from the Evangelists, that Jesus was conceived of Jehovah God and born of the Virgin Mary. He was thus Divine and Human, Divine from Jehovah the Father, and Human from the Virgin Mary; thus equal to the Father as to the Divine and inferior as to the Human.

"That the Human from Mary was not transmuted into the Divine essence, neither commingled therewith, is further taught by the Athanasian Creed. This too may be concluded from the circumstance, that whenever the Lord spoke of Mary, He did not give her the title of mother." *

Swedenborg had an interview with Mary in which she confessed her temporary relationship to the Saviour—

"It was once granted me to speak with the mother Mary. As she passed by, she appeared in the Heaven just over my head. She was clothed in white raiment as of silk. Staying awhile she said, she had been the mother of the Lord, for He was born of her, but when He was made God, He put off all the humanity which He had from her, and therefore she worships Him as her God, and is unwilling

* No. 29. "There are but three occasions recorded in the Gospels where-on the Lord addressed or mentioned Mary: in two of these He called her 'woman,' and in the third declined to acknowledge her as mother." No. 35. See John ii. 3, 4; xix. 26, 27; Luke viii. 20, 21; Matt. xxi. 46-49; Mark iii. 31-35.

that any one should acknowledge Him as her son, because in Him all is Divine.”*

How utter was the reduction of Divinity to Humanity, he thus illustrates—

“Since the Human of the Lord was glorified, that is, was made Divine, He therefore arose after death on the third day with His whole body, which never happens to any Man; for Man only rises as to his spirit and not as to his body. That Mankind might be assured and no doubt entertained, that the Lord rose with His whole body, He not only declared it by the Angels who were in the sepulchre, but He also showed Himself in His human body to His disciples, and when they imagined that they saw a Spirit, He said, ‘Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see: for a Spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.’ As however His body was no longer a material but a Divine substantial body, He came in amongst the disciples when the doors were shut, and after he had been seen He vanished out of their sight. Being thus wholly Divine, He was taken up and ‘set on the right hand of God,’ which means that the Human was thenceforth the medium of the Divine omnipotence.

“God from the beginning was a Man in first principles, but not in ultimates: after He assumed the Human, He was a Man in ultimates.”†

By aid of the doctrine of a Divine soul and a Human body in Jesus Christ, the various passages in which at one time He speaks as God and at another as Man, are reconciled—

“As the Lord had from the first a Human from the mother which he put off by degrees, He was therefore during his sojourn on Earth in two states; the one a state of humiliation and the other a state of glorification. He was in the state of humiliation at the time and in the degree that He was in the Human from the mother; He

* Swedenborg tells this story twice in the last book he published—Nos. 102 and 827, *True Christian Religion*, 1771.

† Nos. 35 and 36.

was in the state of glorification at the time and in the degree that He was in the Human from the Father. In the state of humiliation he prayed to the Father, as to a being distinct from Himself; in the state of glorification He spoke with the Father as with Himself. In glorification He said the Father was in Him and He in the Father, and that the Father and He were One. In humiliation He underwent temptations, suffered crucifixion, and prayed the Father not to forsake Him; for the Divine could not be tempted, much less endure crucifixion." *

A difficulty and a question will here arise—How could the body from Mary sustain the intelligent offices assigned to it?

The question originates in the common conception of Creator and Creation—God and Man as existing in isolation, as standing face to face in independence. With this conception Swedenborg holds no terms; it is the prime fallacy of human thought; its confirmation was Adam's fall; it is the root of every error in religion and philosophy; and to its exposure he devotes endless pains.

Man, he maintains, has no life in himself; in common with Creation he is nothing but deadness. God, the Creator, is the only life: by His presence in each item of Creation each item is quickened into being according to its special form.

Observe then, that you or I, reader, are pronounced void of life in ourselves. We are nothing but dead husks which by the Divine presence are vivified into character according to our organization: and mark especially, that God in communicating Himself to us as life, communicates Himself so utterly, so unreservedly, that absorbing His Personality we cannot evade *the feeling* that we are independent and self-possessed, and like God Himself have life in ourselves.

It is of no use to speak of Mind, or Soul, or Spirit as alive. Whatever existences these words may represent, in so far as they are creaturely, they are dead—dead as flesh and blood are dead, even though organized from rarer substances than ponderable matter supplies.

Thus is the difficulty met. The Jewish brain received from Mary was in itself dead, but like every other brain was

vivified by the Divine presence, and a conscious individuality thereby begotten, as distinct from God as any other man's; and which remained distinct until the final conflict on Calvary obliterated the last line between the Jew and Deity.

The Divine Incarnation had for its end a more immediate influence over Humanity. This acquired influence is described in the New Testament as the Holy Spirit.

That the efflux of the Holy Spirit was a result of our Saviour's finished work, John explicitly states—"The Holy Ghost was not yet, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." In corroboration it may be remarked, "it is never said by the Prophets, that they spake the Word from the Holy Spirit, but from Jehovah, Jehovah of Hosts, and the Lord Jehovih. Thus we find them continually saying, 'The Word of Jehovah came to me,' 'Jehovah spake to me;' also, very often, 'Thus saith Jehovah,' and 'The saying of Jehovah.' " *

In this way Swedenborg nullifies the doctrine of a tri-personal Deity. We have seen how he identifies the Word in Jesus Christ with the Word in the Scriptures and both with Jehovah. "It has been shown," he writes, "that the Divine which is called the Father, and the Divine which is called the Son are one in the Lord;" whence he argues "the Holy Spirit is likewise the same with the Lord, being an emanation from Him." †

The inquiry naturally arises, Why, if true, was this doctrine of the Trinity reserved for eighteen centuries to be promulgated by Swedenborg? He answers—

"The early Christians were simple people who understood the Word literally, and as in the letter of the Word several names are used where only one being is meant, they came to distinguish the Divinity into three Persons. This, on account of their simplicity was permitted, but with the restriction, that they should believe the Son to be infinite, uncreate, almighty, God and Lord, and equal with the

* No. 53.

† No. 46.

Father; and further, that the Persons were not two or three but one in essence, majesty and glory, consequently in Divinity.”*

In this confession were elements out of which, after death in the World of Spirits, a true faith could be evolved. The Church likewise by the permission of Tri-Personalism was saved from destruction in Arianism. He writes—

“I have conversed with Athanasius. He said he could find neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit, and bitterly complained of his inability. The reason is, he confirmed himself in the idea of three gods. Others who recite his Creed, but do not think narrowly about it, and lead a good life, are led to recognize the Lord as the only God.”†

He claims the sanction of the Athanasian Creed for his doctrine and is ready “to demonstrate that all the contents of that Creed, even to the very words, are agreeable to the truth, *provided*, that for a Trinity of Persons we understand a Trinity of Person.”‡ With this reservation, the mind of a Swedenborgian may traverse the clauses of that arduous dogma with joyful assent and consent.

Further reasons for the revelation of the Doctrine of the Lord in 1763 are adduced—

“The reason why this Doctrine is now first published is, that a New Church is now established signified by the New Jerusalem: into it none can enter who do not confess the Lord alone as God of Heaven and Earth.

“The reason why the Doctrine has not been perceived in the Word before is, because it would not have been received, for the Last Judgment had not been accomplished. Man stands in the midst between Heaven and Hell, and before the Last Judgment the influence of Hell prevailed over the influence of Heaven. Had therefore the Doctrine of the Lord been known, Hell would have plucked it from the Human Heart, and would moreover have profaned it.

“The predominance of Hell over Heaven was altogether destroyed by the Last Judgment. Since then—thus *now*—whosoever wills may become enlightened and wise.”§

* No. 55. † *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5959. ‡ Nos. 55 to 60. § No. 61.

I should simply provide for my own confusion if I asserted, as is sometimes done, that Swedenborg's doctrine makes an end of the mystery of the Trinity. There must ever remain for Men and Angels an immeasurable ignorance of God; but let us not mistake: there is a wide difference between what is mysterious and what is irrational; and here we note Swedenborg's merit; not in the abolition of mystery, but in the construction of a rational doctrine, which delivers us at once from the darkness of Tripersonalism and the blindness of Socinianism.

Nor does the doctrine of the Lord satisfy the reason alone; its inmost, its peculiar service is rendered to the heart. Its right reception is an everlasting redemption from that hideous spectre—the Abstract Deity. It gives us God as Man—as *the* Man Jesus Christ; for as has been keenly asked, “If Jesus Christ be not God, then tell me, what is God?”—a question never to be answered to human satisfaction by any quantity of sonorous verbiage about the Infinite.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DOCTRINE OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE.*

AMONG the many theories devised to account for the production of the Scriptures, Swedenborg adopts the extreme one of verbal, yea literal dictation—

“I have been informed in what manner the Lord spake with the Prophets by whom the Word was given. Spirits were sent to them so divinely possessed, that they spoke with the consciousness of Jehovah. What they uttered the Prophets wrote, every word pregnant with Divinity.†

“The Word is Divine Truth itself; for it was dictated by Jehovah, and whatever is dictated by Him is Divine Truth in purity.”‡

* *Doctrina Nova Hierosolymæ de Scriptura Sacra.* Amstelodami: 1763. 4to, pp. 54.

† *Heaven and Hell*, Nos. 254 and 259, and *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 7055.

‡ *True Christian Religion*, No. 85.

Assertions like these, by no means peculiar to Swedenborg, should be backed with evidence, but for evidence we look in vain. The Scriptures themselves lay claim to no such origin; and Protestants who reproach Catholics with the invention of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, should remember that many of them harbour a dogma quite as fanciful. Under critical scrutiny, the Bible is found to be of no uniform texture, but varied with the characteristics of many authors. When Jeremiah, smitten and set in the stocks for his disagreeable warnings, reasons, "*O Jehovah, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil. Because the word of Jehovah was made a reproach unto me, and a derision, daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name: but His word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay*"—Who can fail to perceive in his complaint the truth about inspiration?—truth widely differing from the pious fiction of dictation external to the Prophet and he its passive penman.

Our Author ventures yet further on dangerous ground and pronounces the Hebrew text exempt from error—

"The Books of the Old Testament have been preserved entire to an iota since the time they were written. That nothing might be taken away from them, it was so ordered by the Divine Providence that all the several particulars therein, even to the letters, were counted; and this because of the sanctity within each iota, letter, and word. This was done by the Masorites."*

Such a statement will excite a smile in those conversant with the real condition of the Hebrew text; but here again Swedenborg simply lent his sanction to the pious superstition of his time in the perfect accuracy of the Masoretic editorship—a superstition exacted as an article of faith in some Protestant communities. The profane may remark, it was

* No. 13; *Last Judgment*, No. 41, and *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 1870 and 9349.

extremely odd that an author with Angels to help him, should have received no hint that, even whilst writing, one Dr. Kennicott of Oxford was collating text with text and eliciting such a variety of readings and inaccuracies as proved conclusively, that Hebrew literature was in nowise exempt from the ordinary vicissitudes of transmission by manuscript.

“The Word in the letter,” writes Swedenborg, “seems like an ordinary composition, unusual in style, and neither so sublime nor perspicuous as some secular writings. Hence the Man who worships Nature as God may easily acquire a contempt for it, and as he reads, say within himself, ‘What is this? What is that? Can this be Divine? Is it possible that God, whose wisdom is infinite, should speak thus? Wherein is the sanctity of the Scriptures except in superstition?’”*

These questionings of “the Man who worships Nature as God” are thus rebuked—

“He who thinks thus, does not reflect that Jehovah Himself spake the Word by Moses and the Prophets, and that therefore it must be Divine Truth itself; for that which Jehovah speaks can be nothing else. Nor does he consider that the Lord, who is the same with Jehovah, spake the Word written by the Evangelists, many parts from His own mouth, and the rest from the spirit of His mouth, which is the Holy Spirit.

“He thinks only of the style of the Sacred Scriptures; nevertheless, the style is the Divine style itself, with which no other style, however sublime and excellent it may seem, can be compared; for it is as light to darkness. The style of the Word is such, that it is holy in every sense and in every word, yea indeed in some cases, in the very letters—”†

To which “the Man who worships Nature as God” may pertinently reply, that his censor is begging the question; that the Bible—that bundle of pamphlets by various authors, written at various and widely distant dates, and

* No. 1.

† Nos. 2 and 3.

edited by free and unknown hands—makes no pretence to Divine dictation, or to identity with the Divine Word or Wisdom; that the proof for a dogma so momentous rests with its propounder, and that until he has established it on satisfactory evidence, it is presumptuous to lecture a dissenter with such an imperial air.

How assured was his confidence in his case may appear from this sentence—

“Lest Mankind should remain in doubt whether such is the character of the Word, its Internal Sense has been revealed to me by the Lord, whereby its divinity and sanctity are made so manifest, that even the Natural Man may be convinced—if only there be any willingness in him.”*

“In the Word there is a Spiritual Sense hitherto unknown.”

“The Spiritual does not appear in the Literal Sense. It is within the Literal Sense as the soul is in the body, or as thought is in the eyes and affection in the countenance, and which act as one like cause and effect.”†

To appreciate this proposition fairly we must revert for an instant to the first principles of the Swedenborgian philosophy.

God, the infinite source and centre of Being, is apprehended by His creatures in various modes and measures.

Highest in the ranks of creation are the Angels of Love, who constitute the Celestial Kingdom of Heaven. Subordinate are the Angels of Truth, who form the Spiritual Kingdom of Heaven.

These Kingdoms are based on Earth and incarnated in the Church as in a body—the Celestial Heavens abide in the Human Will and the Spiritual Heavens in the Human Understanding. Heavenly affection is manifested in Man as natural affection and heavenly thought as natural thought—diverse yet correspondent, related, as Swedenborg perpetually keeps telling us, as cause and effect.

The apprehension of the Divine Wisdom by the Celestial

Angels is the Celestial Sense of the Word, and its apprehension by the Spiritual Angels is its Spiritual Sense.* Man's apprehension includes both, and is the Natural Sense—altogether diverse from its predecessors, but correspondent thereto, diverse and correspondent as is the brain to the mind and the body to the brain.

The Scriptures embody Man's apprehension of the Word, yea his most carnal apprehension, because the apprehension of the Jew.

Consequently the Letter of Scripture is an envelope of the mind of Angels about God;† and thus—

“The Literal Sense of the Word is the basis, the continent, and the firmament of its Spiritual and Celestial Senses—their complex in the ultimate degree.‡

“These Senses lie concealed in the Letter. The Spiritual Sense refers chiefly to the Church and the Divine Truth, and the Celestial Sense to the Lord and the Divine Good.”§

As in the body is comprised the Man, so—

“The Divine Truth exists in its fulness, its holiness, and its power in the Literal Sense.

“The Word in the Literal Sense is the Word utterly; for in this Sense and within it, there are Spirit and Life; the Spiritual Sense being its Spirit and the Celestial Sense its life; by the flame of the one it is as a diamond, and by the fire of the other it is as a ruby.”||

Such being the merits of the Literal Sense “the Doctrine of the Church must be drawn from it, and confirmed thereby.”**

Without Doctrine, the Scriptures cannot be understood. “Truth in the Letter is in many places not naked but clothed—veiled in appearances. Many truths are accommodated to the simple-minded, who cannot think above the impressions of their senses, and even to children. Some statements seem to be contradictions, although there are no contradictions in the Word viewed in its own light.

* *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 627.

† Nos. 6 and 27.

|| Nos. 37, 39, 40, and 42.

+ No. 49.

§ Nos. 80 to 90.

** No. 50.

There are also passages in the Prophets from which no connected meaning can be elicited.

“Those therefore who read the Word without Doctrine read it in darkness. Their minds are unsettled, prone to error, an easy prey to heresy.”*

A parallel is here run, after the manner of Butler, between Nature and the Scriptures. Whatever difficulty our minds may encounter in the one may be matched in the other. Without Doctrine (commonly styled Science and Law) Nature is unintelligible and contradictory; without Doctrine the Scriptures are unintelligible and contradictory. Without Doctrine as a clue, we are lost in a maze in both.

“The Word is not only understood by means of Doctrine, but by Doctrine it is illuminated. Without Doctrine it is like a candlestick with no light; with Doctrine it is like one burning. Man then sees more than he saw before, and understands what he did not understand before.

“The experience of the Christian world attests that the Word is seen from Doctrine and explained according to it. Protestants see the Word from their doctrine, Romanists from theirs, Jews from theirs. Consequently falsities come from false Doctrine and truths from true Doctrine. Thus true Doctrine is as a candle in the dark and a guide-post on the way.”†

As in the interpretation of Nature we proceed from phenomena verified as certainties to explain illusive phenomena, so in the interpretation of Scripture, by naked truths in the Literal Sense apparent contradictions are resolved into harmony and obscurities into light. Sound Doctrine is constructed from such naked truths in the Literal Sense—

“Genuine Doctrine may be drawn in fulness from the Literal Sense of the Word; for the Word in this Sense resembles a man who is clothed, but whose face and hands are bare. All things which concern life and salvation are bare, but the rest are clothed; and in many places where the parts are clothed, they appear through the clothing just as a face appears through a fine silken veil.”‡

* Nos. 51 and 52.

† No. 54.

— No. 55.

Here is some further illustration concerning the Literal Sense—

“The Word is composed of pure correspondences, and hence many things in it are appearances of truth, and not naked truths; many things are written according to the apprehension of the Natural Man, yea of the Sensual Man. The Word is thus written that the simple may understand it in simplicity, the intelligent in intelligence, and the wise in wisdom.

“Since such is the character of the Word, the appearances of truth, which are truths clothed, may be mistaken for naked truths, which when confirmed become falsities. This perversion however is only accomplished in those who think themselves wiser than others and have a powerful faculty for ratiocination. Such conceited reasoners are not wise; for wisdom consists in seeing whether a thing be true before confirming it, and not in confirming anything we please.

“The Word abounds in apparent truths in which genuine truths lie concealed; nor is it hurtful to think and speak according to them; mischief only begins when they are confirmed as realities and the genuine truth thereby destroyed. To make the matter plain, let us take an instance from Nature. It appears to the eye as if the Sun moved round the Earth daily. Hence it is said in the Word, the Sun rises and sets, and causes morning, noon, evening and night, when the fact is, the Sun stands still and the Earth revolves. If a man in simplicity thinks it is the Sun which moves, he does not destroy the real truth, that the Earth rotates daily upon its axis; but if another maintains that the Earth is indeed motionless, he not only invalidates, but destroys the truth. That the Sun moves is an apparent truth; that he does not move is a genuine truth. Every one may speak, and does speak, in accordance with the apparent truth; but to think in accordance with it as a confirmed reality, blunts and darkens the rational understanding.”*

How true Doctrine is to be extricated from the Literal Sense, how appearances which are likewise realities are to

* Nos. 91 to 95.

be distinguished from appearances which are illusions, and how from the veritable appearances Doctrine is to be constructed and confirmed, are questions which will occur to every reader. Whoever advances them in an adverse spirit, may be asked, How Science, which is Doctrine, is evolved from the phenomena of Nature? The one answer may serve as a guide to the other. *

Swedenborg regarded himself as the revelator of a system of true Doctrine, and requires us to recognize in that system the New Jerusalem descending from God out of Heaven. He advances a theory of the Spiritual Universe, just as Newton did of the Physical, and he indicates the tests for its verification—it is drawn from the Literal Sense of the Word and is confirmed thereby. He adduces what he considers the requisite evidence in its favour, admits that there are appearances against it, but shows how such appearances may be reconciled and absorbed into unity with his theory; even as the system of Copernicus explains and absorbs the phenomena which misled Ptolemy.

The conditions of this analogy are different with the difference of Nature and Spirit, and we must not confound them. There are certain faculties demanded for the apprehension of physical truth; there are other faculties required for the apprehension of spiritual truth; and the latter are only found in conjunction with a righteous life: the pure in heart see God; the impure are atheists. Our Lord declared, that he who did His Father's will should know of His Doctrine whether it was of God.

Swedenborg was fully alive to these considerations. He was aware that by no magic of logic or eloquence was it possible to persuade the Evil to love the light which by their very constitution they abhorred. Spirits from Christendom, he tells us, were like to vomit with disgust at his exposition of the Spiritual Sense as developed in the *Arcana Cœlestia*. To appreciate the Spiritual within the Literal Sense and true Doctrine amid its appearances, is given alone to the

* "The Logicians imagine Truth something to be proved, I something to be seen; they something to be manufactured, I as something to be found."
—Matthew Arnold's *Essays on Criticism*, Preface, p. viii.

Wise—to the Wise whose wisdom is rooted in goodness. In his peculiar phraseology—

“No man can see the Spiritual Sense except from the Lord, and unless he be principled in genuine truths from Him. For the Spiritual Sense of the Word treats only of the Lord and of His Kingdom.”*

Again let us revert to the doctrine of the solidarity of universal Humanity—that Heaven and Earth are soul and body, that Angels and Men are one Man, and that the mind of Man about God, as set forth in the Holy Scriptures, includes and concentrates the mind of Angels about Him. From this doctrine, Swedenborg draws an important conclusion, and illustrates it by his own experience.

“Man has consociation with the Angels by means of the Literal Sense of the Word, because there is in that Sense a Spiritual Sense and a Celestial Sense, and the Angels of the Spiritual Kingdom are in the Spiritual Sense, and the Angels of the Celestial Kingdom are in the Celestial Sense.”†

When therefore the Scriptures are read devoutly, the mind of the reader is brought into contact with the minds of the Angels. The consociation is effected instantaneously and without open consciousness on either side. The reader is inspirited by the presence of Heaven, and Heaven is enlarged and consolidated by extension on Earth.

“It has been plainly shown me by much experience that the Spiritual Angels are in the Spiritual Sense of the Word, and the Celestial Angels in its Celestial Sense. I have been permitted to perceive when I read the Word in its Literal Sense that communication took place with the Heavens, sometimes with one Society there, and sometimes with another; and that what I understood according to the Natural Sense, the Spiritual Angels understood according to the Spiritual Sense, and the Celestial Angels according to the Celestial Sense, and that they did so in an instant. As I have perceived this communication a thousand times, I have no doubt whatever left about it.

* Nos. 26 and 56.

† No. 63.

“Whilst reading the Word I have been permitted to see clearly that every verse communicates with some Society of Heaven, and thus the whole Word with the whole Heaven.” *

This intercourse with Angels by the Scriptures is intercourse with the Lord, for Angels have nothing to give which is not His. Moreover the Scriptures are the Divine picture as reflected in the Jewish Mind; and as we study that picture, wherein the Lord is revealed “in fulness, in sanctity, and power,” † we enter into communion with Him. The matter is not one for wrangling, but for experiment. Those who habitually meet the Lord in His Word and receive from His presence vigour and wisdom to fulfil His law, they, and they alone, are qualified to recognize this testimony.

The Word—the Divine Wisdom is the Light of the Heavens. There, as on Earth, it is reduced to writing, but in a spiritual style which differs altogether from the natural style.

“There are no names of persons and places in the heavenly Word, but instead the things which the names signify. It is the same with numbers. They do not appear, but instead the things to which the numbers correspond.” ‡

How completely the Literal Sense is discriminated from the Heavenly Sense, may appear from these considerations—

“There are three things which disappear from the Literal Sense in the evolution of the Internal Sense, namely, Space, Time and Person.

“In the Spiritual World there is neither Space nor Time; these belong solely to Nature. As for Person; in Heaven no attention is paid to Person, nor to anything pertaining to Person, but to Principles abstracted from Person. Discourse directed to Person contracts and limits ideas; whereas Principles abstracted from Persons allow of extension to universality and to things innumerable and ineffable.

“Such is the speech of Angels—rid of the incumbrances

* Nos. 63 and 113.

† No. 62.

‡ No. 71.

of Space, Time, and Person—and especially of the Celestial Kingdom, where thought flows forth into the infinite and eternal.”*

“Without the Word, no one would have a knowledge of God, of Heaven, or Hell, or of the Life after Death, still less of the Lord.”†

It is a favourite notion with many, that these ideas are intuitive, “thereby derogating from the authority and holiness of the Word, if not openly, yet in the heart.” Swedenborg contests the position, asserting that the Human Will is entirely evil, and as the Will governs the Understanding, it is impossible that such a Will could conceive such truths—

“From his own Will, which is Self-Love, Man does not desire to understand anything save that which relates to himself and the world. Everything beyond is darkness to him. Could he raise his thoughts higher than many of the Learned, who ascribe Creation to Nature? Do you believe Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and others, who wrote about God and the immortality of the Soul, derived their information from themselves? No, but from others, who had it by tradition from those who first learned it from the Word.

“What Man is of himself clearly appears from those who are in Hell. They are not even willing to hear about God, and are not able to pronounce His name. I have conversed with some who burst into a rage whenever they heard anything about God.”‡

The question is an interesting one, and it is to be settled by experience. If it is maintained, that the knowledge of God and a Future Life is innate in the Human Mind, it may be asked of the dogmatist, Whether he has found the knowledge innate in himself—whether he enjoys an independent revelation of God and eternity. His answer will probably be in the negative, but he will run on to assure

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 5253, 5287, 5434, 6040, 8343, 8985, and 9007, *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 99, 100, and 175, and many other places.

† No. 114.

‡ Nos. 115 and 116.

you, that what has *not* been his experience, has certainly been the experience of great souls in all ages. It might be further inquired, Whether an instance is known of any one whose life or teaching has exceeded the measure of the spiritual knowledge external to him, whether derived directly from the Word or from tradition. The answer again would be in the negative. Testing the question once more by our private experience, Have we not all to confess that our conduct falls below our knowledge? that, as we sing out every Sunday, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us;" that our constant tendency is to forgetfulness of God; and that unless it were for sustained communion with the Word in the church and the closet, we should speedily sink into utter worldliness and atheism?

Yes; experience certifies to the soundness of Swedenborg's judgment on this head. Of ourselves we should never know God. Nevertheless there is another side to the question. If the Evil in us denies God, it is the Good in us which confesses Him. This, Swedenborg illustrates in a thousand passages; and the same tendency to denial and affirmation he holds true of a Future Life—

"In those who do not shun evils as sins, there lies an inward disbelief in a life after death.

"In those who have any religion, there is an inward confidence in a life after death." *

Swedenborg can be claimed by neither the Sensationalists nor the Intuitionists, and he may be cited to the assistance of both. For the perfection of an idea or a belief, he requires the presence of an internal and an external—an intuition and a sensation—a feeling and a knowledge. Faith is complete in the congress of the two. Without knowledge feeling is dissipated; without feeling knowledge is a lifeless husk. The words of Scripture may be to one as a dreary noise; to another, in David's phrase, "more to be desired than gold, yea than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb." As for God, the very mention

* *Divine Providence*, No. 174.

of His name may be an offence; whilst from another the cry goes forth, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." By the outer revelation of the Word in the Scriptures, the inner revelation of the Word in the Heart is brought forth in "fulness, sanctity and power." Each is indispensable to perfect existence.

"There is no knowledge of the Lord and no salvation where the Word is not known.

"It is therefore provided by the Lord that there shall always be a Church on Earth where the Word is read, and where thereby the Lord is known. When the Word was totally rejected by the Papists, the Reformation was effected and the Word again received.

"The Word in the Reformed Church gives light to all Nations and Peoples by spiritual communication. For this reason, by the providence of the Lord, there is universal intercourse of the Kingdoms of Europe (especially of those in which the Word is read) with the Nations out of the Church."*

Herein is the secret cause of the commerce of England and America.

To the question, Why the Spiritual Sense of the Word was not previously disclosed? the same answer is given as in the case of the *Doctrine of the Lord*—"The Christians of the primitive Church were men of so great simplicity, that it could not be revealed to them; they could neither have used nor understood it. The Papists were neither able nor willing to receive anything spiritual: the Protestants by their separation of faith from charity and worship of three gods, would have falsified the Sense had it been made known to them.

"The Spiritual Sense is at this day manifested by the Lord because the doctrine of genuine truth is now revealed; and this doctrine, and no other, is in harmony with that Sense."†

* Nos. 108 to 111.

† Nos. 24 and 25, and *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 376.

Such is Swedenborg's *Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture*. It may appear fanciful, in parts it may be fanciful, but it is based upon a dogma from which it is hard to escape—the dogma that God is the Creator of the Universe, that His Creation is an emanation from Himself, and that in all its gradations from within to without it reveals Him.

If this be true, everything, to the extent of its being, is a Word of God—a stone, a tree, a fish, a bird, a beast, a man.

So far, few will hesitate; indeed, to hesitate is to question the first principle of what is called Natural Theology. Let us however come at once to the point in view.

The History of the Jews as given in the Scriptures is called the Word of God, to the common offence of the rational world. It will not be contested that the Jewish Nation was a Divine Word—a revelation of the Divine Wisdom whether displayed in Jewish righteousness, or in judgment and destruction in Jewish sin; in either case the Divine Wisdom was made manifest.

The question of the propriety of the term, the Word of God, does not therefore apply to the Jews, but to the History of the Jews. Unless we are atheists, or unless we hold the extraordinary opinion that there is no relation or correspondence between the Creator and His Creation, we admit so much, that the Jews themselves were a Word of God.

The Jewish Nation was a Word of God. Granted: but how is the History of that Nation *the* Word of God?

What is History? Matthew Arnold answers, "A huge Mississippi of falsehood, on which a foam-bell more or less is of no consequence"—and probably a very accurate answer. Nevertheless we have an ideal of History, namely, an accurate reflection in words of a reality in life. If the Jews were a Word of God, such a reflection of their case might be entitled to the same appellation.

Exhaustive History is impossible. We can never describe all which appears. Under examination the meanest existence widens into the indefinite, the image of the

Infinite, and the more which is told of it, the more there is to tell.

How then shall History be written? Not by adventuring in the hopeless attempt to relate everything, but by the description of facts which are pivotal and representative—of facts which sum up, include, and indicate particulars. History, like painting, is done by selection; and a good historian, like a good painter, is distinguished by his judicious selection of facts. You may have volumes of details about a man or nation and learn little therefrom; while a single graphic phrase which hits off a really representative truth, will afford more information than them all.

Now, have we in the Scriptures such a History of the Jews?—such a picture of Christ, the consummation of Jewry? It seems to me, we have. “The Hebrew Bible, is it not,” asks Carlyle, “before all things *true*, as no other Book ever was or will be?” To its truth the Bible owes its everlasting vitality and influence. It is true as Shakspeare is true, but with a depth beyond Shakspeare’s, for all its utterances revolve around God—God its centre, Man and Nature its circumference. Colenso and others of the same genus, expend much useful labour on its arithmetic and topography, but its arithmetic and topography, like the anachronisms of Shakspeare, are of the slightest possible moment. People who fancy they are undermining the Bible by such business plainly discover their destitution of any proper sense of its merits. Of such errors, positive or imaginary, we may hear with equanimity, as long as we feel that it is a matchless picture of Human Nature in reference to God, as long as we discern that the story of Israel, of Abraham, Moses, David and the Prophets, and of Him whose experience was the summary of them all, is told with infallible conformity to vital truth.

Why Jewish History should have been chosen for the Historic Manifestation of the Word, might be answered by the child’s reason—Because it is. Had we such a History of any other people, we should have a Word of God. Swedenborg assures us, the nations of Christendom at this

day bear the same relation to each other that the Moabites, Amorites, Ammonites, Philistines, Syrians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians did to Israel.* Edward Irving says truly, "The expedition of the Prince of Orange for the Protestant cause into England is as wonderful a manifestation of God's arm as any event in the History of the Jews;" and we find him longing, "Oh that the History of the Church was drawn up by one possessed of the Spirit of God, who, in a short space and with a round pen, would draw it out after the manner of the books of Samuel and the Chronicles, adjoining to it specimens of the most pious writings of the Fathers, which might answer to the History as the Prophets answer to the Old Testament History!" †

Swedenborg does not leave us however without a reason for the selection of the Jews. They were chosen because they were the most external of Mankind, and as the skin invests the body and the body the mind, the History of the Jews is inclusive—is universal History. The History of England ever so truly written could never be what the History of the Jews is, for English life has never blown out so utterly in flesh and blood. The Scriptures are thus, first the History of the Jews, then of Man, then of the Heavens, and inmosty the revelation of God—Sense within Sense.

A general assent to Swedenborg's *Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture*, I cordially yield. How the Scriptures were written I do not know, nor much care to know: certainly not to external dictation, as alleged. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews makes the most satisfactory statement in the few words, "God who at sundry times *and in divers manners* spake in time past unto the fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son by whom He made the worlds." Like Cowper's cottager I am content to know the Bible true; that it is a temple of the Heavens and a sanctuary of the Lord.

* *Divine Providence*, No. 251.

† Edward Irving, in his *Journal* kept for his wife, 1825; *His Life* by Mrs. Oliphant, vol. i., pp. 257 and 350.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DOCTRINE OF LIFE.*

WE have here a treatise on the Conduct of Life, and the distinction between the Heavenly and the Infernal Man.

Swedenborg opens his theme with the maxim, "All Religion has relation to Life, and the Life of Religion is to do Good." By references to Scripture, to common-sense, and to the Athanasian Creed, he maintains the position that a good Life leads to Heaven and a bad Life to Hell.

What is a good Life? and what is a bad Life? A bad Life, he answers, is a Life governed by Self-Love, and a good Life is one governed by the Love of God and the Neighbour. The goodness or badness of a Life is determined by its motive.

In the discovery of the character of Life there is a difficulty, inasmuch as Infernal Life may display itself (and mercifully so) in the same acts as Heavenly Life—

"A man gives to the poor, relieves the needy, endows churches and hospitals, promotes the good of the church, of his country, and of his fellow-citizens, frequents places of public worship, listens attentively to what is said there, is devout in his prayers, reads the Word and books of piety, and thinks about salvation; and yet knows not whether he does such things from himself" [*i. e.*, from Self-Love] "or from God. It is possible he may do them from God, and it is possible he may do them from himself."†

If such acts are done for selfish ends, then, so far as the doer is concerned, they are infernal, "for no one can do good, which is really good, from Self-Love." They are not done for the benefit of Others, but for the benefit of Self, and if Self were not the gainer, they would be left undone. "He who is restrained from Sin by the worldly considera-

* *Doctrina Vitæ pro Nova Hierosolyma ex Præceptis Decalogi.* Amstelodami: 1763. 4to, pp. 36.

† No. 9.

tions of reputation, loss, and punishment is not delivered from Evil, as is manifest after death. Although he may not have committed murder, or adultery, or theft, or false witness, yet the lusts are latent within him, and he is ready for any mischief when he foresees no danger. It is on this account that such persons act in unity with Hell, and have their lot there.”*

On the other hand, he who is moved by the Love of God or Man, does the same acts simply and faithfully, whether praise or blame be his portion, “hoping for nothing again.” He is kind to his Neighbour because he loves him, and is rewarded in the spectacle of his well-being. He does God’s will because His will is holiness, justice, and peace. Thus his motives have a perennial origin and consistency. He *is* what the decorous selfish man *pretends* to be.

Having stated so much, Swedenborg proceeds to show how Heavenly Life is to be acquired. At this day we are all born subjects of Infernal Life; or, in other words, with Self-Love for our predominant motive; and it is the Divine purpose of our earthly probation to overcome the Infernal by the Heavenly Life, and, when overcome, to hold it in subordination and service to that Life, even as Hell is governed and used by Heaven.

His grand recipe and specific for this conquest is, “shunning Evils as Sins—

“So far as Man shuns Evils as Sins, so far he does what is Good, not from himself,” [*i. e.*, from Self-Love] “but from the Lord.

“Who does not know, or may not know, that Evils prevent the Lord’s entrance into Man? For Evil is Hell, and the Lord is Heaven; and Hell and Heaven are opposites; so far, therefore, as Man is in the one, so far it is not possible for him to be in the other; for the one acts against and destroys the other.”†

The Decalogue teaches what Evils are Sins; and “so far as any one shuns murders of every kind as Sins, so far he has Love towards his Neighbour; so far as any one shuns

* No. 63.

† No. 18.

adulteries of every kind, so far he loves chastity; so far as any one shuns thefts of every kind as Sins, so far he loves sincerity; and so far as any one shuns false witness of all kinds as Sins, so far he loves truth." *

Elsewhere he writes, "The very essence of the Christian Religion consists in shunning Evils as Sins." †

This prescription is very offensive to romantic Rationalists. One of Mr. J. Stuart Mill's criticisms of Christianity is, that its morality is mainly prohibitive and therefore insufficient. Why, it is asked, deal in these negations? Why not teach to do Good rather than to shun Evil?

Like other objections to Christianity raised by those whose pride it is to call themselves Positivists, this too will be found fallacious when brought to the test of experience.

The desire to lead a Heavenly Life is awakened in the heart. How does such a desire proceed to action? Around it are the passions of Self-Love bursting into flames of act, or smothering under the covers which prudence, or cunning, or fear impose. What is to be done? The awakened desire is as a king entering into an inheritance of anarchy: (the Israelites led by Joshua into Canaan is the Biblical representation of the case). What is the king to do? Plainly, reduce his inheritance to order; that is his first duty. It is idle to talk of good works, of noble enterprises, and gentle delights whilst the high places are held by rogues and ruffians. He must search out his foes one by one and subdue them. "Cease to do evil" precedes "Learn to do well."

Here let us mark carefully the conditions of the warfare against Self-Love. It is carried on by Good Affections enlightened by Truths. A war within the breast, as a war without, involves two parties; hence writes our Author—

"Man cannot cease to will and commit Evils unless he is moved by an interior and superior Love." ‡

If a cruel temper is resisted, it is resisted by loving-kindness. If adulterous inclinations are resisted, it is by a chaste affection to which impurity is hateful. If covetous-

* Nos. 21 to 36.

† *Divine Providence*, No. 265.

‡ *Divine Providence*, No. 73.

ness and theft are resisted, it is by a spirit of probity and justice. If falsehood and deceit are resisted, it is by sincerity and simplicity. The resistance is in every case effected by an antagonistic virtue; the combat is accomplished "by the expulsive force of a Good Affection;" and in the exercise of the warfare the Good Affection is amplified, invigorated, consolidated. It is therefore quite a mistake to regard "Cease to do Evil" as a mere negation; the command implies the existence of a power interior to Evil, and adequate to its coercion.

As Self-Love is subdued, the Love of Others with its appropriate Wisdom enters, and the Man is gradually translated from Hell to Heaven—transformed from a Devil into an Angel. His Self-Love, reduced from the place of master to that of servant, is still operative, but only as the guard of his individuality, and for his preservation in efficiency as an instrument of use to others.

In the course of his disquisition, Swedenborg has frequently to protect himself from the imputation that he encourages us to effect our salvation by our own efforts. He stands in full opposition to magical salvation whether by Popish sacraments or Protestant dogmas, but he teaches distinctly that no man can cure himself spiritually, any more than he can cure himself physically. We are learning in hygiene that we can do nothing to remove disease or maintain health beyond placing ourselves in appropriate conditions—denying ourselves, eating and drinking in moderation, breathing pure air, washing our skins, keeping quiet, and awaiting our reward. Our share of the business is wholly external. If we do our duty outwardly, the inward work is done for us in waking and sleeping. There is no use fretting about our interiors: they are quite beyond our control. Between our physical and our spiritual health there is an exact analogy. "No one can be cleansed or purified from Evils of himself; for there are infinite concupiscences in every Evil."* We cannot explore the intricacies of our lusts. To make the attempt would be to convert ourselves into such wretched hypochondriacs as are

* No. 112.

exhibited in multitudinous volumes of pietistic biography. Hence we discern the wisdom of the advice, "Shun Evils as Sins." If thus we guard the outside, the Lord will effect the marvellous, the inconceivable process of internal regeneration.

"It is well known that the law of Sinai was written upon two tables, and that the first table contains those things which relate to God, and the second, those which relate to Man. In the table which is for Man, it is not said that he should do this or that good; it is said that he should not do this or that evil; as, that he should not kill, commit adultery, steal, bear false witness, covet; the reason is, because Man cannot do anything good from himself" [*i. e.*, from Self-Love], "but when he ceases to do evils, then he does good, not from himself, but from the Lord [*i. e.*, from Love to Others].

"The Lord is continually present and operative and urgent to enter, but it is for Man to open the door; and the door is opened when he obeys the directions written on his table. Conjunction with the Lord is thereby effected."*

Yet further: Swedenborg annihilates the last vestige of merit on Man's side. It might be placed to his credit that he opens the door to the Lord; but he bids us note that the very desire to refrain from Sin is the Lord's impulse, yea His very presence in Man. With a daring beyond the imagination of theologians, but amply warranted by Scripture, he defines the Love of Others in the Human Heart as the Lord in that Heart;† and since government by that Love is salvation, therefore the Lord is salvation. It is nothing to the purpose to assert, that such Love is felt to be our own, and that in its combats with Self-Love it is as if Self strove with Self. Such is indeed the sensation, but sensation must not be confounded with reality—

"He who fights against Evils must needs combat as from himself, otherwise he does not fight, but stands still

* Nos. 57, 58, and 62.

† "The Internal Man is nothing else but Mutual Love. The things of the Internal Man are of the Lord, so that it may be said the Internal Man is the Lord."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1594.

like an automaton, seeing nothing and doing nothing; and from the Self-Love in which he is, he continually thinks in favour of Evil, and not against it. Nevertheless it is to be well known that the Lord alone fights in Man against Evils, and that it only *appears* to Man as if he fought from himself; and the Lord is willing that it should so appear, inasmuch as without the appearance there could be no combat, and consequently no reformation.”*

It is this doctrine of Man's *quasi* life which gives Swedenborg a position altogether unique in the Temple of Philosophy.

THE LOVE OF GOD.

For the completion of this Chapter, a few notes are requisite concerning the Love of God.

No phrase is more frequently in the mouths of the Pious, yet many would find it hard to answer, What do you mean by the Love of God?

The lesson runs—

“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great Commandment: and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself.”

The second Commandment seems practicable: the first, as commonly understood, very difficult; for God must be known to be loved; but what and where is God? And supposing His presence and character discovered, What behaviour does love to Him designate? Is it emotion, or practice? or, is it emotion and practice combined?

To these questions Swedenborg supplies clear and definite answers.

What and where God is.

God is Love and He is Wisdom. To say no more would be to utter anew old and empty sounds; but we move a step further—

God is the Love and the Wisdom of Angels and Men—

“Heaven is not Heaven from the Angels. Their Love and Wisdom are not their own, but the Lord in them.

* Nos. 22 and 96.

“The Good and Wise receive the Lord, for He is their Goodness and Wisdom. *

“Heaven and the Church together constitute a body of which Jehovah, our Lord and Saviour, is the life and soul.” †

See then the deliverance from the difficulty pertaining to the first Commandment! Who cannot love Goodness and Wisdom in his fellow-creatures, and cherish them in himself? and since Goodness and Wisdom are the Lord, such service is His veritable personal worship. Hence testifies our Author—

“I have sometimes conversed with the Angels on this subject, and they have wondered that Churchmen do not know, that to love the Lord and the Neighbour is to love what is Good and Wise, and to practise them heartily.” ‡

To be Good and Wise is to be conformed to the Lord—is to obey His commandments; and when His commandments are obeyed, His Will is done, and the Master is revealed in the Servant.

The Scriptures are a chart wherein the Lord is presented to us externally, and as we study them we ascertain how far our nature and habits are from accordance with Him. If He is indifferent to us, we shall be indifferent to the Scriptures, just as we should be indifferent to a map of a country in which we possessed no concern. The precepts of the Word are nothing but the outward signs of the inward God. He who keeps them, keeps them by God: God Himself comes forth in the Man as he fulfils them.

“He who is thus conformed to the Lord, worships Him in every employment. This is unknown to those who confine worship to prayers, which apart from such con-

* *Divine Providence*, No. 28; *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 114; *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 7212; *Heaven and Hell*, No. 12; *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 152 and 179, *et passim*.

† *Coronis*, Nos. 15 and 29; *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 23 and 24; *Divine Providence*, No. 162, *et passim*.

‡ *Heaven and Hell*, No. 16; also *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 10,284; *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 146; and *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 796.

formity are no more than flatteries, which would not gratify even a wise man, much less God." *

Swedenborg does not discourage verbal prayer, but assigns to it its proper place as council with God preparatory to action—

"It is believed that the Lord loves adoration, worship, and glory for His own sake: not so: He loves them for Man's sake, for thereby the Self-Love which hardens and shuts his heart is softened and removed, and the way prepared for the Lord's entrance and blessing.

"Let not any one therefore imagine that the Lord is with those who merely praise Him: He is with those who do His commandments, and thus perform uses." †

He teaches emphatically that it is hopeless to love or serve God outside Man—

"Love to the Lord is Love by eminence, and Love to the Neighbour is Charity; *but Love to the Lord is not communicated save in Charity.* The Lord conjoins Himself with Man in Neighbourly Love alone." ‡

Love to the Lord is not a Personal Affection.

"To love the Lord, among the Angels, does not mean to love Him as to Person, but to love the Goodness which is *from Him*"—that is, as He is in His creatures; for "Goodness and Wisdom are from the Lord alone, and *are* the Lord with Man and Angel." §

"To think of God as a Person is to think materially. He should be thought of from His Essence—from Love and Wisdom, and from thence to His Person, and not *vice versâ*." ||

Thus does Swedenborg show how the Love of God is a practicable and reasonable service.

* *Divine Love and Wisdom*, Nos. 237 and 431; *Divine Providence*, Nos. 93, 94, and 326; *Arcana Coelestia*, Nos. 10,645, *et passim*.

† *Divine Love and Wisdom*, Nos. 335 and 431; and *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 33.

‡ *Doctrine of Faith*, No. 22; and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, from *Apocalypse Explained*, p. 69.

§ *Heaven and Hell*, No. 15; and *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 433 and 650.

|| *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 611.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH.*

WHY *do* you believe so and so? The question may be answered in many ways—in many very superficial ways which will leave us satisfied we have by no means penetrated to the inmost ground of belief.

“What is belief? A *state* of the Mind. What is it often taken to be? An *act* of the Mind.

“The attempt to induce others to will a belief or unbelief is exceedingly common among all sides of all questions. There is no arguing against it: for it is a lurking attempt, unsuspected by those who make it. . . . Let the evidence tendered be what it may, it is an error to suppose it ought to produce the same effect on different persons. It is nonsense to say, Strip your mind of all bias and make it equally ready for all impressions: you might as well tell a wrongly bent twig to please to put itself straight, that you may then give it another bend in the proper way.”†

De Morgan in these terse lines repeats Swedenborg's opinion—Belief is a *state* of the Mind; or more accurately, a state of the Will manifest in the Understanding. A Man believes so-and-so because so-and-so is consonant with his Will; he disbelieves so-and-so because so-and-so is antagonistic to his Will. Common sense has fixed the fact in the proverbial couplet—

“Convince a Man against his Will—
He's of the same opinion still.”

Belief having its base in the Will must therefore be subject to as many differences as there are varieties of Will: unless people *feel* alike, they cannot *think* alike. A Man whose Will is the Love of Self cannot possibly share the creed of the Man whose Will is the Love of Others. Truths

* *Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Fide.* Amstelodami: 1763. 4to, pp. 23.

† *From Matter to Spirit*, p. xvi. London: 1863.

which are congruous and therefore credible to the Good, are incongruous and incredible to the Evil.

On these data Swedenborg erects his Doctrine of Faith.

Faith is the assurance with which the Good receive the Truths which are congenial to their character.

“Inasmuch as Goodness and Truth are one in the Lord, and proceed as one from him, it follows that Goodness loves Truth and Truth loves Goodness, and that they desire to be one. The like is true of their opposites: Evil loves Falsity and Falsity loves Evil, and they desire to be one.” *

He who would acquire Faith must therefore take means to become Good—

“He who shuns Evils as Sins loves Truths and desires them, and the more he shuns Evils as Sins, so much the more he loves and desires them.

“Truth is not given without Goodness, for Truths derive their life from Goodness. Truths possessed by one who is not good are indeed Truths in themselves, but they are not Truths to their possessor.

“In a word: in proportion as any one shuns Evils as Sins and looks to the Lord, in the same proportion he has Faith.” †

The Good have an interior sense of Truth—

“In hearing or reading they have a perception whether what is said or written is true or not. Those who are in this illumination are said to be ‘*taught of Jehovah:*’ and of them it is written, ‘*I, Jehovah, will put my Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jehovah: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them.*’” ‡

Further: Truths gender in the Good—

“Goodness produces Truths continually, and multiplies them around itself and also around each other, making every single Truth as a little star ablaze with light.” §

* *Doctrine of Life*, No. 33.

† Nos. 22 and 23; *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 48; and *Doctrine of Life*, Nos. 41 and 52.

‡ No. 5.

§ *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 5912.

That sceptical difficulties as to orthodoxy should be referred to an Evil Will—to an “Evil Heart of Unbelief,” is not unfrequently, nor unjustly, denounced as outrageous arrogance. Doubters say they cannot see this, and they cannot believe that, and they deserve credit for their sincerity. Would they have a prescription for their blindness? Let them forsake their pleasant vices, and await the result on their mental vision—

“If any one asks, Who can have that internal acknowledgment of Truth which is Faith?—I will tell him: Shun Evils as Sins: then you will have as much as you desire.”*

There are many who wish to know who Christ really is, whether there is a future life, and how far the Bible is true; and read and talk profusely on such questions; but to what profit? If they are not obedient to the Truth they know, why should they have more? God is an economical giver. Whilst His children’s hands are full of bread which they do not eat, He will neither waste nor amuse them with new supplies.

“There are Truths which appear to belong to Faith only, as that God is, that the Lord (who is God) is the Redeemer and Saviour, that there is a life after death, and Heaven and Hell, and many others of a similar nature of which it is not said they are to be done, but believed. These Truths are dead to those who are in Evil, but alive with those who are in Good.”†

Only by a holy life can interior Truths be apprehended; many must remain mysteries until a state of righteousness is attained in harmony therewith: then, and not till then, are the eyes opened, and the happy believer is enabled to exclaim, “I see!”

This statement may be perverted by spiritual pride; nevertheless reflection and experience will yield it their sanction.

Such is the Law of Faith, and by the Law we must resolve contradictory phenomena.

If there are some who honestly announce they cannot

* No. 12.

† *Doctrine of Life*, No. 47.

believe, are there not others in equal or deeper Self-Love who pretend to believe, who advocate belief with fervour and attack unbelief with vigour and venom? Certainly; but it must be borne in mind that theology is a science, and like geology, botany, or any other science may be cultivated without any reference to practice—

“A Man who does not shun Evils as Sins may indeed love Truths, but he does not love them because they are Truths, but because they serve to extend his reputation and procure him gain; wherefore, whenever they cease to subserve these ends, he ceases to love them.” *

Consider for instance the premium which the Church of England sets on professional Faith, and the penalties affixed to scepticism, and how thereby the baser qualities of human nature are committed to the defence of orthodoxy. All her ministers confess assent to the Prayer Book, but in how many of them does that assent express a real relation between Mind and Book! A Good Man, so far as there is Truth in the Prayer Book, has an inward sympathy with it; so far as it contains Falsity, he has an inward indifference or repugnance to it. As for the Selfish Man, he is at inward variance with its Truths, with whatever eloquence he may proclaim them, and wherever its Errors match his Evils them he believes.

It is not to be forgotten, moreover, that there is a powerful and subtle influence exercised by Mind over Mind, and by this influence we may explain many cases wherein the Truth is understood and defended with eminent ability by the Evil: they are elevated by the Good into a temporary enjoyment of their own intellectual light. “I have seen Devils,” testifies Swedenborg, “who not only understood, but rationally discussed arcana of wisdom with Angels. As soon however as they were left to themselves, they ceased to understand and returned to their insanity, which they then called wisdom. It has even been permitted me to hear them laugh at their insanity when in wisdom, and at wisdom when in their insanity.” †

We may be very zealous for the Truth, but it behoves us

* *Doctrine of Life*, No. 35.

† *Divine Providence*, No. 223.

to ask ourselves straitly in the secret of our hearts how far we really believe in that for which we so earnestly contend. An honest answer may surprise and humble us, but it may be our salvation.

Faith is the assurance wherewith Truth is believed, and Truth is presented to Faith in the shape of Knowledge—

“From his earliest childhood, Man has a love of Knowledge, and by that Love he deposits in his Memory many things useful, and many useless.

“From the Word or from the Doctrine of the Church he acquires Knowledges of what is True and Good in greater or less abundance according to his opportunities and his thirst for information.

“These Knowledges are not Faith. They are only material out of which Faith may be constructed. If there be none, Faith cannot be formed; if there be few, a scanty meagre Faith is only possible; if there be many, a rich and ample Faith may be organized.”*

It is only as Evils are shunned as Sins—as Truth which is known is done, that Faith is organized—that Truth is believed. Until this takes place, Knowledge is no more the Man than corn in a granary is his body: the corn is incorporated when eaten and digested; the Knowledges of Truth are incorporated when practised. Knowledges are vivified by Love: without Love they are like a garden in winter, without growth; with Love they are like a garden in spring and summer, thick with leaves, flowers and fruit.†

There are many who in consequence of the cares of life, the lack of teachers, or the ignorance of teachers are unable to acquire many Knowledges of Truth; but what few they know, they practise. These in their hearts long for Truth, as Love ever does for its mate; and after death receive instruction from the Angels with eager joy. It is otherwise with those who are in similar ignorance, but in confirmed Self-Love. They cannot be instructed; their Evil hates Truth, turns from it, and will none of it.‡

* Nos. 25 to 29.

† Nos. 31 and 32.

‡ No. 30.

The difference between the Doctrine of Faith here developed and that held by Catholics and Protestants is obvious, and is wrought by Swedenborg into high relief. According to him, if a Wise Man was asked, Why he believes a certain statement, he would answer, Because it is true; and if pressed still closer as to how he knows it is true, the fact would be revealed, that he *feels* it to be true, and feels it to be true because between his Mind and the statement there is a congruity—an affinity from Love.

In some statements there is universal Faith, as for instance, that one and one make two. Why universal? Because every Mind is equal to their comprehension—because there is a universal congruity between the Human Mind and the facts. As statements develop in intricacy they require higher developments of intellect for their reception—that is, for their credence; and there doubtless are Truths which stated any how would be incredible—that is to say unintelligible, because so elevated or so intricate that the Human Mind could not grasp them.

Faith or belief, then, is only another word for comprehension, or at least apprehension: and however complex it may be, its grounds are axiomatic; for under analysis the most complex Faith is resolved into just such relations as exist between the Mind and the axioms of mathematics. Reasoning does not prove a statement true in any other sense, than that it assists or educates the Mind to embrace or comprehend a statement for which at starting it was unequal.

To say therefore you believe what you do not comprehend, is to talk nonsense. What your mind does not love, nor hunger after, nor has any congruity with, can be nothing but incredible. Hence—

“Faith is an acknowledgment that a thing is so, because it is true. He who is in genuine Faith thinks and speaks to this effect—‘This is true, and therefore I believe it.’ If he does not comprehend a sentiment and see its truth, he will say—‘I do not know whether this is true or not, therefore I do not yet believe it. How can I believe what I do not comprehend? Perhaps it may be false.’

"The Angels utterly reject the tenet, That the Understanding ought to be kept in subjection to Faith; for, they say, 'How can you believe a thing when you do not see whether it is true or not?' and should any one affirm that what he advances should nevertheless be believed, they reply, 'Do you think yourself a god, that I am to believe you? Or that I am mad, that I should believe an assertion in which I do not see any truth? If I must believe, cause me to see it. The dogmatizer is thus constrained to retire. Indeed, the Wisdom of the Angels consists solely in this, that they see and comprehend what they think.'" *

The Catholic and the Protestant notion of Faith is the reverse of the Angelic—

"The idea attached to the term Faith at the present day is this, that it consists in thinking a thing to be so because it is taught by the Church, and because it does not fall within the scope of the Understanding: for it is usual with those who inculcate it to say, 'You must believe, and not doubt.' If you answer, 'I do not comprehend,' it is replied, that is the very circumstance which makes a Doctrine an object of Faith.

"Thus the Faith of the present day is a Faith in what is not known, and may be called a Blind Faith; and as being the dictate of one person abiding in the Mind of another, it is a Historical Faith.

"Faith separate from Understanding entered the Church with Popery, because the chief security of that Religion is ignorance of the Truth; and therefore the reading of the Word was forbidden. How otherwise could Popes be worshipped as deities, saints invoked, and their carcases and tombs converted to sources of lucre?

"A Blind Faith was continued among many of the Protestants owing to their separating Faith from Charity. Those who do so, give the name of Faith to the mere thought that a thing is so, without any internal acknowledgment.

"With them, too, ignorance is the security of their tenets; for so long as ignorance reigns, with the persuasion that

* Nos. 2 and 4.

things theological are too high for the Understanding, the Learned can talk without being contradicted, and the Simple will fancy that what they say is true.

“The Lord said to Thomas, ‘*Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.*’ by which is not meant a commendation of Faith separate from Understanding, but that those are blessed who do not see the Lord with their *eyes*, and yet believe that HE IS.”*

“REMAINS.”

Truths are received and wedded in the Understanding by corresponding Goodness in the Will: Faith is the result of the congress. There are therefore as many varieties of Faith as there are varieties of Good Affections married to Truths.

We know where Truths are to be found: they constitute the written Word—dead and useless until vivified by contact with an answering Divine Spirit in the Heart: but whilst the material of Faith is thus as cheap as the printed Bible and as accessible as its wide-spread renown, How shall a Man obtain those Heavenly Affections whereby, you say, the written Word is made alive?

A very pertinent question, and more easily put than answered: Wanted, in fact, directions for the capture of the Holy Spirit. The mysterious words rise to mind, “*The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.*”

How shall a man procure Good Affections? If he does not possess them, it is doubtful whether he can procure them, any more than he could raise a field of wheat without seed, or multiply talents without one to start with.

How is a Man possessed of Good Affections? In the first place, he owes them to the organization of his Brain. In the Brain are the habitations of Good Affections, and the habitations vary in form and capacity in every individual. In some cases they may be so narrow or deficient as

* Nos. 1 and 8 to 10.

to exclude the possibility of residence: then we have not so much a man as a wild beast.

Given however a Brain with capacities for Good Affections, How shall Good Affections be drawn to occupy these capacities? By appropriate education. The tender endearments bestowed on infancy draw forth through the Brain the influences of the Inmost Heavens. As infancy passes into childhood, love gradually yields to intelligence, and as the Celestial Angels retire, Spiritual Angels draw near, and base their presence in the truths which youth acquires from teachers and books and other experience.

These heavenly influences received in youth are styled "Remains" by Swedenborg, who has much to say of them in his *Arcana Cœlestia*, but little, if anything, in his subsequent works. The odd designation, Remains, was derived from his exposition of the origin of the Ancient Church from the Remains of the Most Ancient Church, and the epithet came to serve for seeds of Goodness and Wisdom in similar relations.

As youth advances, the rough hereditary nature supervenes with all its evil lusts, but Remains are not lost. They are withdrawn, and carefully reserved in the internal mind—

"Remains are states of innocence from infancy, of love towards parents, brethren, teachers, and friends, of compassion towards the poor and needy—in a word, all states of Love and Wisdom. These states are called Remains, and are preserved by the Lord in Man, being stored up in his internals without his consciousness, and separated from his Evils and Falses."*

When repentance and regeneration begin, Remains constitute the rudiments of the process: by them the Lord operates: to them the outward Word appeals, and were there none to answer, "Paul might plant and Apollos water" in vain—

"If a man had no Remains, it would be impossible for anything of Innocence, Charity and Mercy to be in his thoughts and actions, and he would be worse than the

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 561, 1548, and 1906.

wild beasts: and this comes to pass when by filthy lusts and direful false persuasions, he seals up their way of exit and prevents their operation. Thus perished the Antediluvians.”*

Never perhaps was such importance assigned to the circumstances and training of childhood, and yet rightly assigned; for where is there present heavenliness in any life which does not owe its being to divine touches received in the tenderness of youth? and what discerning preacher of righteousness has not felt the hopelessness of his task before a character into which, by reason of an evil childhood, Heaven in due measure has not entered? Youthful piety is often a very questionable article, but when sincere and unconscious, who shall exaggerate its preciousness!

The circumstances which draw Heaven into childhood are real, and not formal. Hope not to make a child what you are not! No pretence will avail—no wooden tractors, ever so adroitly painted, will beguile the celestial magnetism. Here let Carlyle speak—

“Piety to God, the nobleness that inspires a human soul to struggle Heavenward, cannot be ‘taught’ by the most exquisite catechisms or the most industrious preachings and drillings. No; alas, no. Only by far other methods—chiefly by silent continual Example, silently waiting for the favourable mood and moment, and aided then by a kind of miracle, well enough named ‘the grace of God’—can that sacred contagion pass from soul into soul. How much beyond whole Libraries of orthodox Theology is, sometimes, the mute action, the unconscious look of a father, of a mother, who *had* in them ‘Devoutness, pious Nobleness!’ In whom the young soul, not unobservant, though not consciously observing, came at length to recognize it; to read it, in this irrefragable manner: a seed planted thenceforth in the centre of his holiest affections for ever more!”†

It would thus appear that at least two conditions are requisite for the conversion of a Man into an Angel—

1st. A Brain of certain capacities; and

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 661, 857, and 1050. † *Frederick the Great*, vol. i., p. 509.

2nd. Such an education as shall introduce Heaven (as Love and Wisdom) into these capacities.

Precisely so: such, in short, is Swedenborg's teaching.

Therefore where the requisite Brain and the requisite education are absent, regeneration is impossible, and the life of the Creature is and continues infernal without remedy.

So it appears: the argument proceeds on the same grounds which would tempt us to deny the possibility of an animal or vegetable without progenitors. Then comes the question, Are we not presuming too boldly on the ordinary course of generation, forgetting creation? If there are any Creatures with no organic capacity for Heaven, or with organic capacity but withered for lack of exercise, May not the Omnipotent create capacity or breathe life into the withered organism? I shall not answer, Nay; but only inquire, Whether there are cases of creation and vivification such as Ezekiel witnessed when the valley of dry bones became "an exceeding great army?"

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONTINUATION OF LAST JUDGMENT.*

SWEDENBORG'S treatise, the *Last Judgment*, published in 1758, related chiefly to the judgment executed on the Roman Catholics; in the *Continuation* he describes the judgment of the Protestants—

"The Last Judgment was effected upon those only of the Reformed who while on Earth professed a belief in God, read the Word, heard sermons, and did not neglect the solemnities of church-worship; and yet thought that adulteries, various kinds of theft, lying, revenge, hatred, and the like were allowable. These, although they professed a belief in God, made no account of sins against Him; though they read the Word, made no account of the precepts of life in

* *Continuatio de Ultimo Judicio: et de Mundo Spirituali.* Amstelodami: 1763. 4to, pp. 28.

it; though they heard sermons, paid no attention to them; though they partook of the sacrament of the supper, desisted not from the evils of their former lives; and though they did not neglect the solemnities of worship, amended their lives in nothing. They lived from religion externally whilst totally destitute of it internally.”*

These hypocrites were detained in the World of Spirits, permitted to form Societies, and to live together as on Earth; and by arts unknown here, to cause splendid appearances and persuade themselves and others that they were in Heaven.†

As noted in the case of the Catholics, the openly wicked did not enter these fools’ Paradises—

“Those who did not believe in God, who contemned the Word, and rejected the holy things of the Church, had been cast into Hell as soon as they exchanged the Natural for the Spiritual World.”‡

Nor in that concourse of Protestants were all hypocrites; there were many Good but Simple; on whom hypocrites everywhere practise.

The time for the dissolution of the great sham having arrived—

“There was seen a stormy cloud, which appearance resulted from the presence of the Lord in the Angelic Heavens above them. As the influence of the Heavens was brought to bear, their interiors were disclosed, and they appeared no longer as moral Christians, but like demons in tumult and strife about God, the Lord, the Word, Faith, and the Church; and as their lusts were let loose, they rejected everything sacred with contempt and ridicule, and rushed into every kind of enormity. At the same time all the splendid appearances in which they dwelt vanished away; their palaces were turned into hovels, their gardens into stagnant pools, their temples into heaps of rubbish, and the very hills which they inhabited into mounds of gravel. Their circumstances were thus reduced to correspondence with their dispositions.

“These changes were accompanied by mighty earthquakes.

* No. 16.

† No. 18.

‡ No. 17.

Here and there gaps were made towards the Hells below, out of which ascended smoke mingled with fire.

“Visitation was made by Angels, who exhorted them to desist, and denounced destruction if they did not. At the same time they sought out and separated any Good Spirits who were mixed up with them. The multitude, excited by their leaders, reviled the Angels, and rushed upon them for the purpose of dragging them into some public place and treating them in an abominable manner; just, indeed, as was done in Sodom.

“As the visitation of the Angels did not deter them from their abominable practices, and from seditious plots against those who acknowledged the Lord as the God of Heaven and Earth, held the Word sacred, and led a Life of Charity, therefore judgment proceeded.

“The Lord was seen in a bright cloud with Angels, and a sound as of trumpets was heard from it, which was a sign of the protection of the Angels of Heaven by the Lord, and of the gathering of the Good from every quarter.

“Then all who were about to perish were seen together in the likeness of a great Dragon with its tail extended in a curve, and elevated towards Heaven, bending itself about on high in various directions, as though it would destroy Heaven, and draw it down: but the attempt was vain, for the tail was cast down, and the Dragon, which also appeared elevated, sank beneath.

“It was granted me to see this representation, that I might know and make known who are meant by the Dragon in the Apocalypse; namely, that the Dragon means all who read the Word, hear sermons, and perform the rites of the Church, making no account of the evil lusts which beset them, inwardly meditating thefts and frauds, adulteries and obscenities, hatred and revenge, lies and blasphemies; and who thus live like Devils in spirit, and like Angels in body. These were the body of the Dragon: the tail was composed of those who lived on Earth in Faith separated from Charity, and were inwardly like the others in thoughts and intentions.

“I then saw some of the rocks on which they lived

sink to the lowest depths, some transported to a great distance, some cleft in twain, and those who were on them cast down through the openings; and others inundated as by a flood.

"I saw many Spirits collected into companies as into bundles, according to the genera and species of evil, and cast hither and thither into whirlpools, marshes, stagnant waters, and deserts, which were so many Hells.

"The rest who were not on rocks, but scattered here and there, fled affrighted to the Papists, Mahometans, and Gentiles, and professed their religions—an easy matter, having none of their own: lest however they should seduce those Spirits, they were searched out and thrust into their proper places in Hell.

"This is a general description of the destruction of the Dragon; the particulars, I saw, are too numerous to be here described.

"After the judgment there was joy in Heaven; also light in the World of Spirits such as was not before, the Infernal Societies which hung as clouds being swept away. Light likewise arose on Men on Earth, giving new enlightenment."*

CHAPTER XXX.

DIVINE LOVE AND DIVINE WISDOM.†

WE have in this book a key to Swedenborg's philosophy: in it, with some conciseness, he sets forth the principles which underlie his spiritual writings; and only as these principles are understood can the study of the writings be accomplished with ease or advantage.

The book is divided into five parts, treating—

I. Of God.

II. Of the Spiritual Sun.

* Nos. 23 to 31.

† *Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et de Divina Sapientia*. Amstelodami: 1763. 4to, pp. 151.

III. Of Degrees.

IV. Of the Creation of the Universe.

V. Of the Creation of Man.

"The end of this little work," he writes, "is, that Causes may be discovered and Effects seen from them, and that thereby the darkness in which the Man of the Church is involved with respect to God and the Lord and Divine things may be dispelled."*

I. GOD.

Take a Man and consider what is his Life. Is it not his Love? for if you remove Love, can you think? or speak? or do anything? Abstract Love and you abstract Life. It is by Love that Man lives: could his Love cease, he would cease.

It is therefore decided that Love is Life.

We are next informed that Love or Life is God—"that He is Love itself, Life itself."†

Then, that being Love itself, He is Wisdom itself—"Where there is Esse, there is also Existere: one is not possible without the other; for Esse is by Existere, and not without it."‡ The form of Love by which Love is known is Truth or Wisdom—Wisdom is therefore the Divine Existere. We separate Love and Wisdom in thought, but cannot in fact, for Love is not known but in Wisdom, nor Wisdom but from Love.

Love and Wisdom are Substance and Form in themselves, "consequently the self-subsisting and sole-subsisting Being."§

This maxim involves a momentous consequence; for if God be the one Substance and Form, all substances and forms must be derived from Him.

"Every one who thinks from clear Reason sees that the Universe is not created from nothing, because it is impossible for anything to be made out of nothing. Every one who thinks from clear Reason sees also, that all things were created out of a Substance which is Substance in itself; and

* No. 188.

† No. 4.

‡ No. 14.

§ No. 44.

as God alone is Substance itself, it is evident that all things exist from Him.

“Many have seen this, but they durst not confirm it, fearing that thereby they might come to think the Universe God because from God.”*

Swedenborg does not shrink from the logic of Pantheism, but he evades its fatal conclusion: the Universe is derived from God, but it is not God—

“Although God created the Universe from Himself, still there is nothing in the Universe which is God.

“All persons and things in the Universe are out of God, *because they are finite and God is infinite.*

“Beware of falling into the execrable heresy, that God is absorbed in Man. God is everywhere, as well within Man as without him. Were he included in Man, He would not only be divisible, but included in space, and Man might even think himself God. This heresy is so abominable that in the Spiritual World it stinks like a carcase.”†

God being Love, is bound by His nature to create—

“The Divine Love and Wisdom cannot but exist in other beings created from itself. It is an essential of Love to love others, and to be beloved by others; for thereby conjunction is effected. *Love consists in willing our own to be another's, and feeling his delight in ourselves.*

“It is not possible for God to love and be loved by infinite beings or existences—that is, by anything Divine. If it were possible, He would love Himself; thus He would be Self-Love, whereof not the least exists in Him.”‡ God does not create what is Himself, but only what is not Himself.

God therefore, to satisfy His Love, creates existences in which there is nothing of Himself—nothing Divine. Such is the Universe of Heaven and Man and Nature, altogether separate from God—dead, because He is alive—dead, because to be alive would be to be God.

God then divides Creation from Himself, that He may love

* No. 283.

† Nos. 130 and 283; and *True Christian Religion*, No. 43.

‡ Nos. 47 and 49; also *True Christian Religion*, No. 43 to 45.

it and enlarge it with His own happiness. This He effects by vivifying its deadness with His Presence and feeling its delight as His own.

Thus are we brought to the grand conclusion, that the Life in us is God.

“All created things are in themselves inanimate and dead; but they are animated and vivified by this, that the Divine is in them and they in the Divine.

“Man is an organ of Life, and God alone is Life; and God infuses His Life into the organ and every part of it, as the sun infuses its heat into a tree and every part of it; and God gives Man to feel Life in himself as his own; and God wills that Man should so feel, in order that he may live as of himself.”*

In this communication of life, God gives Himself so unreservedly that Creation feels Him as her own, His joy as her joy, His peace as her peace, His strength as her strength, His personality and independence as her personality and independence.

Various as God is manifested in the Universe, He is ever the same, invariable and immutable. The differences in Creation are not differences in Him. The difference between an Angel and a Man, a child and an animal, a tree and a stone, consists but in this, that one more than the other receives and utters God. All variety is that variety. Every Angel is a Man, and more and more a Man as He receives God—the Man; and the Heavens are alive, and more and more heavenly as they receive God; for God is in them, and their growth and increase is but His unveiling, His wider presence, His more perfect expression.

Creation is a finite image of God: inasmuch as it lives by Him it must answer to Him.

In Man we find the consummation of Creation: there is nothing in Creation which is not in Man; nothing in fire, air, earth and water, which has not its analogue in him. Nature is Man in diffusion: Man is Nature condensed and

* Nos. 4, 6, and 53; *True Christian Religion*, No. 504.

epitomized. Whenever therefore we name Man, we include universal Creation.

Man is an effect of which God is the cause, and as there can be nothing in an effect which is not in the cause, God must include Man. Hence another conclusion is attained—

“That God is very Man, and that being a Man, He has a body and everything belonging to it; thus that he has a face, a breast, an abdomen, loins, and feet; for without these He would not be a Man; and that having these, He has also eyes, ears, nostrils, a mouth, and a tongue; and also the organs that are within a Man, as the heart and lungs and their dependencies; all which, taken together, are what make a Man to be a Man. In created Man those things are many, and in their contextures innumerable; but in God-Man they are infinite, there being nothing wanting; whence He has infinite perfection. A comparison is made between Uncreated Man (who is God) and Created Man, because God is a Man, and it is said by Him in the first chapter of Genesis, that Man was created after His image and according to His likeness.”*

This extraordinary passage was omitted from the first English version of the *De Divino Amore et de Divina Sapientia*, published in 1788: the translator, Dr. Tucker, of Hull, supposing it too strong for the public stomach. Audacious as it may seem, the details are nothing but fair inferences from the declaration in Genesis, and before the reader yields himself to superfluous indignation, let him consider the distinction which the Author maintains between the Uncreate and the Created. We are Human because God is Man; all in us must exist in Him, but not in Him *as* in us—in Him all is infinite, in us finite. Therefore he writes—

“By the hands of Jehovah in the Word are signified the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.

“Eyes and feet when predicated of the Lord, signify the Divine Principles in Him from which eyes and feet exist.”†

So manifestly does he discern Humanity throughout Creation, so confident is he of the relation between Creator

* No. 18. † No. 59; and *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 153 and 235.

and Creation, and so surely does he infer the one from the other as cause and effect, that he boldly affirms—

“Unless God was a Man, He could not have created the Universe such as it is.”*

With the usual verbiage of metaphysics he discourses of the Infinite—

“It is well known that God is infinite, for He is called infinite; but He is called infinite because He is infinite. He is infinite because infinite things are in Him: an infinite without infinite things in Himself is not infinite but as to bare name. Infinite things in Him cannot be said to be infinitely many, nor infinitely all, because of the natural idea of many and all; for the idea of infinitely many is limited, and the idea of infinitely all, although unlimited, is derived from limited things in the universe.”†

There is not much profit in such discourse: we can do no more than confess the Infinite. “In Himself, God is invisible and unknowable,” and “no Man or Angel can ever approach the Father and immediately worship Him.”‡

Such a confession of the Infinite might leave us in practical atheism; for, as our Author observes, “to believe and love a Divine Being who cannot be thought of under any form, is impossible.”§ We must think of God, and in what way more worthily than as Man? There are many who shrink from this conception of God, but with what do they replace it? With the notion of a Force-God, or a Law-God, or a semi-intelligent, omnipresent Gas-God, altogether inferior to themselves except in the attributes of vastness and strength. The Bible yields no sanction to such timidity, but everywhere frankly ascribes to God the qualities of Man.

“In all the Heavens there is no other idea of God than that of a Man: it is impossible for the Angels to think of Him otherwise. The Ancients, from the wise to the simple, thought of God as a Man; and when at length they began to worship a plurality of gods, as at Athens and Rome,

* No. 236. † No. 17. ‡ *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 96 and 114.
§ *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 200.

they worshipped them all as men. The Gentiles, particularly the Africans, who acknowledge and worship one God, think of Him as a Man, and say that no one can have any other idea of Him. When they hear that many form an idea of God as of a little cloud in the midst of the Universe, they ask where such are; and when it is said, there are such among Christians, they deny that it is possible; but in reply it is shown, that some Christians conceive such an idea from the circumstance that God is called a Spirit in the Word, and a Spirit they fancy is a thin cloud, not knowing that every Spirit and Angel is a Man.*

There is no pretence made that God can be adequately thought of under any form; that is impossible; *"Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"* If we wait to think of Him until we can think of Him adequately, we shall wait for ever. We must do our best; and our best and noblest conception is that of Man, and therefore as Man, as Jesus Christ, we worship God. In the words of John, *"No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him"*—that is, manifested Him, brought Him forth to view. Philip required of Jesus that he should show him the Father, and received the memorable reply—*"Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip? He who hath seen me, hath seen the Father. How sayest thou then, Show us the Father?"*

Whilst, as we must, we finite the Infinite in our conception of God, yet in the thought of the Infinite there is provided means for the redemption of our conception from meanness. Our noblest conception of God can never be anything but a poor symbol of the infinitely glorious Reality, but by the thought of the Infinite we are enabled to correct and disown the partial and miserable notions which are ever ready to spring up, and which are the drawbacks attached to the confession and worship of the Known God.

These drawbacks moreover are not to be evaded either by the mere confession of the Infinite or by atheism. If we will not have God as a Man, then we have Him as a Force, a Law, or a Gas; but not even then will the heart be satisfied. In its passion for an object of adoration it will, rejecting Jesus Christ, turn to hero-worship, and a Comte will indicate and classify its gods. Our experience of mankind amply confirms Swedenborg's report—

“That Evil Spirits who while on Earth denied God, deny Him after death; nevertheless instead of God they worship some Spirit, who by means of diabolical arts gains ascendancy over them.”*

Space and Time are finite; they begin and end with Creation, and are altogether to be denied in connection with God. Whilst He is the life of Creation, He is above and without space; and whilst he is in all time, He is above and without time.

We must therefore think of God as wholly anterior and superior to space and time. So the Angels think. To us such thought is difficult, but it is the condition of wisdom about God—

“This is expedient to be premised, because without a knowledge and some perception that the Divine is not in space, nothing can be understood concerning the Divine life, and very little, if anything, concerning the Divine providence, omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence, infinity, and eternity.”†

II. THE SPIRITUAL SUN.

The relation between God and Man is illustrated by experience in the Spiritual World, wherein all that exists and occurs in the Mind is reproduced in scenery. Neither here nor hereafter can God be seen, nor love, nor truth: the Spiritual World consists of their visible representatives.

God is the Creator and Sustainer of Man: in the Spiritual World that first of facts is displayed in the appearance of God as its Sun: the Divine Love is felt as heat—the Divine Wisdom is seen as light.

* *Athanasian Creed*, No. 20.

† No. 9.

"I have seen the Spiritual Sun. It appeared of the same size as the Sun of this Earth, and fiery like it, only more ruddy; and it was made known to me that the universal Angelic Heaven is under that Sun; and that the Angels of the third Heaven see it always, the Angels of the second Heaven, very often, and the Angels of the first or lowest Heaven, sometimes."*

Men likewise are subjects of the Spiritual Sun—

"Every Man as to his interiors is in the Spiritual World, and according to his character dwells in a certain quarter therein, and thinks from its light and loves from its heat."†

"Beware of thinking that the Sun of the Spiritual World is God: God is a Man."‡ "That Sun is not the Lord Himself, but from the Lord: the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom proceeding from Him *appear* as heat and light."§ "The Angels cannot see Love with their eyes, but they see a Sun that corresponds to it."|| "When they think interiorly of the Lord, they think of Him no otherwise than in themselves."**

"The Lord appears to the Angels at a distance as a Sun, but it is only an appearance: the truth is, He is the soul of the Universal Angelic Heaven, of every Heavenly Society, and of each particular Angel."††

The appearances of the Spiritual World closely, rapidly and vividly attest and express mental alternations, but no more than the appearances of the Natural World are they to be regarded as anything but symbolic of unseen mental conditions. Appearances are effects, "and effects teach nothing but effects, and, considered alone, explain nothing. Causes on the contrary explain effects; and to know effects from causes is to be wise."‡‡

Hence the use of the caution against thinking of the Sun as God, and of its heat as love, and its light as wisdom. These appearances are reductions of inward relations to outward experience. All that the Sun with his

* Nos. 85 and 104.

+ Nos. 92, 112, and 129.

‡ No. 97.

§ Nos. 86 and 93.

|| No. 87.

** No. 130.

†† *Divine Providence*, No. 162.

‡‡ No. 119.

heat and light is to the Angels physically, the Lord is to the Angels mentally.

"The Sun appears at a distance from the Angels, and they receive its heat and light in various proportions, and it may be concluded that this diversity originates in the Sun, but it is in the Angels. The Lord is not in a greater degree of love and wisdom in one Angel than another; for He is everywhere the same; but He is not received by one as by another, and this causes the Angels to appear to themselves at various distances, and to dwell in different quarters."*

III. DEGREES.

The Doctrine of Degrees is the science of correspondences; it is the description of the order of creation, of the relation between God and Man, between the unseen and the seen, between causes and effects.

Degrees are of two kinds—Degrees of Altitude or Discrete Degrees, and Degrees of Latitude or Continuous Degrees.

Continuous Degrees are known to every one. They consist in the gradation of gross to fine, dense to rare, light to shade, heat to cold, hard to soft, and so on.

It is different with Discrete Degrees. Their existence is a revelation of Swedenborg's—

"Nothing, so far as I am aware, has hitherto been known of Degrees of Altitude or Discrete Degrees; yet without a knowledge of Degrees of both kinds not anything of cause can be truly known."†

For instance: there is a Discrete Degree between the body and the mind of Man. His body is a thing of space; his mind is a substance to which the laws of space have no application. His body does not refine into mind, nor his mind condense into body; there is a clean division between them. Nevertheless though utterly diverse, their relation is one of the strictest intimacy. The body exists for the service of the mind; it corresponds to the mind, so that a man of delicate perception like Lavater could infer the one

* No. 124.

† No. 188.

from the other—could discover the cause in its characteristic effects. Hence all the terms we apply to the body we apply to the mind: every function in the one is repeated in the other; every word for strength and health, weakness and disease, beauty and deformity has a double application—a mental and a physical.

Here then in the case of body and mind we may see what is meant by a Discrete as distinguished from a Continuous Degree. A Discrete Degree everywhere divides cause from effect. The two, like mind and body, are in themselves altogether diverse, but, like mind and body, the one exists by and for the other.

Many have discerned this correspondence between mind and body, but it is Swedenborg's distinction that he discerns a similar correspondence throughout the Universe—that he assigns to everything seen a cause in the unseen.

He discovers a Discrete Degree between the Creator and Creation—

“What is created from God is not continuous from Him; for God is *Esse* in itself, and in created things there is nothing of *Esse* in itself; if in created things there was anything of *Esse* in itself they would be continuous from God, and what is continuous from God is God.”*

Yet Creation, with nothing of God in its substance, is related to Him as intimately as is the body in all its details to the mind—

“Every created thing is a recipient of God, not by way of continuity, but by contiguity.”†

Again between Man and Nature there is a Discrete Degree. There is nothing in Nature which is not in Man, but in Man in a different form from Nature. Again, there is God, the Spiritual Sun, and the Suns of Nature: between the three there is the perfect unity of cause and effect, but with no similarity of substance.

So again in the case of the Sacred Scriptures. In the letter they are Natural History, but inasmuch as everything of Nature includes a Spirit whereby it is related to God, so the Scriptures include a Spiritual Sense at unity with the

* No. 230.

† No. 232.

Literal Sense as is the mind with the body, but as diverse from the Literal Sense as the mind is from the body; so that Swedenborg has to tell us—

“Three things of the Literal Sense of the Word perish when the Spiritual Sense is evolving, namely, space, time, and person.”*

Discrete Degrees exist everywhere in trines; and in trines because in God there is a trinity, or “three infinite and uncreate Degrees,” which are Love, Wisdom and Use; “for being Love itself and Wisdom itself, He is also Use itself, since Love has Use for its end, which it produces by Wisdom.”

These three Degrees in God are reflected in three Kingdoms of Humanity—

“The Heavens are distinguished into two Kingdoms; one the Celestial Kingdom of Love, the other the Spiritual Kingdom of Wisdom; and the Natural Kingdom of Use, in which are Men on Earth,”† into which the Heavens close, as does a Mind in a Body.

Discrete Degrees repeated from the Creator in His Creation are found in conjunction with Continuous Degrees in its every detail—

“The Angels affirm that there is nothing so minute in which there are not Degrees of both kinds; for example, that there is not the least thing in any Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral, or in Ether and Air, in which there are not Discrete and Continuous Degrees. These Degrees are omnipresent because the Divine in the greatest and least things is the same.”‡

In fine, there is a trinity in all things because there is a trinity in the Creator.

IV. THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE.

The method of the Creation of the Universe was a problem which had long exercised Swedenborg. Its solution was the purpose of the *Principia* of 1734, wherein with much ingenuity he tracked Nature to a beginning in Points of Motion, “which by mutual pressure, aggregation, and

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 5253, 5287, and 5434.

† No. 232.

‡ No. 223.

coacervation" condensed through Elements of increasing grossness to solid Earth. This fancy he now repudiates—

"It is thought by many, that there is one only Substance, which is also the first, from which all things are; but it is not known what that Substance is. It is thought to be so simple that nothing can be simpler, and that it may be compared to a Point which has no dimensions, and that from an infinite number of such Points the forms of dimension exist. This however is a fallacy." *

And again—

"It is a mere fallacy of the senses that there are simple substances, such as monads and atoms, and that there is only one single atmosphere distinguished by the successive purity of its parts, and that where it ceases there is a vacuum." †

What is the beginning of Creation? If it is not Points of Force, what is the first Substance? We have already had the answer—God is Substance itself and Form itself; He is the self-subsisting and sole-subsisting Being.

From God is produced the Spiritual Sun, and from the Spiritual Sun the Spiritual World, the Suns of Nature and all Planets.

"I have had much conversation with the Angels concerning the Spiritual Sun. They compared it to the sphere or aura which surrounds every Angel. This ambient sphere is not the Angel, but is derived and continually streams forth from his body. They said, there is such a sphere about every Angel, because there is one about the Lord; and that His sphere is their Sun, or the Sun of the Spiritual World." ‡

This Sun is the grand representative of the Creator—

"And as He is everywhere, and as He cannot present Himself to any Angel or Man as He is in Himself in His Sun, therefore He presents Himself by such things as can be received, as to love by heat, as to wisdom by light, and as to use by the atmosphere.

"The Lord presents Himself as to use by the atmosphere,

* No. 6. † *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 5804. ‡ Nos. 291 and 294.

because the atmosphere is the continent of heat and light, as use is the continent of love and wisdom. The light and heat which proceed from the Divine Sun cannot proceed in vacuum, but in some continent which is their subject. That continent is the atmosphere which surrounds the Sun, receives him in its bosom, and conveys him to the Heavens where the Angels dwell, and thence to Man on Earth, thus presenting the Lord everywhere." *

The atmosphere of the Spiritual World in its procession from the Sun "becomes continually more compressed and inert, and at length in ultimates so inert, that it is no longer atmospheric," † and becomes the ground of the Spiritual World—

"Be it known that the Spiritual World to outward view is altogether similar to the Natural World: lands, mountains, hills, valleys, plains, fields, lakes, rivers, fountains, appear there; also paradises, gardens, groves, woods, containing trees of all kinds with fruits and seeds, also plants, flowers, herbs, and grasses, consequently all things of the vegetable kingdom; animals, birds, and fishes of all kinds, consequently all things of the animal kingdom." ‡

The World of Nature is a derivation from the World of Spirit—its Sun from the Spiritual Sun, its heat, light and air from spiritual heat, light and air; but mark, not by continuity; there is a clear division between them—the division of a discrete degree, of cause and effect—

"The heat and light of the Spiritual and Natural Worlds differ so much that they have nothing in common. They are as different as what is alive and what is dead. Spiritual heat is not a purer kind of natural heat, nor spiritual light a purer kind of natural light, but are altogether of different essence." §

As the World of Spirit is created from the condensed aura of the Spiritual Sun, so the World of Nature is created from the condensed aura of the Natural Sun—

"That substances or matters are produced from the Sun by its atmospheres is affirmed by all who think that there are perpetual mediations from the First to the Last; and

* Nos. 296 and 9.

† No. 302.

‡ No. 321.

§ No. 90.

that nothing can exist but from a prior, and in the end from the First: which First is the Sun of the Spiritual World, and the First of that Sun is God-Man, or the Lord." *

Creation is terminated in the Earths of the Universe: in them the Spiritual World is based, and as the last, they include all which precedes.

As the Natural includes the Spiritual World, it is inwardly the subject of the Spiritual Sun; and thus Swedenborg explains the phenomena of growth in Nature. Under the Spiritual Sun is perpetual spring; its efflux of heat and light is incessant; but Nature must provide conditions adequate to its reception: if these conditions are provided, the reception of life is inevitable; the draft is honoured infallibly if the due conditions are presented.

To vivification and growth the Sun of Nature contributes nothing, save the means of reception—

"The belief that the heat of the Natural Sun is the cause of vivification and growth, originates in the fallacies of the senses: the heat of the Natural Sun operates only to open the cuticles of bodies so that heat from the Spiritual Sun may flow in; for thus life comes into full effect from first principles to last. This is why beasts and birds breed in spring and summer: it is otherwise with man, because by clothing he maintains external heat answering to internal." †

Holding this opinion, Swedenborg illustrates it by reference to spontaneous generation. Granted the conditions life, he can see nothing to hinder the organization of animal and vegetable forms by influx from the Spiritual Sun. "It is stated on the experience of some persons, that there are seeds of new species still coming into existence." ‡

As the Lord produces all things of Nature from Himself "through the Spiritual World," § therefore all things in Nature, "viewed as to use, bear His image," || and consequently the image of Man—

* No. 303.

† *Divine Love and Wisdom*, from *Apocalypse Explained*, p. 29.

‡ *Athanasian Creed*, No. 97.

§ No. 356.

|| No. 326.

“There is nothing in the Universe of Creation which has not correspondence with something of Man, not only with his affections and thoughts, but also with the organs and viscera of his body—*not with them as substances, but as uses.*” *—

Which is to say, that if we explore Nature to discover Man, we must not expect to find a formal repetition of his members, but an analogous repetition of their functions. There is nothing in Man's body which is not primarily in his brain, but though there is a perfect correspondence between his body and brain as to use, there is no sameness as to structure. So with Man and Nature. The Animal Kingdom corresponds to his Will, the Vegetable Kingdom to his Intellect, and the Mineral Kingdom to his Memory, and these Kingdoms again in all their details will bear a similar distribution; but be it reiterated, Man's likeness is discovered *not in shapes, but in uses.*

It may be said, Supposing Nature in whole and in part bears the image of Man, which is the image of God, How can things disorderly and noxious in Nature be regarded as reflections of the Divine likeness of Love and of Wisdom? Swedenborg answers, they are not reflections of the Divine likeness, “they were not created by the Lord, but originated together with Hell;” † and he styles them *Evil Uses*—

“Evil Uses on Earth mean all noxious things in the Animal, Vegetable and Mineral Kingdoms. It would be tedious to enumerate them, but for the sake of science it may be sufficient to name a few. In the Animal Kingdom, they are poisonous serpents, scorpions, crocodiles, dragons, horned owls, screech owls, mice, locusts, frogs, spiders, flies, drones, moths, lice, mites, in a word, those that consume grasses, leaves, fruits, seeds, meat and drink, and are noxious to men and beasts; in the Vegetable Kingdom, virulent and poisonous herbs, pulse and shrubs; in the Mineral Kingdom, all poisonous earths.” ‡

Inasmuch as the Natural World is created through the Spiritual World, and as the Spiritual World, to subsist, must

* No. 324.

† Nos. 336 and 339.

‡ No. 338.

be based in the Natural World, it necessarily follows that as Hell is comprised in the Spiritual World, Hell must be manifested on Earth; and Hell is manifested in just such disorderly and noxious things in Nature as have been enumerated.

"In Hell there are wild beasts of all kinds, as serpents, scorpions, dragons, crocodiles, tigers, wolves, foxes, swine, owls, bats, rats, mice, frogs, locusts, spiders and noxious insects of many kinds, hemlock and aconite, and all kinds of poison, as well in herbs as in earths; in short, all things that hurt and kill men.

"The Hells also abound in foul smells, cadaverous, stercoraceous, urinous and putrid, in which Evil Spirits luxuriate as do some animals in rank odours." *

We have here a version of the old notion that rapacious and venomous creatures originated with Adam's Fall—a notion which geological science has consigned to oblivion. Hell, not God, says Swedenborg, is the cause of evil creatures, but the answer does not meet, but only defers the difficulty; for, who is the cause of Hell?

He brings in spontaneous generation to illustrate the embodiment of Hell in correspondent conditions on Earth—

"Every one knows that marshes, stagnant waters, dung and stinking earth are the nurseries of malignant herbs and animals. I once observed in my garden that in the space of an ell almost all the dust was turned into very small insects; for on being stirred with a stick they rose up like clouds.

"Are such creatures produced from seeds or eggs? or, are they engendered by the influx of Hell into accordant conditions? That they are produced from eggs is not supported by experience; for worms exist in seeds, nuts, wood and stones; flies also appear in houses, fields and woods in summer, produced in great abundance; besides those which swim and fly invisible in foul waters, sour wines and pestilential air. These facts favour the opinion of those who say, that from the miasma of plants, earths and pools such animalcules originate. That afterwards, when they are

produced, they are propagated by spawn, does not disprove their immediate origin." *

Sir Hans Sloane and Martin Folkes.

"I heard two presidents of the English Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane and Martin Folkes, conversing together in the Spiritual World concerning the existence of seeds and eggs and their production on Earth. Sloane ascribed them to Nature; insisting that Nature was endued from creation with the power of producing such things by means of the Sun's heat. Folkes said, that the power of production is continually from God in Nature.

"To determine the dispute, a beautiful bird was exhibited to Sir Hans Sloane, and he was told to examine whether in the least thing it differed from a similar bird on Earth. He held it in his hand, examined it, and said there was no difference. At the same time he knew that the bird was nothing else than the external representative of an affection of a certain Angel, and that it would vanish with the Angel's affection: as indeed it did.

"Sir Hans Sloane was convinced by this experiment, that Nature does not create animals and vegetables, but the influx of Spirit into Nature. He also said, that if the bird could have been invested in matter, it would have been a durable bird, like birds on Earth; and that the same would be true of an affection from Hell. He added further, that had he known what he now knew of the Spiritual World, he would not have ascribed any more to Nature than that it served spiritual efflux from God as means of embodiment." †

V. THE CREATION OF MAN.

The Human Mind is divided into Will and Understanding—two faculties devised for the reception and exhibition of God as Love and Wisdom.

The Will and the Understanding are spiritual organisms, ‡

* No. 342.

† No. 344.

‡ "Since the Will and Understanding are receptacles of Love and Wisdom, therefore they are two Organic Forms, or Forms organized from the purest substances; they must be such in order to be receptacles." No. 373.

and, as such, are above and without space, and cannot be studied under physical vision: but for the exercise of their functions in Nature they are incarnated first in the brain and thence in the body: wherefore in the brain and the body the invisible Will and Understanding are revealed; and if we are adepts in the law of correspondences, that is, if we can read unseen causes in their visible effects, we may from the facts of physiology educe corresponding facts in psychology.

Whilst the body in all its members may be referred to something in the brain answering to the Will or the Understanding, the grand representative of the Will in the body is the Heart, and of the Understanding the Lungs.

"That the Heart corresponds to the Will is evident, since all the affections of Love influence its motions. Its changes according to the affections of Love are innumerable; those felt by the finger are few, as that it beats slow or quick, high or low, soft or hard, equal or unequal, and so on; therefore differently in joy and sadness, in peace and anger, in courage and fear, in hot diseases and cold, and so on. Hence we speak of a stout and a timid Heart, a joyful and a sad Heart, a great and a little Heart, a whole and a broken Heart, a fleshy and a stony Heart, and so on. The Word speaks in the same way, for the Word is written according to correspondences."*

Man as the subject of the Spiritual Sun receives its heat, which in his blood is vital heat—

"That in Man and every animal there is vital heat is well known, but the origin of the heat is not known; but he who is aware that there is a correspondence of Love and its affections with the Heart and its derivations, may know that Love is the origin of vital heat. Love proceeds from the Spiritual Sun as heat, and as heat it is felt by the Angels. The spiritual heat, which in its essence is Love, flows by correspondence into the Heart and blood and vivifies them."†

Blood is red because of its correspondence with Love—

"In the Spiritual World are all colours, and red and

* No. 378.

† No. 379.

white are the fundamentals. Red is derived from the fire of the Sun, and white from its light. Blood therefore can be nothing but red, because of its origin. Hence in the Heavens where love is predominant, the light is flame-coloured, and the Angels appear in purple vesture; and in the Heavens where wisdom is predominant, the light is white, and the Angels are clad in white linen."*

The correspondence of the Lungs with the Understanding is held to be equally evident—

"Every one may perceive it in himself from his thought and speech. No one can think unless his breathing conspires and accords; wherefore when he thinks tacitly he breathes tacitly; when he thinks deeply he breathes deeply, and compresses and expands the Lungs according to the influx of affection from love, either slowly, hastily, eagerly, or placidly; yea, if he holds his breath altogether, he cannot think, except in his spirit by its respiration, of which he is not conscious. †

"Hence in the Word wherever anything connected with respiration is mentioned, as spirit, wind, breath, nostrils, reference is made to the Understanding—to something of truth as distinguished from good."‡

Owing to this correspondence of Heart and Lungs, the Celestial Angels in whom love is predominant "are called the Cardiac Kingdom of Heaven," and the Spiritual Angels in whom wisdom is predominant "are called the Pulmonic Kingdom of Heaven."§

"All things that can be known of Love and Wisdom, consequently all that can be known of the Human Soul, may be learnt from the correspondence of the Heart with the Will, and of the Understanding with the Lungs. ||

"So great indeed is the similitude between the Heart and Charity and between the Lungs and Faith, that in the Spiritual World it is known by a person's breathing what is the nature of his Faith, and by the beating of his Heart what is the nature of his Charity."**

* No. 380.

† No. 382.

‡ No. 383.

§ No. 381.

|| No. 394.

** *Doctrine of Faith*, No. 19.

That Love or Will is the essential in Man, is discovered in the fact, "that the Heart is the first and last organ which acts in the body. That it is the first, is evident from the foetus, and that it is the last, is evident from dying persons.*

"It has been made known to me from much experience in the Spiritual World, that a man from head to foot, or from the first things in his brain to the last in his body, is such as his Will is."†

That the Will however is impotent without the Understanding, is evident from the same circumstances; for the embryo is helpless and senseless until its Lungs come into play, and though the Heart keeps moving in swoons and suspended respiration, the body lies powerless. In the same way the Will has no sensitive nor active life without the Understanding: Affection without Thought is blind: Wisdom is the light in which Love sees.‡

As the blood is purified in the Lungs, so the affections of the Will are purified by truth in the Understanding.

Under this head Swedenborg makes a curious statement. Of course (in 1763) he knew nothing of oxygen, and how the blood in the Lungs absorbs it from the atmosphere, and voids carbonic acid: his notion of the process of respiration was, that the blood derived nutrition, not from the air itself, but from a variety of exhalations mechanically present in the air—

"That the blood nourishes itself with suitable matters from the air inspired, is evident from the immense abundance of odours and exhalations that are continually issuing from shrubberies, gardens, and plantations; and from the immense quantity of salts of various kinds issuing with water from land, rivers, and lakes; and from the immense quantity of human and animal exhalations and effluvia with which the air is impregnated. That these enter the Lungs with the air, cannot be denied; and as this is the case, it cannot be denied that the blood attracts therefrom such things as are serviceable to it, and those things are serviceable *which correspond to the Breather's love*. Hence in the inmost parts of the Lungs, there are multitudes of veins

* No. 399.

† No. 369.

‡ Nos. 401, 406, 407, and 409.

with little mouths which absorb such things; and hence the blood returned into the left ventricle of the Heart is changed into arterial and florid blood. These considerations prove that the blood nourishes itself from homogeneous matters.”*

A point to be noted is, that the absorption of these exhalations is made dependent on the breather's character—

“That the blood in the Lungs purifies and nourishes itself correspondently to the affections of the Mind, is not yet known, but it is very well known in the Spiritual World; for the Angels are delighted only with odours which correspond to the love of their wisdom; whereas the Spirits in Hell are delighted only with odours which correspond to some love in opposition to wisdom. That men on Earth impregnate their blood with matters in correspondence with the affections of their loves, follows of consequence; for what a man loves, that, according to correspondence, his blood craves, and attracts in respiration.”†

There is in every Man a two-fold respiration, for he is an inhabitant of two worlds—of Nature and of Spirit. As to his Will, he is in Heaven or in Hell, and he interiorly respire in a celestial or an infernal atmosphere:‡ and there is a constant tendency to bring the double respiration into harmony. The Evil therefore have a secret affinity for foul air and stench, and the Good for pure air and fragrance. Hence there is as wide a difference between the bloods of the Good and Evil as between their characters.

This statement may meet with summary rejection, but perhaps unwisely. It is by no means irreconcilable with the subsequent discovery of the nutrition of the blood by oxygen: it is no more difficult for the Evil to pervert oxygen into unity with their depravity than it is for hemlock to turn sunshine to poison, or wasps honey to venom. Moreover our physiologists take far too little account of the exhalations, mineral, vegetable and animal, present in the purest air. How is it that we find people in town and country thriving under conditions which, according to sanitary law, ought to ensure disease and death? Swedenborg's doctrine gives a clue to a mystery

* No. 420.

† No. 420.

‡ No. 393.

which may be vainly sought in Combe or Southwood Smith. What are called "the laws of health," are broken in a multitude of anomalies. How many are the eccentricities expressed in the adage, "One man's meat is another's poison," which physiologists only perceive to evade!

The correspondence between the Heart and the Will and the Lungs and the Understanding might be pursued through all the intricacies of anatomy, and only to add confirmation to the truth, that the Will is the master of the Understanding, that the Understanding does nothing of itself, and yet that the Will perceives nothing, nor can do anything except by the Understanding.* All tends to enforce that conclusion which Swedenborg iterates through book after book, that such as a Man's Love is, such is his Faith.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE. †

THE *Divine Providence* is a continuation of the *Divine Love and Wisdom*: it is a description of the administration of that Love by that Wisdom.

The question dealt with is not an easy one, for it involves the reversal of our most vivid and familiar sensations, and is therefore as difficult to the mind governed by sensation as the admission that the earth revolves round the sun, that the earth is a ball, and that to our antipodes, land and sea and sky are just as they are to us.

The terms of the question are these—I. That God is Life alone. II. That Man, as His Creature, is dead. III. That Man is an organ recipient of God—that is of Life. IV. That Man, in this reception and vivification by God, *feels* that he lives of himself even as God lives of Himself

* No. 412.

† *Sapientia Angelica de Divina Providentia*. Amstelodami: 1764. 4to, pp. 214.

in perfect independence. V. That his confirmation of the *sensation* of independence as a *reality* is the beginning and consummation of all evil. VI. That it is the office of Revelation to correct the fallacy from sensation. VII. That the fullest faith in Revelation does not nullify the sensation of independence; on the contrary, in the highest Angels the sensation is vividest, but accompanied by the clear scientific confession that the sensation is nothing but the sweetest *gift* of the Divine Love.

These terms are strewn over Swedenborg's works: there is scarcely a page on which in one shape or other they may not be found. Take two or three—

"God alone acts, and Man suffers himself to be acted on, and re-acts in all appearance from himself, though really from God."*

"I heard a voice from Heaven saying, that if a spark of life in Man was his own, and not of God in him, there would be neither Heaven nor Church nor Life eternal."†

"A Man has no other sensation than that he loves and thinks out of private energy, when nevertheless he has not any power of his own, but all from God."‡

"Man was so created that whatever he wills, thinks and does *appears* to originate in himself. Without this *appearance*, he would not be Man, nor could he experience conjunction with God, nor enter into eternal life; but if he is deceived by the *appearance*—if he fancies that he wills, thinks, and does good from himself—then he turns good into evil. This was the sin of Adam; this is the origin of evil."§

"Lest Man should ascribe life to himself, the Lord *reveals* that all the Love which is called Good, and all the Wisdom which is called Truth, is not Man's, but His."||

"The more exquisitely the Angels perceive themselves to be led by the Lord, so much the more freedom do they enjoy. I have been in a similar case for many years, and I

* *Intercourse between Soul and Body*, No. 14.

† *Ib.*, No. 11; and *Divine Providence*, No. 293.

‡ *Conjugal Love*, No. 132.

§ *Ib.*, No. 444.

|| *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 394.

am fully convinced that I neither will nor think anything from myself, but that it appears as from myself: and it is given me to desire and love that it be so." *

In these expressions is comprised the very essence of Swedenborg's message to mankind. The treatise we now open consists of many illustrations of this asserted relation between God and Man, and resolutions of difficulties connected therewith. The method pursued in the arrangement of the matter is not very obvious: I shall try to present what is new, and avoid as far as possible what we have had before.

The motive for the publication is thus described—

"It is known that there is a Divine Providence, but what is its nature is not known; and the reason is, that its Laws are secret, and hid in wisdom among the Angels; but they are now to be revealed, so that what belongs to the Lord may be ascribed to Him, and Man cease to claim what is not his: for most people attribute all things to themselves, or to their own prudence; or what they cannot so attribute, they call accidents and contingencies; not knowing that human prudence is nothing, and that accidents and contingencies are vain words." †

"The Divine Providence of the Lord has for its end a Heaven out of the Human Race"—

God, as He is Love, is Creator, and the communication of His own felicity to His creatures is His passion. Unless it were so, His designation of Love would be meaningless; for consider the operation of Love: Is it not its constant effort to make its own another's and to receive its satisfaction in the other's delight? Love in any other sense is inconceivable. From the experience of our own hearts, whose tiny and feeble glow is yet fed from the Divine Fire, we know that such is Love; and rightly infer, How much more must it be so in Him who is Infinite Love! ‡

* *Divine Providence*, No. 158; also No. 42; and *Arcana Cælestia*, No. 2891.

† No. 70.

‡ No. 27: Jesus said, "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in Heaven give good things to them that ask Him?"

He therefore creates Man that from the produce of myriads and myriads of Earths, He may enlarge Heaven to eternity, and yield it the treasures of His exhaustless heart. As Henry James observes, "Affection in proportion to its tenderness or vivacity seeks a perpetual gratification: *i. e.*, desires to be unsatisfied. The very life of it lies in seeking and never accomplishing."

Theologians commonly speak of Heaven as if it was a gift as of a purse or an estate: far otherwise Swedenborg: with him it is the marriage of the Creator with the Creature—

"The Lord not only is in Heaven, but *is* Heaven. Love and wisdom make an Angel, and these two are the Lord's in an Angel; hence the Lord is Heaven.

"Heaven is not Heaven from the Angels, but from the Lord: the love and wisdom in them *seems* to be their own, but it is from the Lord, and is *really* the Lord in them."*

This conjunction—this communication of the Creator to the Creature is the origin of all heavenly happiness; and the more fully the Lord is received by an Angel, the more exquisite is his freedom and felicity.

Whilst he is happiest who loves most, that is, who is the most capacious receptacle of the Divine Love, every one in Heaven is happy to the limit of his capacity—

"It therefore makes no difference whether a person be in such joy as is experienced by the Angels of the Highest or the Lowest Heaven, since every one who is received into Heaven, enters into the full joy of his heart. More he could not endure; more would suffocate him.

"The case is similar to that of a Husbandman and a King. A new suit of coarse worsted and a table furnished with plain and wholesome viands would perfectly content the Husbandman; whilst he would be distressed if clad like a King in purple and silk and gold and silver, and placed at a table laden with costly delicacies and generous wines."†

"The Divine Providence of the Lord in all that it does has respect to what is Infinite and Eternal"—

* Nos. 28 and 31; and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 114. † No. 254.

God cannot create Himself, but only what is not Himself, namely, the Finite; and, as has been said, it is the divine passion to animate the Finite with Himself, and to reproduce in it His own Image and Likeness—a work ever progressive and never to be accomplished. Hence we discover in the immensity, the prolificacy, and the variety of the Finite a perpetual strain after the expression of the Infinite and the Eternal.

“It is a Law of the Divine Providence, that a Man should act from Liberty according to Reason.”

By Liberty is meant the Freedom of Love—

“All Liberty is of Love, insomuch that Love and Liberty are one; and since Love is the Life of Man, Liberty is inherent in his Life; for every delight enjoyed by Man is from his Love; and to act from the delight of Love is to act from Liberty: delight leads Man as a river bears away what floats on its stream.”*

This opinion concerning Liberty is noteworthy. Many speak of Free Will as if it were a distinct faculty in Human Nature whereby a Man may do or become anything conceivable. Swedenborg, on the other hand, identifies Liberty with Love, and limits it by the character of the Love. He asserts that Will is always free—that is, that Love always *feels* free—assigning to Freedom no extension or validity beyond sensation. A Devil, who is nothing but Self-Love, *feels* free. A Man, in whom Devil and Angel are struggling for mastery, painfully experiences a *double feeling* of freedom. An Angel, in whom that struggle has been consummated in the subjection of Self-Love to Brotherly Love, *feels* free.

This sense of free and independent existence, common to Man, Angel, and Devil, “constitutes the essential Human Principle.”† Without it Man would cease to be Man: on the one side he would lose his discrimination from God, and on the other from Nature; yet we are called to regard the sense as an illusion. Of nothing do we *feel* more certain

* No. 73.

† No. 98: “The Lord resides as Liberty and Rationality in every Man, be he good or wicked, and by them joins Himself to every Man.” No. 96.

than that we are free and independent; of nothing are we more *scientifically* certain than that our *feeling* is an inversion of the *reality*.

“Every one may see that the power of willing and thinking does not originate in Man, but in Him who has power itself, that is, in Him who is Power in its essence. Reflect: Whence is Power? Is it not in God? Power in itself is therefore Divine.”*

Power being God’s, its exhibition in us, as our own private self-derived force, can be nothing but an illusion. Of this Swedenborg assures us with many illustrations. The sense of freedom in the Will, which is Liberty, and in the Understanding, which is Rationality—

“Is from the Lord, and not from Man; and, as it is from the Lord, it follows that Man wills nothing from himself, and understands nothing from himself, but only *as it were from himself*.”†

For what end is the illusion? The answer is the reason of Creation: Since God cannot love Himself and yet must love, He finds His satisfaction in Man by yielding him His Life, and giving him to *feel* that he lives as He lives—

“The Lord’s desire is to be received by Man, to make His abode with him, and to give him the felicities of eternal life. It is this desire which induces the appearance that Man wills and acts, thinks and speaks out of his independent self.”‡

In his sense of independent life, Man perfects the Divine joy by reciprocating the Divine Love—

“Any one may see from reason, that there is no conjunction of mind with mind unless there be reciprocation. If one loves another and is not loved in return, then as one approaches the other retires; but if love is returned, then as one approaches so does the other, and conjunction is effected: for Love wills to be beloved, and as it is beloved, it is in itself and its joy.

“Hence it is evident that if the Lord only loved Man and was not in turn beloved, the Lord would approach and Man would retire; thus He would continually will to meet Man and enter into him, and Man would turn away and depart.

* No. 88.

† Nos. 88 and 89.

‡ No. 96.

By Heaven the Lord is thus beloved; by Hell He is thus rejected.”*

“It is a Law of the Divine Providence that a Man as from himself should remove Evils as Sins in the External Man, and that thus and no otherwise the Lord can remove Evils in the Internal Man, and then at the same time in the External.”

In support of this proposition we have the matter in the *Doctrine of Life* set forth anew—

“It is a Law of the Divine Providence that a Man should not be forced by external means to think and will, and so to believe and love the things which are of Religion; but that a Man should lead, and sometimes force himself to what is right.”

“The Lord guards Human Liberty as a man guards the apple of his eye.”†

It is a cry of impatience, “Why does not the Lord show Himself so that none could deny Him?” or as an atheist once put it, “If there be a God, why does He not write His name on the Sun, so that all might know that He is?” In divers ways our folly makes similar appeals for external guidance and authority. We are in doubt, and pray that the Lord would stand before us and say, “That is the path; take it and you are safe;” and we fancy we should instantly obey and be delivered from all our care: or, as I have heard it said, “Oh, if an Angel would only come and sit beside me and tell me all my faults, with what heart I should set about amendment!”

Such external, unquestionable guidance is not given; it is not in the Divine order. Why is it not in His order?

In the first place, because it would be useless. If we were approached from the outside by an infallible Authority, one of two things would happen—in the end one. If the Authority concurred with our Will, we should be mightily pleased with it; it was just what we thought; it prescribed exactly what we intended to do. In such case, the infallible Authority would prove itself superfluous, as we should have gone on quite as well without it. If the Authority ran

counter to our Will, and if it came clothed with charms or with terrors, we might bow to it; if without charms or terrors, we should find reason at once to reject it: but the influence of charms and terrors wears off with time, and by-and-bye the unconquerable Will would assert itself; it would prompt the Understanding to question this and then to deny that, and at last, in some access of courage from irritation, we should kick Authority out of doors. Thus we should end as we began—the same, because our Will was unchanged—

“A man may be compelled to say that he thinks and wills such and such things, but if they do not consort with his character, he neither thinks, wills, believes, nor loves them.”*

In the second place, external and unquestionable guidance is not given because it would not advance regeneration. “Nothing would be easier than for the Lord to compel Man to fear Him, to worship Him, yea, as it were, to love Him;”† but salvation does not consist in a correct attitude towards God, but in the possession of a Will whose activity is useful and benign towards every creature—a likeness in finite of Deity Himself. As external charms or terrors contribute nothing towards the development of such a Will they are not employed. Moreover if even they did contribute, they would be inadmissible as injurious to Man’s apparent independence. The new Will must be developed from within, and its energies break forth with no sense of intrusion, but as if entirely native to the breast.

For these reasons “no one is reformed by miracles or signs, by visions or converse with the dead, by threats or punishments, or by misfortunes or sickness.”‡

Miracles excite awe. “It cannot be denied that they strongly persuade that whatever their performer says is true; and thus the observer’s mind is fascinated and his ordinary judgment suspended; but faith so induced is not faith, but persuasion; there is in it nothing rational, still less spiritual.

* Nos. 129 and 136.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 2881.

‡ Nos. 130 to 138.

“Miracles may drive the Wicked into faith and piety, but only temporarily. Their lusts subdued quickly revive, and with recovered freedom, they resolve what they have witnessed into an illusion, or an artifice, or an operation of Nature.

“Besides, if miracles were to be wrought to convert those who do not believe in the Word, they would have to be wrought continually, and the last wonder capped with a greater.” *

Intercourse with Spirits is likewise ineffectual for good—

“Nevertheless speech with Spirits, though rarely with Angels, is allowed, and has been for ages back. When it is allowed, the Spirits speak with Man in his mother tongue, and only a few words. Those who speak by permission of the Lord never say anything which takes away rational freedom, nor do they teach; for the Lord alone teaches by illuminating the reader of the Word.” †

Here is a curious piece of autobiography—

“That this is the case has been made known to me by experience. I have conversed with Spirits and Angels for several years; nor durst any Spirit, neither would any Angel say anything to me, much less instruct me, about anything in the Word, or any doctrine from the Word. All I have received has been from the Lord alone. He appears before my eyes as the Sun in which He is, even as He appears to the Angels.” ‡

Threats and punishments, although they cannot produce good-will, are justifiable for the preservation of external order and the suppression of improper opinion—

“Every one, in Kingdoms where justice and judgment are preserved, is, and ought to be, restrained by threats and punishments from speaking and acting against the laws, religion, morals, and sanctities of the Church.” §

Swedenborg in such a matter was not the man to see beyond his generation; only he might have reflected that if “justice and judgment” had been enforced which “justice and judgment” never mean anything else than public

* Nos. 130, 131, and 133.

† No. 135.

‡ No. 135.

§ Nos. 129, 136, and 281.

opinion, wise or foolish, English or Spanish) he would have been a choice victim—his books burnt, and in the galleys or picking oakum find what leisure he could to talk with Spirits and meditate on the New Jerusalem.

The pious states frequently induced by misfortunes and sickness have no permanence.

“The Devil was ill—the Devil a monk would be.

The Devil got well—the devil a monk was he.”

In mental and physical distress some aim is defeated, and alarm is awakened about eternal life; but such solicitude, in one whose life is Self-Love, is not a whit more respectable than any other worldly anxiety. However sanctimonious its whine, there is nothing heavenly in Self-Love—

“The reason why no one is reformed in sickness is because the Mind is not then free; for the state of the Mind depends on that of the Body. When the Body is sick the Mind is sick. If any one dies in sickness, he becomes in the Spiritual World just what he was before his illness. Hence it is vain to think a person can repent or receive any faith on a sick-bed.*

“A Man cannot be conjoined to the Lord unless he be spiritual; nor can he be spiritual unless he be rational, nor rational unless his Body be in a sound state. These things are like a house: the Body is the foundation, Reason, the superstructure, Spirit, the furniture, and Conjunction with the Lord, inhabitation. †

“The reason why no one is reformed in a state of misfortune is because it is a state of constraint; and when the sufferer comes into a state of liberty, he returns to his indifference about God. ‡

Unable to be forced into Goodness from without, “it is not contrary to rationality and liberty for a man to force himself.” § Brotherly Love has to subdue Self-Love to its service, and the contest is often long and severe—

“It is a Law of the Divine Providence that a Man should be led and taught from the Lord out of Heaven by the Word,

* No. 142.

‡ No. 140.

† *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 330.

§ No. 145.

and by Doctrine and Preaching from the Word, and this in all appearance as from himself."

Swedenborg does not scruple to lead his reader over the same ground again and again and again, and though I desire to represent him fairly, it will scarcely be allowed that the tedium of his repetitions should be too faithfully reproduced. Be it said once more however, that as Man is nothing but a lifeless receptacle, the activity in him described as "leading and teaching" is necessarily the Lord's—

"He lives from the Lord alone. In appearance he is led and taught from himself, but in reality from the Lord only.

"The Love and Wisdom which occupy Man's Will and Understanding cannot exist from Man, but from Him who is Love and Wisdom—that is, from Jehovah. If it were not so, Man would be Love itself and Wisdom itself, and therefore God from eternity—a conclusion from which reason shrinks with horror."*

The Divine activity is not betrayed to consciousness—

"No one knows how the Lord leads and teaches him internally, any more than he knows how his soul operates in order that the eye may see, the ear hear, the tongue and mouth speak, the heart impel the blood, the lungs respire, the stomach digest, the liver and pancreas distribute, the kidneys secrete, and innumerable other things. These processes do not come within his perception and sensation, and they all correspond to Divine operations in the interiors of the Mind, which are infinitely more complex than those of the Body."†

Granted God absolute within, How is He represented externally in that outer sphere of Consciousness wherein Man seems to himself lord supreme, wherein his *sense* of independence and isolation is so vivid that it is possible for him to question and even deny the Divine existence?

It is Swedenborg's opinion that Man, if left to his Consciousness, could never know God—that naturally he is an atheist. Hence the necessity of Revelation—the knowledge of God and His Laws conveyed *ab extra* to that atheistic Consciousness.

* Nos. 154, 153, and 157.

† No. 174.

Lest the Revelation of God and His purposes should overawe, oppress, or injure Man's sense of independence and violate the appearance that he lives of himself (*in which appearance his Manhood consists*) it is effected in the least pretentious forms—in Christ the carpenter and the homely Scriptures of story and prophecy—forms which it is easy to reject and despise—

“The Lord compels no one, nor urges any against his will, as a man drives an ox with a whip; but He draws him that is willing, and afterwards leads him continually, and with such gentleness that it seems as if he moved of himself.”*

In Revelation then God is outwardly present to Man, but present, as said, in a guise so humble and so kindred with what is ordinary, that He exerts no pressure on his freedom—naught to whom He is naught, precious and powerful to those who bring an answering condition.

The Divine leadership within is thus based and embodied in external Revelation. Knowledge of God and His Laws is derived from the Word, and is diffused by preaching, by literature, by conversation. In a myriad ways external truths matching internal influences are brought together,† and in their conflux it comes to pass that whilst “Man is taught of the Lord by the Word, and thus immediately from the Lord alone,” *yet to sensation* “he is led and taught as of himself.”‡

“It is a Law of the Divine Providence that a Man should not perceive and feel anything of the operation of the Divine Providence, but yet should know and acknowledge it.”

“The Lord leads all, and a Man does not lead himself except in appearance. If Man had a lively perception and sensation of being led, he would have no self-consciousness, and would hardly differ from a puppet. Supposing him however conscious of life, he would be like one bound hand and foot, or like a horse driven in a cart.”§

If events were foreknown, Human Life would lose its zest. Whatever a Man loves he desires to effect by means of Reason—

* *Coronis*, No. 20.

‡ Nos. 171 and 174.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 2557.

§ No. 176.

"If he knew the effect or event from divine prediction, Reason would become quiescent, and with Reason, Love; for Love with Reason terminates in the effect, and from that begins anew. It is the very joy of Life to anticipate the effect—to disregard the present except as a step to the future. Hence we have Hope, which in Reason increases or decreases as it sees or expects the event. Delight is fulfilled in the event and obliterated in the fulfilment. If therefore events were foreknown, delight would be impossible, and the spur to activity taken away." *

Another reason for the concealment of the Divine Providence is, that it is adverse to human nature—

"It never acts in unity with Man's Will, but continually against it; for a Man from his hereditary evil always pants towards the lowest Hell, whereas the Lord's Providence continually withholds him, and draws him thence, first to a milder Hell, then from Hell, and, lastly, to Himself in Heaven.

"This operation is perpetual; wherefore if a man knew and saw that the Lord acted against his life's love, he could not but run counter to it, blaspheme and deny it. To prevent this, the Lord conceals His Providence, and tacitly controls Man as an imperceptible current does a ship." †

Whilst the Lord with sedulous design hides Himself from Human Consciousness, it is the duty and the joy of the Spiritual Man to see and confess His Providence "in the Universe and in every particular thereof. If he looks at natural things he sees it, if he looks at civil things he sees it, if he looks at spiritual things he sees it." ‡ He cannot define or indicate its action in contemporary affairs, yet he trusts it, and when the present retreats into the past, then the Divine Hand becomes manifest—"Providence is seen on the back and not in the face; it is seen after and not before." §

"Prudence derived from Self is nothing of itself; it only appears to be something, and so it ought to appear; but the Divine Providence is in the least particulars, and so is universal."

* No. 178; also No. 335.

‡ No. 189.

† Nos. 183, 186, and 211.

§ No 187.

It might be safely asserted of the humblest individual, that his *sense* of his own importance is in vast excess of the fact. The influx of the Divine to the Finite is so unstinted and intense, that it conveys to the recipient a feeling of such utter personal independence, that it is difficult with all aid from the science of Revelation to correct the instinct of appropriation—to confess heartily that the *feeling* of independent being is no more than an illusion.

Prudence with Swedenborg is the designation of our Intellectual Consciousness—of whatever Wisdom, Intelligence, or Common Sense we possess, or fancy we possess.

Whence is Prudence? True Prudence is a manifestation of the Divine Wisdom under the limits of the Human Understanding. What then should we think of Prudence? That it is a Divine communication, and only in appearance a Man's own: as Elihu testified, "*The inspiration of the Almighty giveth him Understanding.*" From this ascription of Prudence to God, the World, instructed by Sense, revolts, and the Church, instructed by Revelation, justifies—

"Either what the Church teaches, that all Wisdom and Prudence is from God, must be true, or what the World assumes, that all Wisdom and Prudence is from Man. Can they be reconciled in any other way than by saying, that what the Church teaches is true, and that what the World assumes is an appearance?" *

Under Nature and Prudence the Evil comprise the government of the Universe—

"They ascribe all things to Nature and their own Prudence, and deny God in their hearts. If they hear it stated that Prudence apart from God is nothing, they laugh as absolute atheists. It may indeed be, that they have a selfish advantage in piety; in such case, they will assent to the Divine recognition, but hypocritically." †

To him who accepts *sensations* for *realities*, our Author offers this challenge—

"Write, I pray you, two books (I speak this to the Natural Man), one in favour of Prudence from Self, and

* No. 191.

† Nos. 197, 201, 205, and 210.

another in favour of Nature, and fill them with your most plausible and able arguments; and, when you have done, place them in the hands of any Angel. His verdict I know will be—

“THEY ARE A TISSUE OF APPEARANCES AND FALLACIES.” *

As any one advances in the regenerate life, that is to say, as the Loves of God and the Neighbour obtain ascendancy, the recognition of the Divine Providence grows possible and pleasant. † He discovers that the sphere of his Prudence is as narrow as it is superficial, and that on every side he is encompassed by an order incessant, omnipotent, inscrutable. He reflects for instance, “that he knows nothing of what is transacted in the interiors of his mind, which interiors in their complexity are inexpressible by numbers; and yet that the few exteriors in which his consciousness resides, are derived and governed by the Lord from these unknown interiors.” ‡ Confident in his Lord’s love, “he knows that every one is educated by Him from birth to death for some function in the Grand Man.” Much in that process of education seems obscure, but he charges the obscurity to the limit of his own vision. From many aspects “the ever progressive, the ever enlarging Divine Work—a Heaven from the Human Race—can appear no otherwise than as the scattered heaps of the builder of a palace to a hasty passer by.” §

Nor does this happy faith induce in its possessor either indifference or idleness; for admitting that it is the Divine Will that he should live *as* of himself, and the better he is, the more thoroughly *as* of himself, he is prudent with more than the Prudence of the worldling; but in his Prudence he has no conceit, for he thankfully refers its excellence to God—that it is His Wisdom reduced in his Understanding to the necessities of his vocation. ||

“The Divine Providence has respect to things eternal, and not to things temporary, except so far as they accord with things eternal.”

This proposition is involved in the common consolation

* No. 213.

† No. 208.

‡ Nos. 199 and 200.

§ No. 203.

|| Nos. 210 and 310.

administered in Christendom to those who are in poverty and distress. It is suggested by our Saviour's question, "*What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*" and is set forth in Paul's assurance to the Corinthians, "*Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.*"

Eternal things are those of the Mind; temporal things are those of the Body and the World; and the latter are subordinated in the Lord's Providence to the former. He has no satisfaction in the temporal affliction of any of His children; His pity is ever in infinite excess of their sorrow; but if suffering will tend in any degree to their eternal advantage, in His very mercy He will not spare them. What is outward abundance without inward worth, grandeur without peace, wealth without love, health without activity! All outward abundance the Lord would give us as He gives His Angels, but with it He would conjoin inward worth, apart from which outward abundance is as apples of Sodom.

"A Man is not admitted interiorly into the Truths of Faith and the Goods of Charity, except so far as he can be kept in them to the end of his life."

There is nothing more carefully provided for under Divine Order than the division of Good and Evil—that Heaven be Heaven and Hell Hell, with "a great gulf between." As we move on in life we advance towards unity of character; and at death, or soon after, we are revealed as pronounced Angels or Devils.

This Order is however liable to certain infractions. A Devil (that is, one in whom Self-Love is predominant) may advocate Truth with bewitching fervour—

"In such a case it may appear as if the advocate really loved Wisdom; but he loves Wisdom no otherwise than an adulterer loves a noble courtesan, to whom he renders flattery and gifts of rich raiment, but when at home thinks

within himself, she is nothing but a strumpet, and I shall cast her off whenever she ceases to please me." *

Profanation is a sin which only those commit who receive the Truth and afterwards deny it. The Heathen in their ignorance cannot profane Truth, nor the Jews who never acknowledge it, nor the impious who deny God and scoff at sacred things, but have never entered into affectionate relations with them. †

Profanation is of various intensities, some light and some grievous. The worst is that of "those who first acknowledge Divine Truths and live according to them, and afterwards recede from and deny them." ‡ These so mix things heavenly and infernal, that they cannot be separated without the destruction of their humanity. They are fit for neither Heaven nor Hell, and it is their doom to flit between them. Of all conditions theirs is the most damnable. They are the Laodiceans of whom the Lord says, "*I would thou wert cold or hot: so then because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.*"

"Such profaners after death live in delirium. They imagine themselves to be flying on high, and when at rest play with phantasies as realities. They are no longer men, and are not spoken of as he or she, but *it*. When seen in heavenly light, they appear as skeletons, some of a bony colour, some fiery, and some dry." §

It is better therefore that we should never enter the regenerate life, than relapse and confound the heavenly structure with the infernal: in the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "*It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh and put Him to an open shame.*"

Salvation is accomplished whenever Man does good and

* No. 225.

+ Nos. 228 and 229.

‡ No. 231.

§ Nos. 226, 227, and 231.

speaks truth as of himself, with the scientific acknowledgment that he does both from God. In effecting this salvation God has to deal very tenderly, "directing, turning and disposing His Creature at every instant, withdrawing him from evil and leading him to good;" and, whilst thus controlling him "in the most minute particulars of his thoughts and actions," never once breaking in upon his apparent independence. "This cannot be done without permitting Evil." If then we would know why Evil is permitted, Behold the reason. *

As is well known, the existence of Evil is the grand argument against the Divine Providence—If God is good and omnipotent, why does He suffer Evil?—so the cavil runs in a multitude of forms: and it might be partially answered by asserting, that an eminent use of Evil is that it stimulates such inquiry, and thereby lends new vivacity to that sense of independent Consciousness which discriminates the Creature from the Creator.

"I. Every worshipper of Self and Nature confirms himself against the Divine Providence when he sees so many impious persons in the world, some of whom glory in their impieties, and nevertheless receive no punishment from God; and still more, when he sees wicked contrivances, cunning and deceit succeed against the pious and sincere; and that injustice triumphs over justice in law and the affairs of life.

"II. When he sees the impious promoted to honours and made nobles and primates; that moreover they abound in wealth, and live in elegance and magnificence, whilst the worshippers of God remain in contempt and poverty.

"Such a person regards honours and riches as supreme felicities. Are they so? Does happiness keep pace with their increase? After one has been a nobleman, or even king or emperor, for a year, Does the dignity not seem common? Does its possession dilate the heart as in the first hours of enjoyment? May it not have changed to a grievous burden? Is not a servant or husbandman, who is prosperous and contented in his lot, more enviable? Who

* Nos. 234 and 240.

is more restless at heart, more frequently fretted, and more bitterly enraged than a lover of himself?

“We shall here adjoin a few observations as to why the Divine Providence permits the Wicked to rise to dignities and acquire wealth. The fact is, they can be as useful as the Good, yea more useful, for they see themselves in their work, and according to the heat of their lust, so is their activity.

“The Lord rules the Wicked who are dignitaries by their passion for fame, and excites them thereby to serve the church, their nation, city, or community: for the Lord’s Kingdom is a Kingdom of Uses, and where there are only a few who are ready to be useful for the sake of usefulness, He causes Self-seekers to be advanced to offices of eminence, wherein they gratify their lusts in the public service.

“Suppose there was an Infernal Kingdom on Earth (there is not) in which Self-Love, which is the Devil, had perfect sway, Would not every member do his duty with greater vigour than in any other Kingdom? All would have in their mouths the public good, and in their hearts nothing but their own good.

“Inquire everywhere, and see how many at this day are governed by aught else than the Loves of Self and the World. You will scarcely find fifty in a thousand who are moved by the Love of God, and of these fifty only a few who care for distinction. Since then there are so few who are ruled by the Love of God, and so many by the Love of Self, and since Infernal Love is more productive of Uses than Heavenly Love, Why should any one confirm himself against the Divine Providence because the Wicked are in greater opulence and eminence than the Good?”*

Did ever Hell receive such recognition? Did ever political economist open up such scope for selfishness? To the amplitude and force of the infernal element in Humanity, Swedenborg bears emphatic testimony—

“The delight of Self-Love exceeds every delight in the world. I was let into it, that I might know it. It was a delight of the whole mind from its inmost to its outmost

* No. 250; and *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 6481.

faculties, but was only felt in the body as a certain pleasure and gladness swelling in the breast.”*

One of the hopeful signs of this age is, that we are discovering self-interest to be coincident with social interest, that he who would enrich himself can do so most effectually by enriching others, that liberality is the broad way to prosperity. In the vigorous language of Henry James—

“The Devil has hitherto had the most niggardly appreciation at our hands, because in our ignorance of God’s stupendous designs of mercy on Earth, or of His creative achievements in Human Nature, we have supposed the Devil to be an utter outcast of His Providence, a purely irrational quantity; nor ever dreamed, that it lay within the purpose and resources of the Divine Love to bind him to its own perfect allegiance. Yet so it is nevertheless. He has been from the beginning our only Heaven-appointed Churchman and Statesman, the very man of men for doing all that showy work of the world; namely, persuading, preaching, cajoling, governing, which is requisite to be done, and which is fitly paid by the honours and emoluments of the world. In our ignorant contempt of the Devil we have insisted upon making the Angel do this incongruous work; never suspecting that we were thus doing our best to promote his and our joint and equal discontent.

“The Devil is the born prince of this world, and a capital one he is, if we would let the Divine Wisdom have its way with him, which is not to ignore him, as our foolish sentimentalists prescribe, but to utilize him to the utmost: which He does by giving him the best places in the world, all the delights, all the honours and rewards of sense, that so he may put forth his marvellous fecundity of invention and production to deserve and secure them. This is what the Divine Providence has always sought to compass from the beginning; namely, to manumit the Devil, or bind him by his own lusts exclusively, which are the Love of Self and the Love of the World, to the joyous and eternal allegiance of Man. We, sage philosophers that we are,

* No. 215; *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 692; and *Divine Love and Wisdom*, No. 271.

have done our futile best to hinder the Divine ways by always thrusting the most incongruous and incompetent people into public affairs; and have consequently got the whole theory of administration so sophisticated as greatly to embarrass the right incumbent when he does arrive, and set him half the time talking the most irrelevant piety, instead of doing the sharp and satisfactory work which he is all the while itching to do. What sort of a Pope would Fenelon have made? And how would political interests thrive with the Apostle John at the head of affairs? I confess for my part I would bestow my vote upon General Jackson or Louis Napoleon any day, simply because they are, as I presume, very inferior men spiritually, and therefore incomparably better qualified for ruling other men, which is spiritually the lowest or least human of vocations.

“Let not my reader misconceive me. I have not the slightest idea of Hell as a transitory implication of human destiny, as an exhausted element of human progress. On the contrary, I conceive that the vital needs of human freedom exact its eternal perpetuity. I admit, nay I insist, that the Devil is fast becoming and will one day be a perfect gentleman; that he will wholly unlearn his nasty tricks of vice and crime, and become a model of sound morality, infusing an unwonted energy into the police department, and inflating public worship with an unprecedented pomp and magnificence. Otherwise, of course, I could not imagine why our Lord and Saviour, with a full knowledge of the character and tendencies of Judas Iscariot, yet chose him into the number of the sacred twelve, and intrusted him with the provision of His and their material welfare. Nevertheless the gentleman is infinitely short of the MAN; and however gentlemanly the Devil may infallibly grow, there he will stop, and leave the sacred heights of manhood unattempted.”*

“III. *When he considers that wars are permitted whereby so many are slaughtered and their possessions plundered.*

* *Substance and Shadow*, pp. 251 to 254.

"It is not of the Divine Providence that wars arise, for they involve murder, robbery, cruelty, and other frightful evils opposed to Christian charity.

"That wars however are governed by the Divine Providence is acknowledged by the spiritual, but not by the natural man, except when on a fast day he gives thanks for a victory, or when he utters a few pious ejaculations before entering into battle: when he returns to himself, he either ascribes success to the skill of the general, or to some unforeseen incident which decided the fortune of the day." *

"IV. When he thinks that victories declare on the side of Prudence, and not always on the side of Justice; and that it makes no difference whether the general be good or wicked.

"The reason why it seems as if victory declared on the side of Prudence is because Man judges from appearance, and identifies Justice with the party he favours: nor does he understand the connection of things past and future, which are known to the Lord alone.

"That it makes no difference whether the general be good or wicked is owing to the cause already assigned, namely, that the Wicked perform uses as well as the Good, and indeed, from the fire of their Love, more ardently than the Good; and especially in war, for a wicked general is more crafty in strategy; he thirsts for glory, and has pleasure in killing and plundering, whilst the zeal of a good general extends simply to defence, and but rarely to aggression. It is the same with Devils and Angels—the former assault, the latter defend. Hence may be deduced the conclusion, that it is allowable to defend one's country by wicked generals." †

Having dealt with these objections of the Worshipper of Self and of Nature, we are introduced to another series whereby "the merely Natural Man confirms himself against the Divine Providence—

"I. When he considers the Religions of various Nations, and that there are some who are totally ignorant of God,

* No. 251.

† No. 252.

some who adore the sun and moon, and some idols and graven images."

Denying "that Man by his own wit could ever discover God or Heaven or Hell," he asserts that the truths essential for salvation have been diffused throughout the Earth by commerce and tradition—

"The Lord provides that in every Religion there should be tenets similar to those in the decalogue, as that God should be worshipped, His name not profaned, that festivals should be observed, parents honoured, murder, adultery and theft not committed, and false witness not borne. The Nation which makes these precepts divine, and lives according to them, is saved; and most of the Nations, which are even remote from Christendom, consider these laws, not as civil, but divine, and hold them sacred.

"There are some tribes who are totally ignorant of God: these, if they have lived a moral life, are instructed after death by Angels, and in their moral life receive a spiritual principle." *

A use is assigned to diversities of Race and Religion which is by eminence original—

"Among the arcana of Heaven is this—that the Heaven of Angels is one Man, of which the Lord is the life and soul. Now this Divine Man is in all points perfect, internally and externally; consequently he has skins, membranes, bones and cartilages, but spiritual, not material. It is provided therefore by the Lord, that those whom the Gospel cannot reach, but only some Religion, may have a place in that Man as skin, membrane, bone and cartilage. As such they live as well as others in heavenly joy; for it makes no odds what is one's place in Heaven; every one who is received there is made happy to the limit of his capacity." †

"II. When he reflects upon the Mahometan Religion, and considers that it is received by so many kingdoms.

"That Mahometanism is more widely diffused than Christianity may be a matter of scandal to those who imagine that no one can be saved who is not born in a land where the Word is read and the Lord known, but it is

* No. 254.

† Nos. 254 and 326.

nothing of the kind to those who believe that all things are of the Divine Providence, and who search for the signs of that Providence and discover them.

“Mahometanism was raised up for the destruction of wide-spread idolatry. The Ancient Churches—the Churches anterior to the Lord’s advent were representative; and they delighted in setting forth the Unseen in things Seen. In process of time the Science of Correspondences was lost, and their posterity sank into the worship of the Seen and ignorance of the Unseen: thus originated the idolatries which filled the whole Earth—Asia and its islands, Africa and Europe.

“In order that these idolatries might be extirpated, it was permitted by the Divine Providence that a new Religion adapted to the genius of the Eastern Nations should be established, and that it should include some truth from both Testaments of the Word, so that they should have some knowledge of the Word ere they entered the Spiritual World. This was effected by Mahomet.

“Mahometans acknowledge the Lord to be the Son of God, the wisest of men, and the greatest of the prophets: most of them consider Him greater than Mahomet. The reason why they do not confess Him as God of Heaven and Earth is because the Eastern Nations think of God as the Creator of the Universe, and that *He* should descend to Earth as Man is to them incomprehensible.”

“III. *When he sees that the Christian Religion is received only in Europe, the smallest quarter of the habitable globe, and that there it is divided.*

“The reason why Christianity is only established in Europe is because it is not so well adapted to the genius of Eastern Nations as Mahometanism. For example: a Religion which forbids the possession of more than one wife cannot be received by those who for ages have been accustomed to polygamy.

“Nor does it signify whether Christianity be received by many or few. It is sufficient if there be a people who have the Word, and who, like the Europeans, can by universal

commerce diffuse its light. This may seem fiction, but it is fact.

“The reason why the Christian Religion is divided is because it is derived from the Letter of the Word, which consists for the most part of appearances of truth, which however invest genuine truth. As the Doctrine of the Church is drawn from the Letter, there could not but arise in the Church dissensions concerning its meaning; nevertheless throughout all controversy, the two essentials of the Church were preserved, namely, that the Word is holy and that the Lord is divine: wherefore Socinians are excluded from the Church, and those who deny the sanctity of the Word are not reputed Christians.”*

“IV. *Because in many Kingdoms where the Christian Religion is received, there are some who claim for themselves Divine Power, and desire to be worshipped as gods; and because they invoke Dead Men.*

“The reason why such things are permitted may be thus stated.

“It was necessary that the Christian Church should be established, and this was only practicable by means of zealous leaders; and zealous leaders were only to be had actuated by Self-Love.† By the fire of that Love they were excited to preach the Lord and teach the Word. By-and-bye they discovered they could rule the world by the Church, and gradually their Love magnified itself until it attained such dimensions that every Divine function was assumed, and the world excluded from access to God except through the priesthood.

“This could not be prevented by the Divine Providence, for had it been prevented, they would have proclaimed the Lord not to be God, and the Word not sacred, and would have become Arians or Socinians, and thus have destroyed the Church, which, whatever the character of its rulers, still exists among the people.

“Inasmuch as none can profane sacred things who are

* No. 256.

† We have here a repetition of the theory with which he would account for Paul's life, labours and sufferings. See p. 221, present volume.

ignorant of them, it was so ordered of the Lord by His Providence that this Church, devastated by Self-Love, should depart from His worship, invoke Dead Men, pray to their images, kiss their bones, prostrate themselves at their sepulchres, forbid the Word to be read, place sanctity in masses not understood by the vulgar, and sell salvation. That the Holy Supper might not be profaned, it was abrogated by its division.”*

“V. *From the circumstance that among those who profess the Christian Religion there are some who place salvation in certain words which they think and speak, and not in any good they do.*

“Such are those who make salvation consist in Faith, and not in a life of Charity, and who consequently separate Faith from Charity. They are described in the Word as Philistines, the Dragon, and the Goats.

“The Doctrine is closely confined to theologians. The greater part of those born within the Churches where Justification by Faith alone is received, do not enter into its mysteries; and when they hear their teachers discoursing about it, they imagine they are recommending a life according to the precepts of God in the Word. Every boy and girl is familiar with the Decalogue, and learns therein that evils are to be shunned as sins. The Athanasian Creed too is received throughout Christendom, and there it is distinctly stated that the Lord will come to judge the quick and the dead, when those *who have done good* will enter into everlasting life, and those *who have done evil* into everlasting fire.

“Thus *doing good* is everywhere taught; and this is of the Lord’s Providence, lest the common people should be seduced.”†

“VI. *Because there have been, and still are, so many heresies in Christendom, such as those of the Quakers, Moravians, Anabaptists and others.*”

Dissensions and heresies are inevitable; “but differences of opinion in matters of Faith would never have split the

* No. 257.

† No. 258; and *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 233 and 250.

Church into sections had its members lived in charity: differences would only have varied the Church, as light is varied into colours in beautiful objects, or as a variety of jewels constitutes the beauty of a crown.”*

“VII. *Because Judaism still continues.*

“The reason why the Jews persevere in denying the Lord is because they are of such a disposition that if they were to acknowledge His Divinity and the holy things of the Church, they would turn and profane them.

“The Jews are preserved for the sake of the Word in its original language, which they hold more sacred than Christians.”†

Finally he adduces a series of “doubts which may be inferred against a Divine Providence”—by a Swedenborgian—

“I. *Because Christendom worships God under Three Persons, which is Three Gods; and because heretofore they have not known that God is one in Person and Essence, in whom there is a Trinity, and that that God is the Lord.*

“II. *Because heretofore it was not known that in every particular of the Word there is a Spiritual Sense, and that therein its holiness consists.*

“III. *Because heretofore it was not known that the very essence of the Christian Religion consists in shunning evils as sins.*

“IV. *Because it was not known heretofore that a Man lives as a Man after death, and this was not discovered till now.*”

These doubts he meets in the ordinary way. The world was not ready for the Truth; had it been given earlier it would either have been rejected, or if received, profaned; “it is now first opened for the Lord’s New Church.”‡

The objections enumerated meet their complete answer in the assertion—

“*That all Evils are permitted for a certain end, which end is Salvation.*”

External disorder (sin, misery, disease in the individual and the community) is but the effect, sign and evidence of internal disorder—disorder in the Human Mind.

* No. 259.

† No. 260.

‡ No. 264.

How is disorder to be changed to order?

The answer comes—Correct the internal and the external will follow: Purify the fountain and the streams will be sweetened.

Very true; but, How will you correct the internal and purify the fountain?

The Root of Evil is in the Will; *“for from within, out of the Heart, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come from within.”*

Now of the Will, or the Heart, we have no consciousness until its volitions are manifested in thought and deed. We only discover the impurity of the fountain in the pollution of its streams; we only learn the condition of our Hearts through practical experience of the dismal catalogue recited by the Saviour.

See then why Evils are permitted—

“They are permitted that they may be seen and removed. If they were not brought to light they would be as poison in the blood and rottenness in the breast. A man can only be delivered from Hell by seeing he is there and desiring and striving, *as of himself*, to escape.”*

Therefore the use of Evil, with all its pains, is to provoke to Righteousness; and it is a consolation to reflect, that its function, whilst so eminent, is yet so limited. “Evil is essentially a narrow finite thing, thrown into obscurity in any comprehensive view of the universe. The amount of Evil massed together from every quarter must be held as small compared with the broad beneficence of Nature.”†

“The Divine Providence is equally with the Wicked and Good”—

An obvious inference: for if God is life and Man a dead form vivified by Him, it follows—

“That all he wills and thinks is from the Lord; nor can a wicked Man will or think from any other source”‡—

Consequently in the most unreserved sense, “the Divine Providence is equally with the Wicked and the Good.”

* Nos. 251, 278, and 281. † Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, p. 23. ‡ No. 157.

It will be objected that Evil is thus ascribed to God. "Not so," replies our Author; "not the least Evil is from the Lord, but all from Man." *

Granting that Man is a mere habitation of Life, he is a complex habitation. Broadly, he is divisible into Will and Understanding—the first the lodging of the Divine Love, the second of the Divine Wisdom. His Will is again divided into two storeys—an upper, in which the Divine Love is manifested as Love to Others, and a lower, in which the same Love is exhibited as the Love of Self and the World. In the Angel both storeys are astir with life; in the Devil the upper is closed and business confined to the lower.

Thus Swedenborg tries to evade the conclusion which would be forced upon him, that God is the origin of Evil. He is good and wise, and the same everywhere, but He is perverted, or rather, imperfectly exhibited, by the Wicked—

"That all a Man thinks and wills and says and does is from the Lord, and yet that He is not the cause of any one doing or thinking evil, may be illustrated by comparison. From the Sun flows heat and light, and they flow alike into trees which bear good and evil fruit. The forms into which the heat flows cause the difference; not the heat. The heat which hatches the eggs of owls and asps is the same which hatches those of doves and swans. It is similar with light, which is variegated in colours according to the forms in which it is received. There are beautiful and lively colours, and ugly and dull colours, but the light is the same. It is even so with the influx of the Lord as Love and Wisdom into the Human Mind." †

The inefficiency of this logic is apparent. A child would answer—But God made the owls and asps as well as the doves and swans. A glass may variegate light into disagreeable colours, and the fault is in the glass and not in the light, ‡ but we cannot forget that the light and the glass have a common origin.

The Wicked are not allowed to pervert the Divine

* No. 286. † Nos. 160, 292, and 327; *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 2888.

‡ No. 330.

Presence unrestrained. "They continually lead themselves into evils, but the Lord continually withdraws them from evils. His continual presence with the Wicked is a continual permission of evil, that they may be continually drawn out of it, which withdrawal is effected by a thousand most secret means." * Evil unmitigated and simply pernicious does not exist. The Hells are not left to their own devices, but are governed by the Lord through the Heavens—every Heavenly Society having an Infernal Antagonist on which it exhausts its influence.† Hell endures by reason of its government by Heaven and the subordination of its fires to usefulness. Were external restraints withdrawn, the Infernal Kingdom would lapse into nothingness.

"The Divine Providence appropriates neither Evil nor Good to any one, but the Prudence of Self-Love appropriates both."

If Man is no more than a recipient of life, it is plain that God can impute to him neither Good nor Evil.

"That all Good is from Heaven and all Evil from Hell, is not unknown on Earth. It is known to every one in the Church. What Priest does not teach that all Good is from God and none from Man? also, that the Devil infuses Evil into Man's thoughts, seduces him, and prompts him to wickedness? So likewise when any one speaks and acts well, it is said, he was led by God; or, if any one speaks or acts wickedly, that he was led by the Devil. This is the common language of the Church, but who believes it?" ‡

Few certainly, but Swedenborg implicitly. We have no more reason, he assures us, to charge ourselves with Good or Evil than we have to credit ourselves with the sensation of a fine landscape or a rainy day. All alike are sensations induced upon us—by no means originating within us—

"It cannot be denied that whatever a Man sees, hears, smells, tastes and feels comes by influx. Why not then what he thinks and wills? Is there any difference beyond the fact, that the Natural World operates on his bodily senses and the Spiritual World on his mental senses?

* No. 295.

† No. 300.

‡ No. 291; and *Athanasian Creed*, No. 35.

“A Man can think and will nothing from himself. All he thinks and wills, and thence speaks and does, is by influx—by influx from Heaven if it is good, and by influx from Hell if it is evil.”*

The Will and Understanding are only organs with higher functions than eyes and ears, and their behaviour is to be referred to two conditions—first, their organization, whether perfect or imperfect; and second, their circumstances.

Swedenborg's view of Human Nature is much the same as that of the Phrenologist. A Phrenologist, if shown the skull of a Devil, would say, here is the case of an instrument only adequate to the exhibition of the selfish passions—which we style Evil. If shown the skull of an Angel, he would perceive an instrument of larger scope; one in which whilst the selfish passions had their appropriate play were yet subordinate to the beneficent passions—which we style Good. The Phrenologist would say, granting the Devil's organization and certain circumstances, his conduct would inevitably be so and so; and granting the Angel's organization and certain circumstances, his conduct would be so and so. As a Philosopher, he regards the conduct of either as a necessity under the conditions, neither to be praised nor blamed. Hence—

“The Lord is as far from cursing or being angry with any one as is Heaven from Earth. Who can believe it possible that He who is omniscient and omnipotent, ruling the Universe by His Wisdom, and thus infinitely above all infirmities, can be angry with such poor miserable dust as men, who scarcely know anything they do, and can do nothing of themselves but evil?”†

In considering this matter we have to take into account the solidarity of Humanity. None of us are alone; we belong to a Grand Man in which no individual can serve for more than an infinitesimal item in some cell or tissue. As already remarked, our sensation of personal independence, whilst the most vivid, is the completest of illusions—

“No person whatever, Man, Devil or Angel, can will or

* Nos. 287 and 308.

† *Arcana Caelestia*, Nos. 223, 245, 592, and 1093.

think from himself, but from others, and they again from others, and all and each ultimately from the Lord.

“Without communication with Heaven and Hell, no Man could live for a moment. This was proved experimentally. The Spirits associated with me were a little removed, and instantly I began to expire; and should indeed have expired had not contact been restored.” *

Our life from God is modified by our organization into Angel or Devil, and according to our organization, we are interiorly associated with our kindred in Heaven or Hell—they acting on us and we re-acting on them—

“For several years I have observed the general sphere of influxes around me, which consists in a perpetual endeavour to do evil from the Hells on one side, and a perpetual endeavour to do good from the Lord on the other. By these opposing endeavours I have been kept in equilibrium. The like is the case with everybody. I have been informed *that the influx from Hell is nothing else than the Lord's influx perverted by the Evil.*” †

Turning this experience to practical purpose, he tells us—

“If we would believe, as is the truth, that everything good and true is from the Lord, and everything evil and false from Hell, we should neither appropriate good and make it meritorious, nor evil and make ourselves guilty.” ‡

Good people readily accept the first part of this advice; they shrink from making any claim to virtue; any love or wisdom they enjoy is thankfully ascribed to the indwelling of the Highest; but their infirmities they charge to themselves. Herein they err. They have no more reason to own the evil than the good—

“When the Lord granted that I should converse with Angels and Spirits, it was revealed to me from Heaven that if I willed good, it was from the Lord, and if evil, from Hell. Up to that time I imagined, in common with others, that volition and thought originated in myself.

“Afterwards, as soon as any evil stole into my will, or falsity into my understanding, I inquired whence it came,

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 2556, 2886, 5847, and 5849.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 6477.

‡ No. 320.

and it was discovered to me. Moreover I was permitted to speak with those who infused the matter, to rebuke them, and to drive them away. I have now enjoyed this perception for many years; yet I seem to myself in nowise different from other people: indeed, it is of the Divine Providence that every one should appear to think and will of himself.

“One Spirit can infuse his thoughts and affections into another Spirit, and the recipient perceive no otherwise than that which has entered into him is his own. I have seen this done a thousand times; I have done it myself a hundred times.

“Angels have been permitted to move my steps, words and actions at their pleasure, confirming me in the conviction that of myself I can do nothing.”*

It is no answer, that the Good Man *feels* the evil to be his own. Certainly he does; even so he *feels* the good to be his own, but none the less does he ascribe it to God. It is one of the choicest arts of Evil Spirits to deposit their mischief in the innocent, and then accuse them of innate possession. No one until he has tried can have any conception of the efficacy of turning on evil lusts and disowning them. The truth acts like a charm—

“I can add,” he writes, “my own daily experience. Evil Spirits often inject evils and falsities into me; but knowing the truth, I turn on those who inject them, and soon as they are detected they are driven away.”†

Whilst the Good may profit by this instruction, it will stand for so much nonsense to the Evil. Their Self-Love glories in the illusion of independence—

“Whilst all the Angels confess we can only think from the Lord, all the Spirits of Hell assert that no one can think from any other than himself. If even the truth were demonstrated to them, it would be useless; they would not receive it.

“Certain Spirits were permitted to perceive they were led by others, and their anger was kindled to such a degree that they became as it were beside themselves, saying, they

* Nos. 96, 290, and 312; and *Heaven and Hell*, No. 228.

† No. 312; and *Arcana Celestia*, No. 761.

would rather be kept in chains in Hell than not be allowed to think and act of themselves.”*

“The end of Creation is a Heaven out of the Human Race, and thence it is of the Divine Providence that every Man can be saved, and those are saved who acknowledge God and lead a good life.

“It is a Man’s own fault if he is not saved.

“All are predestined to Heaven and none to Hell.”

The chapter to which these sentences are texts, is as unsatisfactory as Arminianism itself. When in the same breath we are assured, “that all are predestined to Heaven and none to Hell,” and that there is a Hell from which myriads never return,† we feel we are entertained with quibbles. To assert that any one predestined to Heaven goes to Hell, is to use the word Predestination in a sense altogether strange and misleading.

Swedenborg indeed delivers us from the frightful Calvinistic notion that Souls are sent to Hell shrieking—driven where they hate and fear to go—

“No one who enters the Spiritual World is refused the liberty of ascending to Heaven; but the Evil Spirit who ascends palpitates at heart, labours in breathing, begins to expire, and writhes like a snake in the fire with anguish.”‡

Whoever goes to Hell, goes because he is a Devil, and the society and scenery there are congenial to his nature. His choice however does not exclude him from the Divine Love—

“The Divine Love is in every Man, the Wicked as well as the Good. He cannot act otherwise with them than as an earthly father with his children, but with infinitely greater tenderness. He cannot recede from any one, for all live from Him. It appears as if He receded from the Wicked, whereas it is the Wicked who seem to themselves to recede: He in His love still leads them.”§

Of the Gentiles he writes—

“To suppose any of the Human Race is predestined to be damned is a cruel heresy. It is cruel to think that

* No. 294; and *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 2889.

† No. 324.

‡ Nos. 277, 326, and 329.

§ Nos. 330 and 337.

the Lord, who is Love itself and Mercy itself, would suffer so vast a multitude to be born to end as Devils and Satans." *

This is no more than the discourse of good natured divines, orthodox and heretical, and unsatisfactory as familiar. We set the rhetorical multitude bound for Hell aside, and stake our concern on a single soul. If one only may be damned irretrievably, our shudders will not be increased by the multitude. No: vain is the philosophy which dissociates the responsibility of Creation from the Creator, and shoves its disasters, real or apparent, over to the Creature.

A hopeless Hell, thank God, has grown altogether incredible; and should Reason and Revelation alike fail to resolve the difficulties of Evil, past, present and future, then with Tennyson shall we at once profess our ignorance and faith—

“Behold, we know not anything;
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.

“That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete.”

“The Lord cannot act against the Laws of the Divine Providence, because to act against them would be to act against His Divine Love and His Divine Wisdom, consequently against Himself.”

The Universe is and exists from the Divine Love and Wisdom: the law and order which pervade it are therefore, if we choose to say so, God Himself.† Suggest a change in that law and order, and Swedenborg answers, “Impossible! Would you have God act against Himself?”

A Heaven out of the Human Race being the end of the Divine Providence, that end is pursued with unvaried method and order by means infinite in number and variety—

“Its operation in saving Man commences with his birth, continues to his death, and is prosecuted to eternity. The

* No. 330.

† No. 331.

Lord sees what man is, foresees what he desires to be, consequently what he will be, and therefore provides places for the Wicked in Hell, and for the Good in Heaven. Unless He did so, neither Heaven nor Hell could subsist—they would lapse into confusion.

“This may be illustrated by comparison: Suppose an archer was to shoot at a mark from whence a right line was drawn a mile beyond. If in shooting the arrow was to miss the mark by a nail’s breadth, it would at the end of the mile diverge immensely from the line.

“Such would be the case did not the Lord at every moment, even to the most minute point of time, have respect to eternity in foreseeing and providing for every one’s destination in Heaven or Hell. To Him the Future is present, and the Present eternal.

“The Divine Providence is moved in all things by pure Mercy; and in Mercy operates with the Evil and the Unjust as well as the Righteous. Mercy accompanies the Wicked in Hell, snatches them thence, strives with them there, and fights for them against the Devil. Thus likewise Mercy came into the World, and underwent temptations which were consummated on the Cross.”*

Many believe in instantaneous salvation—that the Lord by an exercise of arbitrary power introduces sinners to Heaven. This can never be; the notion originates in equal ignorance of God and Man. Man is a Heaven or a Hell according to his organization, and to transform that organization in an instant would be to destroy him. “It is said in Heaven, it would be easier to convert an owl into a dove, or a serpent into a lamb, than an Evil Spirit into an Angel.”†

Swedenborg completes his treatise with this tail-piece—

“Excuse my adding this relation to fill up the superfluous paper.

“Certain Spirits by permission ascended from Hell, and said to me—

“‘You have written a great deal from the Lord, write something from us.’

* Nos. 332, 333, 336, and 337.

† No. 338.

“ ‘What shall I write?’

“ ‘Write that every Spirit, whether he be good or evil, is in his own delight—the Good in the delight of his good, and the Evil in the delight of his evil.’

“ ‘What may your delight be?’

“ ‘Adultery, theft, fraud, falsehood.’

“ ‘What is the nature of those delights?’

“ ‘By others they are perceived as stench from excrement, from corpses, and from stagnant urine.’

“ ‘Are such stench delightful to you?’

“ ‘Most delightful.’

“ ‘Then you are like the unclean beasts which live in such filth.’

“ ‘If we are, we are; but such stench are the delights of our nostrils.’

“ ‘What more shall I write from you?’

“ ‘Write this: Every one is permitted to be in his own delight, even the most unclean, so called, provided he does not infest Good Spirits and Angels; but as we could not do otherwise than infest them, we were driven into Hell, where we suffer direfully.’

“ ‘Why did you infest the Good?’

“ ‘We could not help it. A certain fury invaded us when we saw an Angel, and felt the Divine sphere about him.’

“ ‘Then you are just like wild beasts’—

“ ‘On hearing this they were seized with rage like unto the fire of hatred, and to prevent their doing any mischief, they were remanded to Hell.’

CHAPTER XXXII.

GEORGE II. AND HIS BISHOPS.

SWEDENBORG may have resided in Amsterdam from 1762 to 1764: we have no clue to his movements. In 1765 he was at home in Stockholm, and the same year he visited England.

During a week's stay at Gottenburg, waiting for a vessel to Harwich, he met Gabriel Andrew Beyer, D.D., Professor of Greek Literature, and Member of the Consistory of Gottenburg—a meeting destined to affect for ever the current of Beyer's life.

He expected to find in Swedenborg a madman. To his surprise, he talked sensibly and showed no signs of mental infirmity. He therefore invited him to dinner next day along with Dr. Rosen.

After dinner Beyer said he would like to hear a full account of his doctrines. Swedenborg complied, and spoke out so clearly and wonderfully that both the clergymen were astonished. When he had ended, Beyer asked him to meet him next day at Mr. Wenngren's, and to favour him with the substance of his discourse in writing, that he might consider it attentively.

At the place appointed, Swedenborg met Beyer. Presenting the desired manuscript, he trembled and tears flowed down his cheeks, and said—

“Sir, from this time the Lord has introduced you into the society of Angels, and you are now surrounded by them.”

All present were affected. Swedenborg took his leave, and the following day embarked for England.

Beyer became a receiver of the Heavenly Doctrines, and through much obloquy held them stedfastly. He commenced an Index to Swedenborg's writings, which occupied him for thirteen years. When he had corrected its last sheet and dispatched it to his Amsterdam printer, he fell sick and in a few days died.

In London Swedenborg called at his bookseller's to see how his works had been selling. Finding few or none had gone, he exclaimed with more than usual warmth—

“Ah! de voil be not vordy of dem.” *

The blank indifference of the English to his works seems to have touched him keenly, and, as is common with disappointed people, he attributed to conspiracy what was mere matter of course; worst of all, he adduces evidence

* Goyder's *Life of Swedenborg*, p. xxviii.

from the Spiritual World for his absurd suspicion. He writes—

“I held a conversation in the Spiritual World with some English Bishops on certain treatises published in London in 1758 concerning *Heaven and Hell*, the *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*, the *Last Judgment*, the *White Horse*, and the *Earths in the Universe*; which treatises were presented to all the Bishops, and to many of the nobility. They admitted they had received them, but did not think them of any value, although they were skilfully written; and further, *that they had dissuaded every one as far as possible from reading them.*

“I asked the reason, when yet they contained arcana relating to Heaven and Hell and other important subjects, which were revealed by the Lord for the use of those who will be of His New Church, which is the New Jerusalem. They replied—

“‘What is that to us?’—

“And began to abuse them, *as they had done on Earth.* I heard them. Then were read to them these words from the Apocalypse—

“‘*And the sixth Angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up that the way of the Kings of the East might be prepared. And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the Beast, and out of the mouth of the False Prophet. For they are the spirits of Devils working miracles, which go forth unto the Kings of the Earth and of the whole World, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty*’—

“Which passage being explained, it was said they, and others like them, were the persons thus designated”—by the unclean spirits like frogs, I presume.

Let us see who were the Bishops who ‘thus conspired to extinguish our Author, and on whom he was thus revenged. He sent them his books in 1758, and is writing, at latest, in 1766. Eight years had intervened, and these had died—

MATTHEW HUTTON, Canterbury,	1758
ISAAC MADOX, Worcester,	1759
JOHN GILBERT, York,	1761
BENJAMIN HOADLY, Winchester,	1761
Latitudinarian <i>in excelsis</i> .	
THOMAS SHERLOCK, London,	1761
Hoadly's antagonist.	
GEORGE LAVINGTON, Exeter,	1762
A fiery foe of Methodists and Moravians.	
THOMAS HAYTER, London,	1762
Previously Bishop of Norwich.	
RICHARD OSBALDISTON, London,	1764
Previously Bishop of Carlisle.	
JOHN THOMAS, Salisbury,	1766

"This conversation with the Bishops was heard from Heaven by their King [George II.], the present King's grandfather. He asked, with some degree of warmth, what was the matter. One of the party, who had not acted in concert with them in the world, turned to the King and said—

"‘They whom you now see, thought on Earth, and therefore still think, of the Lord’s Divine Humanity as of the humanity of an ordinary man, and attributed all salvation and redemption to God the Father, and not to the Lord, except as to a cause for the sake of which salvation and redemption are effected; for they believe in God the Father and not in His Son, although they know from the Lord, *It is the will of the Father that they should believe in the Son, and that they who believe in the Son have eternal life, and that they who do not believe in the Son shall not see life.* Not to mention their rejection of charity as having any share in salvation, although charity exists from the Lord through Man as from Man.’”

Swedenborg was fortunate in his episcopal spokesman; for, had he not informed us, we might have mistaken the speech for his own: his service was not exhausted—

"Continuing his discourse with the King, he exposed the hierarchy which many of the Bishops assume and exercise; which they establish by the strict union of their order, and

maintain by spies and messengers, by conversation and correspondence, assisted by political authority; so that they are bound together like sticks in a faggot."

Whatever the failings of George II.'s Bishops, we should never have suspected them of a passion for spiritual dominion, accompanied by mutual regard and inquisitorial activity. On the contrary, we have always supposed their characteristics to have been lust for dignity, ease and income, indifference to duty, toleration of any heresy not too outrageous, of any immorality not too scandalous, of anything, in short, but the troublesome divine earnestness styled Methodism.

The accuser of his brethren reached a climax in the assertion that—

"By this hierarchy the works for the use of the New Jerusalem, although published in London and presented to them, *were so shamefully rejected as not even to be thought worthy of a place in their catalogues.*"

Why! the same works have been translated, printed, advertised, sold at cost price, distributed gratis, and lodged in public libraries, and the world behaves now very much as it did then—pays no heed to them whatever.

At this point George intervened—

"On hearing these things, the King was astonished; but more especially at the thoughts they entertained concerning the Lord, and concerning Charity, which is the very essence of Religion.

"The interiors of their mind and faith were then revealed by light from Heaven, on perceiving which the King exclaimed—

"'Get you hence! Alas! how is it possible for any one so to harden his heart against what relates to Heaven and Life Eternal!'"

George then inquired by what means the Clergy were kept in such complete subjection to the Bishops. In reply he received this extraordinary information regarding patronage in England—

"Every Bishop has the power of nominating within his diocese a single person to a living, subject to the King's

approbation, and not as in other kingdoms, three candidates. In consequence of this power, the Bishops are able to advance their dependents to honours and incomes, each in proportion to his obedience."*

For English readers this misrepresentation is too gross to require contradiction; for others it may be advisable to state, that though Bishops have livings in their gift, yet the right of nomination to the vast majority belongs to the laity—to the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, the Universities, and landowners. These nominate friends and favourites, and the Bishops accept them, whatever their private dislike or disapproval, if the nominees only comply with the requisite legal conditions.

This is not the only instance in which King George is brought on the stage as a Swedenborgian. Here is another case—

"I saw 600 English Clergy assembled. They prayed to the Lord that they might be allowed to ascend to a society of the superior Heaven. Their prayer was granted, and they ascended.

"To their great joy, on their entrance they saw their King—the present King's grandfather. He advanced towards two Bishops, whom he had known on Earth, and inquired—

"‘How came you here?’

"‘We made supplication to the Lord, and were permitted.’

"‘Why to the Lord, and not to God the Father?’

"‘We were instructed below to address ourselves to the Lord.’

"‘Did I not sometimes tell you on Earth that the Lord ought to be approached? and also that Charity is primary? What then did you answer concerning the Lord?’

"‘We said, that when the Father is approached, the Son likewise is approached.’

"The Angels who were about the King interposed—

"‘You are mistaken: you did not think so: nor is the Lord approached when application is made to the Father;

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 716.

but God the Father is approached when application is made to the Lord, because they are one, like soul and body. When a Man is addressed as to his body, which is seen, is not his soul also addressed, which is not seen ?'

"To these queries the Bishops were silent. The King then went up to them with a couple of presents in his hand, saying—

" 'These are gifts from Heaven.'

"They were celestial forms of gold which he was about to present to them, when a dusky cloud covered and separated them. They descended by the way they had come up, and wrote these things in a book." *

On what principle Swedenborg selected George II. for his heavenly champion passes comprehension. There was a poet Porteous who was bold enough to transfer the Defender of the Faith from his harem of ugly Germans to Heaven, but poetry holds a license to lie, and Porteous had a motive. As Thackeray puts the case—

"Here was a King who had neither dignity, learning, morals, nor wit; who tainted a great society by a bad example; who in youth, manhood, old age, was gross, low, and sensual; and Mr. Porteous, afterwards my Lord Bishop Porteous, says the Earth was not good enough for him, and that his only place was Heaven! Bravo, Mr. Porteous! The divine who wept these tears over George II.'s memory wore George III.'s lawn." †

But what interest could Swedenborg have in playing Porteous's game? Surely he never expected to conciliate king, court, or people by his clumsy tale!

Swedenborg's visit to London was brief. He was soon in Amsterdam, where he spent the winter, and in the spring of 1766 published there—

The Apocalypse Revealed, wherein are disclosed the Arcana there foretold, which have hitherto remained concealed.

As was his wont, he distributed copies liberally to Uni-

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 341.

† *Four Georges*: End of Lecture on George II.

versities and persons of distinction in Holland, England, Germany, France and Sweden.

At the same time he re-published—

A New Method of Finding the Longitude of Places, either on Land or at Sea, by Lunar Observations—first issued in 1721. After we have looked over the *Apocalypse Revealed*, we shall see the purpose of this reprint.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

APOCALYPSE REVEALED * AND EXPLAINED. †

IN the account of the Last Judgment, issued in 1758, it is written—

“Within two years an explication of the Apocalypse from beginning to end will be published.”

In pursuance of this promise, the *Apocalypse Explained* was written as far as Chapter xix., v. 10, and the title-page, with *Londini*, 1759, prepared, when for some unknown reason the work was set aside.

The *Apocalypse Revealed* made its appearance in 1766 six years after due. Whether in reference to it, or the *Apocalypse Explained*, we read—

“I heard a voice from Heaven, ‘Enter into your chamber and shut the door and apply to the work begun on the Apocalypse, and finish it within two years.’” ‡

* *Apocalypsis Revelata in qua deteguntur Arcana quæ ibi prædicta sunt, et hactenus recondita latuerunt.* Amstelodami: 1766. 4to, pp. 629.

From a hand-bill of 1766 it appears that the volume was sold in London, for 15s., “by E. Hart, Printer in Popping’s Court, Fleet Street; and by M. Lewis, in Pater-noster Row, near Cheapside.”

† *Apocalypsis Explicata secundum Sensum Spiritualem; ubi Revelantur Arcana quæ ibi prædicta, et hactenus recondita fuerent. Ex operibus posthumis Emanuelis Swedenborgii.* Londini: typis Roberti Hindmarsh, No. 32 Clerkenwell Close. In 4 vols. 4to. Vol. I., 1785; Vol. II., 1786; Vol. III., 1788; Vol. IV., 1789.

‡ *Confugal Love*, No. 522; published in 1768.

The second work is much inferior to the first: it is less diffuse, but is dry as a dictionary. The *Apocalypse Explained* abounds in extraordinary digressions, illustrative and miscellaneous, through which it is almost impossible to preserve the thread of apocalyptic exposition unbroken: but in these digressions are to be found some of the wisest and most happily expressed of Swedenborg's opinions. Unless the cost of publication hindered, I can scarcely imagine how he had the heart to replace it with the bony *Apocalypse Revealed*. The *Apocalypse Revealed* is not an abridgment of the *Explained*, but a new work. The drift of both is the same, but when we compare particular interpretation with particular interpretation, we discover not only variations, but differences irreconcilable. If, as he says, "the Lord alone taught and illuminated me," * it would be worth knowing how the differing interpretations are to be accounted for. People with Divine pretensions should never be surprised in undress. A more astute practitioner would have put the *Apocalypse Explained* in the fire when the *Revealed* was sent to press.

The Apocalypse is a prophetic book—prophetic of the Last Judgment of 1757. The events of that year in the World of Spirits are described throughout the prophecy.

Were we to follow Swedenborg through his exposition (had I the space and my reader the patience) we should have the story of the Last Judgment over again, with its details affixed to the sacred text. In brief—

The Seven Churches of Asia are the Good of Christendom.

Babylon and the Beasts are the Roman Catholics, whose religion, holy and splendid in externals, is profane and abominable within, contrived for dominion and animated by Devils.

Protestantism is the Dragon, whose principle of Faith Alone is a licence to sin and the creed of Satans.

Under these heads the peculiarities of Catholics and Protestants are dissected and denounced with pertinacious iteration. On them the Judgment was executed: their

* *Divine Providence*, No. 135.

communities in the World of Spirits were broken up: the Wicked were driven to their places in Hell, and the Good elevated to their places in Heaven.

The Good (signified by the Seven Churches) initiated the New Jerusalem in Heaven: Swedenborg by his writings was the manifestation of the City on Earth. *

“Do you believe that such is the resolution of the mystery of the Apocalypse? that John in Patmos saw in symbol what Swedenborg saw in fact?”

As to what Swedenborg says he witnessed in 1757, I have no right to an opinion, having no means of verification. My attitude in the case is that of Coleridge towards the ghost-seer—“That the man saw the ghost, I haven’t the slightest doubt; all I question is, whether the ghost was there to be seen.”

This however I may venture—Swedenborg’s interpretation of John’s vision seems the finest and completest ever offered. There is no reason why we may not accept his method, and reject his particular application. The merit of his key is, that it is a universal key. If it was contrived for an imaginary lock called 1757, it matters little, since it fits so many real ones.

The Apocalypse is the story of the trial and victory of Good in any and every Heart. The initial Good in that Heart is kindred to some Church in Asia; it is held in thralldom by some evil of Babylon, or some falsehood of the Dragon, and through many pains and final judgment, the Lord delivers the Good from its infernal adversaries, and owns it for Jerusalem, His bride and joy.

A friend has sent me a work wherein it is maintained that the Apocalypse was written in the first half of the first century, and was a prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem, the end of the Jewish economy, and the commencement of the Christian dispensation under the figure of the New Jerusalem. Probably that was John’s interpretation of the vision. The Apocalypse will bear that application perfectly—and any number besides. As long as there remains a Man

* *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 62, 91, and 258.

or Nation to be redeemed by Christ Jesus, we may discover in the Revelation a symbol of the process.

It will be said that Swedenborg gives no warrant for this latitude of interpretation—that he regards himself as the exclusive fulfilment of John. True; but if in the letter he affords no sanction to our enlargement, he does in the spirit. It is one of the reproaches uttered against the Church of Thyatira, "*Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel,*" Ahab's wicked wife, a woman as strange to Thyatira as Charlemagne to us; whereon observes Swedenborg—

"These things are said concerning Jezebel, but they are to be understood of those who falsify truths and adulterate goods; for in the prophecies of the Word, *when one person is named, that person stands for all who are of a similar quality*"—* which yields all contended for.

Between the chapters of the *Apocalypse Revealed* are inserted relations of scenes and conversations in the Spiritual World, under the title of Memorabilia. A few of the best read like fairy tales told in a stiff fashion, but the majority are insipid and clumsy affairs. The Author appears to have derived satisfaction from the new form of composition, as it is continued in all subsequent works. Here is a specimen—

A PROPHECY FULFILLED IN SWEDENBORG.

In the eleventh chapter of the Revelation two Witnesses prophesy; the Beast kills them, and their dead bodies "*lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt.*" At the end of three days and a half the Witnesses revive and ascend to Heaven in a cloud; an earthquake overthrows a tenth part of the city, slays seven thousand men, and "*the remnant affrighted gave glory to God.*" Now for the fulfilment in Swedenborg—

"I was suddenly seized with a disease that threatened my life. I suffered excruciating pain all over my head; a pestilential smoke ascended from that Jerusalem which is called Sodom and Egypt; half dead with the severity

* *Apocalypse Explained*, No 162.

of my sufferings, I expected every moment would be my last. Thus I lay in my bed three days and a half. My spirit was reduced to this state, and consequently my body.

"I heard the voices of people about me saying—

"'Lo, he who preached repentance for the remission of sins, and the Man Christ alone, lies dead in the streets of our city!'

"They asked some of the Clergy whether I was worth burial, who answered—

"'No; let him lie to be looked at'—

"And they passed to and fro and mocked.

"All this verily befell me whilst I was writing the explanation of the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse.

"Then I heard many shocking speeches of scoffers, without power of reply, for I was almost dead. At the end of three days and a half however, I revived; and being in the spirit, I left the street and went into the city, where again I said—

"Do the work of repentance and believe in Christ and your sins will be remitted and you will be saved: otherwise you will perish. Did not the Lord Himself preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that men should believe in Him? Did He not enjoin His disciples to preach the same? Is not a full and fatal security of life the sure consequence of your faith?

"They replied—

"'What idle talk! Has not the Son made satisfaction? Does not the Father impute His merit to us and justify us who believe in Him? Thus are we led by the spirit of grace. How then can sin have place in us? and what power has death over us? Do you comprehend the Gospel, you preacher of sin and repentance?'

"At that instant a voice was heard from Heaven, saying—

"'What is the faith of an impenitent man but a dead faith? The end is come! the end is come upon you that are secure, unblameable in your own eyes, justified in your own faith, ye devils!'

"Suddenly a deep gulf was opened in the midst of the city, which spread far and wide. The houses fell one upon

another and were swallowed up. Water appeared and overflowed the desolation."

By the flood the Spirits were not drowned. Swedenborg found them again "in a sandy plain where there were large heaps of stones, running about and lamenting that they were cast out of their great city." Theological discussion was resumed; they were obdurate as ever, and were finally dispatched to Hell.*

Nearly the whole of the *Memorabilia* in the *Apocalypse Revealed* are devoted to the exposure and derision of solifidian theology. Swedenborg had evidently come to the conclusion, that to the prevalence of the doctrine of salvation by faith alone was owing the indifference of the world to his own writings. It was an unhappy conclusion. It betrayed him into much useless labour, into many misrepresentations, and into a controversial spirit in which his wisdom suffered.

In the *Arcana Cœlestia* Paul and his Epistles are not once named, nor indeed any portion of the New Testament beyond the Gospels and the Revelation, "which alone have the internal sense." In the *Apocalypse Explained* a similar silence is maintained, though texts are cited and explained in prodigious number and variety from other parts of Scripture. With the resolution however to attack the Protestant stronghold—the Doctrine of Salvation by Faith alone—other tactics had to be adopted. It was obviously idle to enter on such a controversy without reference to Paul—the exclusive authority for the Doctrine. Two courses lay open for the treatment of Paul: it might be declared that he was a man of infernal temper, and subject to error; or his testimony might be argued into conformity with the Gospels and the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem. The latter was Swedenborg's choice.

In the *Apocalypse Revealed* the wall of reserve towards Paul was thrown down, and it is written—

"Protestants indeed acknowledge the Word and say the Church is founded upon it, and yet they base its Doctrine

* No. 531.

on a single passage from Paul—‘*that Man is justified by Faith without the deeds of the Law*,’ Rom. iii. 28—totally misunderstood: the Law and the works of the Law meaning nothing but the Mosaic Law and Ritual.”*

Nor Romans alone, but the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians and Colossians, and James are quoted. The ice thus broken, references to the Acts and the Epistles come in freely in his subsequent writings, and in the *Coronis*, the last manuscript perhaps on which he was engaged, we find him condescending to the phrase—“the Apostolic Word.”†

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DISCIPLES AND OTHERS.

IN Dr. Beyer of Gottenburg, Swedenborg had secured a fast and serviceable friend. Sending him eight copies of the *Apocalypse Revealed*, he advised—

AMSTERDAM, 8th April, 1766.

“Please read over first the Memorabilia separated from the text by asterisks at the end of each chapter. You will thereby acquire a thorough sense of the miserable state to which the Reformed Churches are reduced by the doctrine of *Faith alone*.”

His letter continues—

“I am now leaving Amsterdam for England, where some disturbance has most likely arisen, as the English Bishops are strongly pointed out in the Memorabilia, but necessity required it”—referring to the account of George II. and the Bishops given in a former chapter.

Poor Swedenborg! As if their lawn was to be fluttered by such a breeze! Plainly much intercourse with the upper and nether worlds conferred little knowledge of this.

Beyer had been reading the *Arcana Cælestia*, and amid

* Nos. 417 and 750.

† *Coronis*, No. 95.

its profusion of citations from Holy Scripture was surprised to find not one from the Epistles. Requesting the reason of the omission, he was answered—

AMSTERDAM, 15th April, 1766.

“With regard to the Epistles of St. Paul and the other Apostles, I have not given them a place in my *Arcana Coelestia* because they are merely dogmatic writings, and not written in the style of the Word, like David, the Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Revelation of St. John.

“Nevertheless the writings of the Apostles are very good books for the Church, inasmuch as they insist on the Doctrine of Charity, and of Faith from Charity, as strongly as the Lord Himself in the Gospels and Revelation of St. John.”

A discreet answer: Swedenborg could keep his thumb on a secret: Beyer was not to be shocked with the full truth about Paul. In his Diary he had set forth the case rather differently—

Paul's Epistles.

“It is known in the other life that Paul's Epistles have no internal sense, but their use has been permitted in the Church lest evil should be done to the Word of the Lord, in which there is an internal sense; for if any one lives a wicked life, and yet regards the Word as holy, he injures Heaven. The Epistles have been employed to avert this mischief. Paul was not allowed to take a single parable or doctrine from the Lord and expound it, but derived all from himself. The Church indeed explains the Word, but handles it under cover of Paul's Epistles”—*

That is to say, the Word as a most precious conserve was saved from the pollution of flies by Paul's Epistles set as a dish of cheap syrup alongside. How effective has been the device, let Protestantism testify. Has not Paul been the salt and savour of its existence? Calvin preached 588 sermons from the New Testament in Geneva during twenty years: of these, 189 were from the Acts of the Apostles, and the rest from Paul; not one did he take from the Gospels

* *Spiritual Diary*, No. 4824.

or Apocalypse. The doctrine of the Dragon was not to be had out of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. *

The observation of the expected disturbance in England was not Swedenborg's only motive in visiting London. He wished to push into notice his Method of finding the Longitude.

The English Parliament in 1714 had offered a reward of £10,000, £15,000, and £20,000 respectively for a method of ascertaining the longitude within 60, 40, and 30 miles. John Harrison came to London from Lincolnshire in 1735 with a timepiece he had constructed for the purpose. After thirty years of delay and experiment, an Act was passed awarding the £20,000 to Harrison—one half to be paid on his explaining the construction of his chronometer, and the other half as soon as it was proved that the instrument could be made by others. After some disputes, Harrison received the whole £20,000 in 1767.

Whilst the question was approaching a settlement, Swedenborg appeared upon the scene. We have an account of his procedure in a communication addressed by him to the Stockholm Academy of Sciences, as follows—

STOCKHOLM, 10th September, 1776.

"It is incumbent upon me to present to the Royal Academy the enclosed *Method of Finding the Longitudes of places on Land or at Sea by Lunar Observations*; which Method I have published at Amsterdam; and as it is the only way of finding Longitudes by the Moon, I wish to make this report concerning it.

"When it was published I sent copies to the Hague, to the Academies in Holland and Germany, to Copenhagen, and to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

* A friend of mine, solitary at a certain watering-place on a rainy Sunday attended church or chapel morning, afternoon, and evening. In all three places he heard the doctrine of the Dragon from Paul, with our Lord's life and teaching used simply as a garnish; but the point of his adventure was this—On his way to evening service he reflected, "I have had Paul twice to-day; surely I shall have Christ once." His hope was answered when the preacher gave out the text, Acts ix. 11—"Arise and go into the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus!"

"After my arrival in London I presented my respects to Lord Morton (President of the Society there), on the 19th of May last, who told me that on the 24th the Board of Longitude (which is a committee of select learned men) would meet at the Admiralty House and decide about Harrison's chronometer for finding the Longitude at sea.

"There I met the Board and delivered to them ten copies of my pamphlet, which the Secretary received and laid on the table. The Board did not believe there was any method of finding the Longitude by the Moon, and resolved that Mr. Harrison should receive the proposed premium.

"I have since been informed that several learned Astronomers have approved of my Method, and are now working out ephemerides to bring the same into effect. This may be done several times in a night when the Moon and Stars are visible; and as soon as the ephemerides are worked out, the Longitude will be correctly found.

"As to the certainty and possibility of finding the Longitude at Sea by the chronometer which the London committee have approved, time will show, particularly as the seamen of Holland, France, and Spain will have to try it without the Inventor's presence, especially those who sail to the East Indies.

"EM. SWEDENBORG."

What impression the old gentleman of seventy-eight made on "the committee of select learned men" assembled at the Admiralty on the 24th of May, 1766, we should like to know. Were any aware that he had seen their late King lecturing the Bishops for conspiracy against him, and that he was in London to witness the effect of his revelations? Probably they had no conception of the extraordinary character who stood before them. Fame travelled slowly in those days, and the well-known citizen in Stockholm was as yet an anonymous author: his name had appeared on no title-page connected with spiritualism.

Springer, the Swedish Consul in London, was acquainted with Swedenborg, and sometimes wondered at their intimacy, for, as he writes, "I was not a man of letters—

"What he told me respecting my deceased friends and enemies, and the secrets between us, almost exceeds belief. He explained in what manner the Peace was concluded between Sweden and Prussia, and praised my conduct: he even told me who were the three personages I made use of in the business, which was an entire secret between them and me. I asked how he discovered such particulars. He rejoined, 'Who informed me of your affair with Count Ekeblad? You cannot deny the truth of what I told you.'" Count Ekeblad had provoked Springer to draw his sword upon him in a political altercation; the quarrel was composed and a promise made never to mention it. On another occasion, Ekeblad tried to bribe Springer with 10,000 rix-dollars. The sum and circumstances were described to Springer by Swedenborg, who said he had learned them from the Count, just then dead.

Swedenborg desired Springer to find him a vessel for Sweden with a good captain, which he did in one Dixon. His luggage was put on board, and as his lodgings were distant from Wapping, he took a bed for the night (31st August, 1766), at Bergstrom's inn, the King's Arms, Wellclose Square.

He went to bed. Springer and Bergstrom sat talking in an adjoining room. Hearing a strange noise, they sought its origin. Going to Swedenborg's chamber, they peeped through a little window in the door, and saw him in bed with his hands raised to heaven and his body trembling. He spoke much for about half an hour, but they could not make out what he said, except that when he let his hands fall down, they heard him ejaculate, "My God!" He then lay quietly. They went into the room, and asked if he was ill. He said, "No; but he had had a long discourse with some of the heavenly friends, and was in a great perspiration." He begged a shirt of Bergstrom, as his own were in the ship, got up and changed, went to bed again, and slept till morning.

From this Bergstrom, a Swede, we have these particulars—

"I was personally acquainted with Assessor Swedenborg: he frequently called on me, and once lived ten weeks in my

house, during which time I observed nothing in him but what was very reasonable and bespoke the gentleman. He breakfasted on coffee, ate moderately at dinner and drank one or two glasses of wine, but never more. In the afternoon he had tea, but never ate any supper. He usually walked out after breakfast, dressed neatly in velvet, and made a good appearance. He was reserved but complaisant. In general he kept retired, tried to avoid company, and a knowledge of where he was. Some of his friends here spoke against him, and some were for him: for my part, I think he was a reasonable, sensible, and good man: he was very kind to all and generous to me. As for his peculiar sentiments, I do not meddle with them. Not understanding Latin, I never read any of his works." *

Captain Dixon came for Swedenborg in the morning. Bergstrom asked how much ground coffee he should pack. "Not much," answered Swedenborg, "for with God's help we shall be at Stockholm this day week at two o'clock." It happened exactly as he foretold, as Dixon on his return informed Springer: he had never had such a prosperous voyage.

On a passage from Sweden with Captain Harrison, he kept his berth and was often heard speaking as if in conversation. The steward and cabin-boy reported to Harrison that their passenger was out of his head. "Out of his head or not," said he, "as long as he is quiet, I have no power over him. He is always reasonable with me, and I have the best of weather when he is aboard." Harrison told Robsahm laughingly, that Swedenborg might sail with him gratis whenever he pleased, for never since he was a mariner had he such voyages as with him. The same luck went with Captain Browell, who carried him from London to Dalaron in eight days, during most of which he lay in his berth and talked. Captain Hodson, another of his carriers, was but seven days on the voyage, and was quite charmed with his company, as he confessed to Bergstrom.

Swedenborg wrote to Beyer—

* Provo called on Bergstrom in 1787, conversed with him about Swedenborg for an hour, and preserved these details.

“STOCKHOLM, 25th September, 1766.

“I arrived here on the 8th of this month. The voyage from England was made in eight days. The wind was favourable, but attended with a violent storm which caused so short a passage.”

Beyer was about to publish a volume of Sermons, whereon he observes—

“I wish much blessing on the intended *Library of Sermons*, and herewith send my subscription for the same. I presume you will use all necessary precaution in this work, because the time is not yet arrived when *the essentials of the New Church* can be so received. The Clergy, who have confirmed themselves in their tenets at the Universities, find it difficult to be convinced: for all confirmations *in things pertaining to theology* are as it were *glued fast in the brains* and can with difficulty be removed: and whilst they remain, genuine truths cannot be admitted. Besides, the New Heaven of Christians, from whence the New Jerusalem from the Lord will descend (Rev. xxi. 12), is not yet perfectly settled.”

This caution is inexplicable. Was Swedenborg jealous? Did he fear in Beyer a meddler in mysteries peculiar to himself? He did not hesitate to use every means at his disposal to publish *the essentials of the New Church*: Why then should Beyer be so shy where he was so bold?

Beyer wished to know when the New Church would be established. He was answered—

“STOCKHOLM, February, 1767.

“The Lord is preparing a New Heaven of such as believe in Him and acknowledge Him to be the true God of Heaven and Earth, and also look to Him in their lives, which is to shun evil and do good. The New Jerusalem will descend from that Heaven.

“I daily see Spirits and Angels, from ten to twenty thousand, descending and ascending, who are set in order. By degrees, as that Heaven is formed, the New Church likewise begins and increases. The Universities of Christen-

dom are now first instructed, and from them will come Ministers. The New Heaven has no influence over the old Clergy, who conceive themselves to be too well skilled in the Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone."

The Universities have been slow in fulfilling this prophecy. We yet wait the promised Ministers of the New Jerusalem. How completely he appears to have abandoned his early expectation of the transfer of the Church to the Gentiles!

He concludes his letter—

"In Stockholm they begin to think more of Charity than before, and to be persuaded that Faith and Charity cannot be separated; therefore Faith alone begins to be called the Moravian Faith"—

A gleam of sunshine that was *not* to broaden into New Jerusalem day; but—

"Trifles, light as air,
Are to the *sanguine* confirmations strong."

Another convert, not quite so docile as Beyer, but equally useful, turned up in Oetinger, Bishop of Murrhard in Würtemberg.* Among other services, he translated *De Cælo et de Inferno*, *De Telluribus* and selections from the *Arcana Cælestia* into German. He wrote to Swedenborg and drew from him a few letters which have been preserved. In one, Swedenborg answers three questions—

"STOCKHOLM, 11th November, 1766.

"I. *Whether there is occasion for any sign that I am sent by the Lord to do what I do?*

"I answer, that at this day no signs or miracles will be given, because they only compel external belief, and do not convince internally. What did the miracles avail in Egypt, or among the Jews who crucified the Lord? If the Lord were now to appear in the sky attended with Angels and trumpets, it would have no other effect than it had then (Luke xvi. 29-31). The sign given at this day will be *illustration*, and thence *knowledge* and *reception* of the

* Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, born 1702; died 1782.

truths of the New Church. Some speaking illustration of certain persons may likewise take place. Illustration works more effectually than miracles. *Yet one token may perhaps be given."*

The last words are mysterious. In what precedes, I take him to mean that some will be enlightened to perceive, for instance, in the *Arcana Cœlestia* a revelation of Divine Wisdom.

"II. *Have I spoken with the Apostles?*

"I have spoken a whole year with Paul; and about the text, Romans iii. 28. I have spoken three times with John; once with Moses; and I suppose a hundred times with Luther.

"III. *Why from a Philosopher I have been chosen for this office?*

"To the end, that Spiritual Knowledge, which is revealed at this day, may be reasonably learned and naturally understood: spiritual truths answer to natural ones; the last originate and flow from the first, and serve as bases thereto.

"On this account, I was first introduced by the Lord into Natural Sciences, and thus prepared from 1710 to 1744, when Heaven was opened to me. Every one is morally educated and spiritually regenerated by the Lord by being led from what is Natural to what is Spiritual. Moreover the Lord has given me a Love of Spiritual Truth, not with any view to honour or profit, but merely for the sake of Truth itself. Every one who loves Truth, merely for the sake of Truth, sees it from the Lord, the Lord being the *Way and the Truth.*"

The letter to Oetinger concludes—

"I am very sorry you have suffered persecution for translating *Heaven and Hell* into German; but what suffers more at this day than Truth itself? How few there are who see it! nay, who will see it; therefore be not weary, but indefatigable in defending the Truth."

The Swedenborgianism of Oetinger naturally provoked a clerical squabble at Stuttgart, and the Privy Council was induced to issue a decree forbidding him to entertain

Swedenborg should he venture to visit Württemberg; but the Duke assured him that if he had a thousand persecutors, they would not be allowed to harm him.

Oetinger had been personally associated with Zinzendorf: he was a reader and advocate of Jacob Behmen: he was a mystic and a pietist: he was a leader in a set who yearned after the sentimental and occult. At a distance, Swedenborg promised abundant satisfaction for such yearners, but close acquaintance was certain to result in disappointment. His store of wonders exhausted, there remained his hard practical gospel—Shun evils as sins and do good; which counsel is accomplished in the faithful performance of every domestic and civil duty; assured that thus, and thus only, is conjunction with the Lord effected—that conjunction which we call the Church here and Heaven hereafter.

Oetinger believed in Swedenborg. He pronounced him a Daniel sent to confound a scoffing and sceptical generation. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that the Lord has appeared to him, and that his interior senses have been opened to see and hear what we cannot see and hear." Nevertheless he had many doubts. So late as 1771, he feared that Swedenborg violates the letter of Scripture, that he gives dubious and uncertain interpretations, that he rests more on the Science of Correspondences than on the clearest expressions of the Holy Word, that he teaches a doctrine of the Trinity unknown to the Apostles, that he diminishes the authority of St. Paul, that he is not introduced to celebrity by signs and wonders, and thus the divine seal is wanting to his credentials, and that his interpretation of the Apocalypse seems to have been contrived to account for his New Church. To Beyer he stated these difficulties, and Beyer met them to the best of his ability—they were no difficulties to him; but whether to Oetinger's conviction does not appear: probably not.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HABITS AT HOME.

ENTHUSIASM for natural scenery had not come into fashion in Swedenborg's day, and it is questionable whether Stockholm, set amidst the most varied elements of the picturesque in land and water, had much influence on his sensibilities. We discern his taste in his pictures of the Heavens: they are invariably after Watteau: in none is there the faintest presage of Wordsworth: the forest and wilderness are the haunts of Evil Spirits; Angels parade and repose in glorified Dutch gardens.

He had built himself a modest house in the Sudermalm—the southern suburb of Stockholm. The ground-floor comprised a kitchen, dining-room, and bed-room; over-head were three apartments—six in all. Mr. W. M. Wilkinson visited the house in 1853, and found it in bad repair, and occupied by two families, one on each floor. “It is not equal,” he observes, “to some of the adjoining houses, but it is different from them in standing quite back from the street, from which it is hidden by a high wooden paling, and having a character of quiet retirement and almost solitude.” *

In front of the house were box trees cut into animals and other figures. At the back was a considerable garden, in which he took much pleasure. It contained a handsome conservatory; also a capacious summer-house, where he wrote and received visitors when the weather permitted. The summer-house was square, but could be turned into an octagon by folding back the doors over the corners. It still exists, and Mr. Wilkinson was told, “almost as Swedenborg left it, with the exception of the windows. It is about twelve feet square inside, with a small recess behind; and at

* *Views of the Residence and Summer-House of Emanuel Swedenborg in Stockholm.* London, 1853.

one end of this recess is the hand-organ on which he used to play, and almost in a state to discourse the same music which had so often filled his ears."

This is the first hint of any connection between Swedenborg and music. Once or twice he mentions music incidentally in the Heavens, but the absence of any ample reference to the divinest of the arts—that which reveals much otherwise ineffable—is noteworthy. The hand-organ in [the summer-house was, I fancy, for social rather than private use.

There is a pretty anecdote told of Sara Greta, a blooming maiden of fifteen, who used to call him Uncle Swedenborg, and tease him to show her an Angel. One day he consented to gratify her wish, and leading her to the summer-house, placed her before a curtain. "Now you shall see an Angel!" and, drawing the curtain, revealed the sweet girl herself in a mirror.

Mr. Horace Marryat visited the same spot some eight years after Mr. Wilkinson—

"We ring at the gate of a garden planted with apple trees and pollard limes, in which stands the house of Swedenborg. 'Walk in,' begged a smiling old woman; 'the summer-house just remains as he left it;' and opening the door of a painted kiosk, adds, with a curtsy, 'Go in, sir; it was here he had all his best visions'"—*

An excellent illustration of the myth.

It is said he afterwards built two other summer-houses, one of them after the model of a structure that he had admired at a nobleman's seat in England.

In a corner of the garden he had a labyrinth constructed, and at its end a door, which being opened, discovered another door with a window in it. This appeared to lead to a garden beyond, down a green arcade in which a bird's cage was suspended; but the window was a mirror, and only reflected what lay behind. The contriver of the surprise used to observe that the reflection was more agreeable than the reality.

His servants were a gardener and his wife, who lived in

* *One Year in Sweden*, Vol. I., chap. xxiv.



Swedenborg's Summer House.



Swedenborg's House.



the house, and were allowed to appropriate the produce of the garden.

He was an easy master: he gave little trouble outside his bed-room: contrary to Swedish custom, he had no fire there. He slept between blankets, having a dislike to linen sheets.

When he awoke he went into his study, where a constant fire was kept from autumn to summer, and laying birch-bark and wood on the live coals, got up a quick fire before sitting down to write.

He made his own coffee over this fire, which he drank freely, day and night, with much sugar and no milk. His dinner was usually a small loaf broken into boiled milk. He ate no supper, and never tasted wine or spirits except in company.

His health was good: his strength and hardness of mind were matched in a correspondent body. Like most sedentary men, his stomach was delicate, and in his latter years he suffered from the stone. "He was never ill," says Robsahm, "except when in states of temptation." Once he had a grievous toothache for many days, and Robsahm recommended some common remedy, but he refused to apply it, saying—

"My pain proceeds, not from the nerve of the tooth, but from hypocritical Spirits who beset me, and by correspondence induce this plague, which will soon leave me."

It may not be forgotten, that to the presence of Paul he attributed a toothache of several days,* and in the *Arcana Cœlestia* he ascribes aching teeth to hypocrites—

"There are those who talk piously, who affect much zeal for the public welfare, and who uphold equity, yet in their hearts despise and even ridicule the same. Such hypocrites when present caused pain in my teeth, and as they drew nearer, such severe pain that I could not endure it: as they were removed the pain abated; and this repeatedly, in order that I might be thoroughly satisfied. Among them was one I had known on Earth, on which account I conversed with him, and according to his nearness was the pain in my teeth and gums." †

* See p. 221, present volume.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 5720.

Reasoning from his own data, Robsahm might have advised the extraction of the decayed tooth; for thus, the ground being removed from the Devils, they would have been compelled to seek other quarters "in sepulchres, cess-pools, or marshes." *

He relates other experiences, designed to convince him that every disease is a manifestation of Hell, and "that as Heaven keeps all things in connection and safety, so Hell destroys and rends all things in sunder."

A most wicked adulterer was with him some days, and induced pains in the toes of his left foot, loins and breast. An exhalation from a certain Hell produced a burning fever. Devils (such as in old times destroyed whole armies by exciting panic in which the soldiers slew each other) tried to enter his brain and kill him, but the Lord saved him. Others inflicted such an oppression of his stomach that he felt as if he could not live; and so with other ailments, which ceased as soon as the malignant Spirits which induced them were removed.

"Death comes from sin, and sin is the infraction of the divine order." Disorderly lusts and passions obstruct and then close the finer vessels which mediate between mind and body; they vitiate the blood in its essence, which vitiation as it increases and descends causes disease and death. Did Man live in order, he would enjoy health to old age, and then shed his earthly frame without suffering, and enter Heaven at once as an Angel.†

Concerning his acquaintance with Devils, he observes—

"Some have expressed surprise that I should converse with such wicked creatures. I reply, they do not hurt me. Those whom the Lord defends might be encompassed by all the powers of Hell and suffer no injury: this I have learned in varied and wonderful experience; hence I have no fear in conversing with the very worst of the infernal crew.

"Moreover all Devils were once Men who lived on Earth in hatred, deceit and adultery. Some who are now Devils, I knew in the body.

* *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 659. † *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 5711 to 5727.

“Furthermore, everybody is connected with two Spirits from Hell and with two Angels from Heaven; and without such connection, no one could live a single moment: the Internals rule in him who is wicked, but are subdued and forced to serve in him who is good.” *

In his visits to Hell, he was well protected—

“Several times I have been let down into Hell that I might witness the torments there. For my safety, I was as it were surrounded by a column of Angelic Spirits, which I perceived was the wall of brass spoken of in the Word. Whilst there I heard miserable lamentations, and amongst them the cry, ‘O God, O God, be merciful to us, be merciful to us!’ I was allowed to converse with these unhappy ones for some time. They complained chiefly of Evil Spirits who burned with a perpetual desire to torment them, and they were in a state of despair, saying they believed their torments would be eternal: it was granted me to comfort them.” †

How he comforted them, he does not say. Confirmed Devils would not so complain, “for they have no dread of evils and fables or Hell, for in them are the delights of their life.” ‡

He paid little regard to day and night—sometimes sleeping through the one and working through the other. “When I am sleepy,” he said, “I go to bed.” He lay in bed entranced for days together, and gave orders that on such occasions he was not to be disturbed.

The gardener and his wife often heard him talking aloud in the night, and when asked what had disturbed him, would answer, that Evil Spirits had blasphemed, and that he was speaking against them zealously. Sometimes he would weep bitterly and cry with a loud voice, “Lord, help me! O Lord, my God, forsake me not!” When seen in those states, he appeared as sick: when delivered from them, he would say, “God be eternally praised! All suffering has passed away. Be comforted, my friends:

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, Nos. 697 and 968.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 699; also 4940.

‡ *Apocalypse Explained*, No 677.

nothing happens to me which the Lord does not permit: He lays on us no burdens greater than we can bear."

After one of these trials, he went to bed and did not rise for several days. His servants grew uneasy: perhaps he had died of fright: and debated whether they should not summon his relatives and force open the door. At length the gardener climbed to the window, and to his great relief, saw his master turn in bed. Next day he rang the bell. The wife went to the room, and related how anxious they had been; to which he cheerfully replied, he had been very well, and had wanted for nothing.

One day after dinner she went into his room, and saw his eyes shining as with a bright flame. She started back and exclaimed—

"In God's name, sir, what is the matter? You have a fearful look!"

"What kind of look have I?"

She told him, and he answered—

"Well, well" (his favourite expression), "do not be frightened. The Lord has so disposed my eyes that Spirits can look through them upon this world. They will soon go away, and I will not be hurt."

In about half an hour they were gone.

She said she knew when her master had been conversing with Heavenly Spirits from the calm satisfaction of his countenance; whereas when Evil Spirits had been with him he had a sorrowful face.

Robsahm asked him if it was worth while paying any attention to Dreams. He answered—

"The Lord at this day does not manifest Himself in dreams; yet if any one understands the science of correspondences, he may draw instruction from them, even as while waking he may discover his interior condition by comparing his inclinations with the Lord's commandments"—

That is to say, he may discern the quality of the Spirits who have been with him in his sleep by the quality of the ideas they have excited.

He wore in winter a garment of reindeer skins, and in

summer a gown, "both well-worn," says Robsahm, "as became a philosopher." When he went out in Stockholm his domestics had to review his dress, or some singularity would betray his abstracted mind. Once when he dined with Robsahm's father he appeared with one shoe-buckle of plain silver and the other set with stones, to the amusement of the young ladies of the party. During his latter years he became less and less attentive to the outward world, and as he walked the streets seemed to be absorbed in spiritual communion.

The morning bath was not a custom of last century: ablution rarely extended beyond the face and hands, but Swedenborg did not even go so far. He told the Rev. Arvid Ferelius* "that he never washed his face or hands, and never brushed his clothes, for no dirt or dust would stick to him."

He talked slowly: when he tried to speak quickly he stuttered. At table his deliberate enunciation, added to the weight and interest of his character, usually commanded silence, and converted the company into his audience.

Extreme simplicity characterized his habits and circumstances. His parlour was neat, but no more: a black marble table with a hand of cards inlaid was its chief ornament; and it he gave away. His journeys were made with no parade, and with few of the conveniences of travelling: no servant accompanied him: he rode in an open waggon from Stockholm to Gottenburg when bound for London or Amsterdam to have his manuscripts printed.

The Bible was the entire library of his study. He had four editions of the Hebrew Scriptures—

1st, by Montanus, a folio, 1657.

2nd, *Biblia Hebraica punctata cum Novo Testamento Græco*. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1639.

He had one other version of the Greek Testament—that of Leusden, Amsterdam, 1741, with a Latin translation.

3rd, *Biblia Hebraica*, by Reineccius. 4to. Leipsic, 1739.

Filled with remarks, translations of the text into Latin, and some notes on the Internal Sense.

* Swedish Chaplain in London. We shall meet him again.

4th, *Biblia Hebraica cum versione Latina*, by Sebastian Schmidius. 2nd edition, 4to. Leipsic, 1740.

This was the copy from which he worked, and which travelled with him.

He had also four copies of Castalio's Latin Bible—whether of the same or different editions, it is not said.*

After the opening of his spiritual sight he learned Hebrew, and struggled through the Scriptures twice or thrice; but in solitude, self-taught and late-taught, it is not likely he attained much facility in that difficult language. Schmidius was his hand-book, and in his translations he seldom strays far from his guidance.

He employed no amanuensis even over his elaborate indexes. His manuscript, especially in old age, was difficult to decipher. The English and Dutch compositors, he said, made it out easily; nevertheless his books abound in *errata*: it seems he did not revise his printers' proofs.

In money matters he was at once liberal and frugal. Those with whom he had dealings had always to speak of his generosity. He sold his books at unremunerative prices, and gave them away freely. He was not in the habit of alms-giving; "for," he used to say, "most of those who beg are either lazy or vicious, and if from softness you give them money without inquiry, you do harm rather than good." Nor did he lend money; "for that is the way to lose it; moreover I require what I have for travelling and printing."

Nicholas Collin, student at Upsal, read in the university library some of Swedenborg's works. He came to Stockholm in 1765 as tutor in the family of Dr. Celsius. His curiosity concerning Swedenborg was active; he heard much about him in society; and learning he was accessible, resolved to visit him. He writes—

"I waited on him at his house in the summer of 1766, introducing myself with an apology for the freedom I took; assuring him that it was not in the least from youthful pre-

* This catalogue was made by A. Nordenskjöld after Swedenborg's death, and published in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, London, 1790.

sumption (I was then twenty), but from a desire of conversing with a character so celebrated. He received me very kindly. It being early in the afternoon, delicate coffee without eatables was served, agreeable to Swedish custom: he was also, like pensive men in general, fond of this beverage.

"We conversed for nearly three hours, principally on the nature of Souls and their states in the Invisible World; discussing the principal theories of Psychology by various authors—among them the celebrated Dr. Wallerius, Professor of Natural Theology at Upsala. He asserted positively, as he often does in his works, that he had intercourse with the spirits of deceased persons.

"I presumed therefore to request him, as a great favour, to procure me an interview with my brother, who had departed this life a few months before—a young clergyman officiating in Stockholm, esteemed for his devotion, erudition, and virtue. He answered, that God having for wise and good purposes separated the World of Spirits from ours, a communication is never granted without cogent reasons; and asked what my motives were. I confessed I had none besides gratifying brotherly affection, and an ardent wish to explore scenes so sublime and interesting to a serious mind. He replied, that my motives were good, but not sufficient; that if any important spiritual or temporal concern of mine had been involved, he would then have solicited permission from the Angels who regulate those matters.

"We parted with mutual satisfaction; and he gave me an elegant copy of his *Apocalypse Revealed* for Dr. Celsius."*

Collin went to America and settled in Philadelphia as rector of the Swedish Church in that city. Frequent inquiries were addressed to him concerning Swedenborg, and to one he replied—

"Being very old when I saw him, he was thin and pale, but still retained traces of beauty, and had something very pleasing in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his tall and erect stature."

* From an account of Swedenborg published by Collin in 1801 in the *Philadelphia Gazette*.

To another—

“Swedenborg was of a stature a little above the common, of very perfect form, erect and easy in his carriage, with a placid expression of dignity beaming from his countenance. He was always ready to converse freely on subjects relating to either world, but singularly unapt to obtrude his ideas on others.”

Collin further said, that he had never heard him spoken of as insane in Sweden, and that in Stockholm “no one presumed to doubt that he held some kind of supernatural intercourse with the Spiritual World.”*

From Atterbom, the Swedish poet, we have an account of another interview with Swedenborg, but, as we shall see, of more than doubtful authenticity. Thus it runs—

“The occurrence took place with a distinguished and learned Finlander,† who, during the whole of his life, believed rather too *little* than too *much*.

“This learned man, when a young graduate on his travels, came to Stockholm, where Swedenborg was living. Far from being a Swedenborgian, he on the contrary regarded the renowned visionary as an arch-enthusiast; still he thought it his duty to visit the wonderful old man, not merely out of curiosity to see him, but also from a cordial esteem for one who in every other respect was a light of the North, and a pattern of moral excellence.

“On his arrival at Swedenborg’s house he was shown into the parlour by a good-humoured old servant, who went to an inner apartment to announce the stranger, and immediately returned with an apology from his master, as being at that moment hindered by another visit, but which would probably not be of long duration; on which account the young graduate was requested to be seated for a few minutes, and was left in the parlour alone.

“As he happened to have taken his seat near the door of the inner apartment, he could not avoid hearing that a

* *New Jerusalem Magazine*, Boston, 1849.

† Gabriel Henry Porthan, Professor in Abo, and noted in Swedish literature as an antiquary and humanist. He died in 1804, aged 65.

very lively conversation was going on, and this during a passage up and down the room; in consequence of which he alternately perceived the sound of the conversation at a distance, and then immediately near himself, and plainly, so that every word might be heard.

“He observed that the conversation was conducted in Latin, and that it was respecting the antiquities of Rome: a discovery, after which, being himself a great Latinist and conversant with those antiquities, he could not possibly avoid listening with the most intense attention. He was somewhat puzzled however when he heard throughout only *one* voice between longer or shorter pauses; after which the voice appeared to have obtained an answer, and to have found in the answer a motive for fresh questions. That the *hearer* of the person conversing was Swedenborg himself, he took for granted, and the old man was observed to be highly pleased with his guest; but who the guest was he could not discover: only the conversation was concerning Rome in the time of Augustus.

“As he grew more and more absorbed, the door opened, and Swedenborg, who was recognized from portraits and descriptions, came into the parlour with a countenance radiant with joy. He greeted the stranger, who had risen from his seat, with a friendly nod, but merely in passing, for his chief attention was fixed upon a person who was invisible to the stranger, and whom he conducted with bows through the room and out at the opposite door; repeating at the same time, and in the most beautiful and fluent Latin, various obligations, and begging an early repetition of the visit.

“On re-entering, Swedenborg went straight to his later guest, addressing him with a cordial squeeze of the hand—

“‘Well, heartily welcome, learned sir! Excuse me for making you wait. I had, as you observed, a visitor.’

“The traveller, amazed and embarrassed—

“‘Yes, I observed it.’

“‘And can you guess whom?’

“‘Impossible.’

“‘Only think, my dear sir—Virgil! And do you know:

he is a fine and pleasant fellow. I have always had a good opinion of the man, and he deserves it. He is as modest as he is witty, and most agreeably entertaining.'

"I have also imagined him to be so.'

"Right! and he is always like himself. It may perhaps not be known to you that in my youth I occupied myself much with Roman literature, and even wrote a multitude of *Carmina*, which I had printed at Skara.'

"I know it, and all judges highly esteem them.'

"I am glad of it; it matters little that their theme was my first love. Many years, many other studies, occupations and thoughts, lie between that time and the present; but the unexpected visit of Virgil awoke a crowd of youthful recollections; and when I found him so pleasant and so communicative, I resolved to avail myself of the opportunity and inquire concerning things of which no one could yield better information. He has promised to come again ere long—but let us talk of something else! It is so long since I have met one from Finland; and besides, a young academician! Come in and sit down with me. To what can I help you? Now, give me an account of everything you can, old and new.'

"I subsequently visited the old man several times, but never again did I perceive in him the least eccentricity, nor did he ever again refer to anything supernatural or visionary. I held him in gratitude for his learned conversation and his exceeding kindness in word and deed, but mingled with regret that at a certain point a screw in the venerable man was loose or fallen away."*

A pretty piece of fiction!—founded on how much fact I shall not try to determine. Be this noted: Atterbom printed the story in 1841. Where did he get it? From the learned Finlander, who died in 1804? No: but from Bishop ——, a friend of the learned Finlander!† Thus full seventy years intervened between the interview and its publication. Beyond the suspicious pedigree of the story, the absurd incident of Swedenborg conducting Virgil to the door betrays the hand of the novelist.

* *Svenska Siare och Skalder* (Swedish Seers and Bards). Upsal: 1841.

† Dr. Wilkinson's *Swedenborg: a Biography*, pp. 159 and 160.

There is no sign in Swedenborg's writings that he cared either for Latin history or antiquities. Only two Romans of note appear in his pages—Augustus and Cicero; and to the latter he gave more than he received. The notice of Augustus is slight.

Augustus.

"I spake with Augustus. He was an upright man, but he had a peculiar sphere of authority which made him unwilling that any one should accost him; thus he so restrained me that I did not dare to address him; perhaps because he thought this would savour of undue boldness towards him.

"He showed me a round or oval window which he had in his palace, through which, he said, he looked at those who were without and secretly explored their quality: and that when he found any one who pleased him, he advanced him to office and honour, when as yet the man knew and expected nothing.

"He was with me several hours." *

Cicero.

About Cicero he writes with some indecision—

"I conversed with one who in ancient times was ranked amongst those of superior wisdom, and was consequently well known in the learned world. I conversed with him on various subjects, *and it was given me to believe he was Cicero.* I knew Cicero was a wise man, and therefore I spoke with him concerning wisdom, intelligence, order, the Word, and lastly concerning the Lord."

He found in Cicero a mind in happy accord with his own—

"Concerning wisdom he said, there is no wisdom save that which relates to life, and anything else does not deserve the name: concerning intelligence he said, it is derived from wisdom: and concerning order, it is from the Supreme God, and to live in His order is to be wise and intelligent.

"As to the Word, when I read him a passage from the

* *Spiritual Diary*, No. 4418.

Prophets, he was exceedingly delighted, and especially that every name and expression should signify interior things; and he was amazed that the Learned at this day are not delighted with such a study. I perceived clearly that the interiors of his mind were open; but he said he could not hear any more: the holiness of the Word so affected him that it was more than he could bear.

“At length I spoke with him concerning the Lord, saying, that He was born a Man, but was conceived of God; that He put off the Maternal Human and put on the Divine Human; and that it is He who governs the Universe. To this he replied, that he knew many things respecting the Lord, and perceived in his own way that the salvation of Man was not possible except by such means as I had described.”*

Linnæus (1707-1778) and Swedenborg (1688-1772) were almost life-long contemporaries, kinsmen,[†] and neighbours, but we have no particulars of their acquaintance. Linnæus had a lively interest in divinity; he delighted in discussion with the theologians of Upsala; and his posthumous work, *Nemesis Divina*, exhibits an original habit of thought, and some coincidences with Swedenborg, but with no allusion to him. Swedenborg is as reticent on his side, though in the last work he published he went out of his way to condemn the doctrine of Sexes in Plants, thus delivering himself—

“It is maintained by many of the Learned that the vegetation not only of trees, but of all shrubs, corresponds with human proliferation. I will therefore make a few observations on the subject.

“In the Vegetable Kingdom there are not two sexes: every plant is male: the Earth is the female—the common mother of Plants; for she receives their seeds, causes them to open, carries them as in a womb, nourishes them, brings them forth, and afterwards sustains them.

* *Heaven and Hell*, No. 322; and *Spiritual Diary*, No. 4415.

† Linnæus married Sara Elizabeth Moræus, a grand-daughter of Swedenborg's aunt, Bishop Svedberg's sister.

"Let no one be surprised to hear it asserted that all Plants are males, and the Earth, or soil, female; for, according to the testimony of Swammerdam, founded on ocular experience, and recorded in his *Biblia Naturæ*, bees have also one common mother from whom the hive is produced; and if they have only one mother, why may not the same be true of all Plants?

"That the Earth is a common mother may be illustrated by the circumstance that the Earth in the Word signifies the Church, and the Church is the common mother of all her members, as she is also styled in the Word." *

If this queer passage ever fell under the eye of Linnæus, it must have amused him. The seeds of Plants and the secretion of the males of Animals unfortunately share a common designation (*semen*) with nothing in common. The male secretion corresponds to the pollen of Plants, and the seeds of Plants to the eggs of birds, fishes, and insects. The Earth in the widest sense is indeed a mother, but is no more mother to a Plant than to an Animal. The Plant is more immediately related to the Earth, but the Animal no less really: distance does not affect dependence. The Plant is nurtured *in* the Earth: the Animal is nurtured *from* the Earth *through* the Plant; and if carnivorous, by yet another remove. The Animal, instead of being affixed like the Plant to its source of nutriment, carries its nutriment about in a stomach, out of which, as from a root, it grows.

His notions about generation betrayed him into odd assertions, as for instance—

"That the Soul is derived from the Father and is only clothed with a Body from the Mother is evident from the circumstance, that a child of a Negro or Moor by a White or European Woman is born black, and *vice versâ*." †

Had he never seen or heard of a Mulatto? Moreover if even his statement were correct, it would upset his doctrine; for surely the colour of the skin is an attribute of the Body, and not of the Soul, and should therefore follow the Mother.

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 585.

† *Divine Providence*, No. 277.

Swedenborg again left Stockholm for London in 1768. As he was leaving town he met Robsahm, who asked, how he durst venture on such a voyage at the age of eighty, and expressed a fear lest he should not see him again. "Be not uneasy, my friend," he replied; "if you live, we shall see one another again, for I have yet another voyage of this kind to make."

His stay in London was brief. At the close of the year he was in Amsterdam, where he published—

The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love, and the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory Love.

On the title-page appears his name for the first time (*By Emanuel Swedenborg, a Swede*) since his call to his spiritual office. For four-and-twenty years he had exercised his gift anonymously.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONJUGIAL LOVE. *

THIS work consists of two parts; the first treats chiefly of Marriage, the second of Lust.

CONJUGIAL LOVE.

Why Conjugal instead of Conjugal? Probably because the softer sound of the first adjective was preferred.

Marriage in Heaven.

Swedenborg opens his theme with a tale. Ten Spirits recently from Earth visit a Heavenly Society, and are there instructed in the true nature of celestial joy, and witness the marriage of a couple of young Angels.

"Towards evening there came a messenger clothed in linen to the ten Strangers, and invited them to a wedding

* *Delitiæ Sapientiæ de Amore Conjugiali; post quas sequuntur Voluptates Insaniæ de Amore Scortatorio.* Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Sueco. Amstelodami: 1768. 4to, pp. 328.

next day. They went out to supper, and returning to the palace where they lodged, each retired to his own chamber and slept till morning. When they awoke, they heard the singing of virgins and girls. They sang that morning of Conjugal Love, the sweetness of which affected the hearers with blissful serenity. At the appointed hour, their conducting Angel said—

“‘Make yourselves ready, and put on the garments which the Prince of the Society has sent you.’

“As they did so, lo! they shone with light.

“‘How is this?’ they asked.

“‘Because you are going to a wedding. On such occasions our garments always shine.’

“The Angel then led them to the house where the nuptials were to be celebrated. The porter opened the door, and they were received and welcomed by an Angel sent from the Bridegroom, and were shown to seats appointed for them. Soon after, they were invited into an antechamber, in the middle of which was a table, and on it a magnificent candlestick with seven branches and golden sconces. Against the wall were hung silver lamps, which when lighted diffused a golden hue through the atmosphere. On each side of the candlestick were two tables on which were set loaves in three rows. In the four corners of the room were tables set with crystal cups.

“Whilst the strangers were looking at these things, a door opened, and in walked six virgins followed by the Bridegroom and the Bride hand in hand. They sat down opposite the candlestick, the Bridegroom on the left and the Bride on the right, whilst the six virgins stood near the Bride.

“The Bridegroom was dressed in a robe of bright purple, and a tunic of fine shining linen, with an ephod on which was a golden plate set round with diamonds, and on the plate was engraved a young eagle, the marriage ensign of that Heavenly Society: on his head he wore a mitre. The Bride was dressed in a scarlet mantle, under which was a gown which reached from her neck to her feet, and ornamented with fine needlework;

beneath her bosom she wore a golden girdle; and on her head a golden crown set with rubies.

"When they were thus seated, the Bridegroom, turning himself towards the Bride, put a golden ring on her finger, clasped bracelets about her wrists, and drew a pearl necklace round her neck, and said—

" 'Accept these pledges.'

"And as she accepted them, he kissed her, and said—

" 'Now thou art mine,' and called her his wife.

"Whereon all the company cried out—

" 'May the Divine Blessing rest on you!'

"This benediction was first pronounced by each separately, and then by all together; also in turn by a representative sent by the Prince.

"At that instant the chamber was filled with an aromatic smoke, which was a token of blessing from Heaven. Then the servants in waiting took loaves from the tables near the candlestick and cups filled with wine from the tables in the corners, and gave to each of the guests his own cup and loaf, and they ate and drank. After this the husband and wife arose, and the six virgins attended them with the silver lamps alit to the threshold of their chamber, when the door was shut."

The Strangers then entered into conversation with the other guests, and had the symbolism of the ceremony explained to them. They were surprised that no Priest officiated, but a wise one answered—

" 'The presence of a Priest is expedient on Earth, but not in the Heavens; but even with us a Priest ministers in whatever relates to betrothals, and consecrates the consent of the partners. Consent is the essential of marriage; all else is formality.'

"The conducting Angel then went to the Bridesmaids and asked them to come and be introduced to the Strangers. They consented; but when they drew near, suddenly retreated. The Angel followed them into the room whither they had fled, to inquire why they had gone off without speaking. They replied—

" 'We do not know. We perceived something which

repelled us, and drove us back again. We hope the Strangers will excuse us.'

"The Angel returned to his companions with the message, and added—

"I think your love of the sex cannot be chaste. In Heaven we love virgins for their beauty and the elegance of their manners; but though we love them intensely, we do so chastely.'

"'You think rightly,' answered the Strangers, smiling; who could behold such beauties and not feel some excitement?'"*

Man survives as Man and Woman as Woman through death, with every passion and every function unimpaired. "I know the Angels are Men and Women, and living in wedlock; for," says our Author, "it has pleased the Lord to open unto me the states of Heaven and Hell, that they might no longer remain unknown and their very existence questioned."†

Into the mind of the reader will have started our Lord's reply when asked by the Sadducees, whose wife in the resurrection a woman should be who had been married in succession to seven brothers—"The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the Angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

Swedenborg cites the passage, and says, the Lord referred to spiritual nuptials, which is regeneration, or marriage with Himself; which union is effected on Earth and at the same time in Heaven, and if not on Earth, never.‡

At first sight this may seem a very weak evasion of the Saviour's plain assertion, "*in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage;*" yet pointless as the explanation may appear; it contains a conclusive answer to what may be thought a fatal objection.

* Nos. 19 to 22.

† No. 39.

‡ No. 41.

For, let us remember, nothing is initiated in Heaven. *There* all which flowers owes its root to Earth; we can never be more in the Spiritual World than we are in germ *here*. Seeds formed *here*, will *there* burst into growths of which we can have no conception, but we shall be limited eternally to the seed brought from Earth. *Here* our field of life may be enlarged in area; *there*, whilst it may be cultivated onwards to eternal perfection, its fences can never be moved. Hence the unspeakable importance of our present terrestrial opportunities.

By death we are discovered in fellowship with those who are like us—with those who love and therefore think as we do. Here we live in pretences, superficially associated with people in whom we have no inward kinship. Death strips off these accidents, and reveals us in Heaven or Hell. Then are we beyond change. We have made an irrevocable choice—a choice we can never evade, nor wish to evade; for it is a structural or constitutional choice, which to change would be to destroy our very identity.

Death is thus an unveiling of work done on Earth. Death shuts our eyes on Nature and opens them on Spirit, when we find ourselves AT HOME in the deepest sense; welcomed by spiritual kindred—by brothers and sisters of the heart, and sweetest of all, every Man by some Woman who is to him Wife indeed, and every Woman by some Man who is to her Husband indeed. They are not married *there*; they were married *here* however unconsciously; for, as said, nothing is initiated in Heaven. Death only manifests the fact of the inward relation.

In this view, our Lord's words are received in their most literal acceptation—"In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God." The marriages of Heaven are effected on Earth; their celebration in Heaven is a mere formality—the recognition of an accomplished union.

It is interesting to observe how poets and preachers encourage bereaved partners to look forward to a re-union beyond the grave. To go no farther than Tennyson; he represents King Arthur addressing the sinful Guinevere—

“Perchance, and so thou purify thy soul,
 And so thou lean on our fair father, Christ,
 Hereafter in that world where all are pure,
 We two may meet before high God, and thou
 Wilt spring to me, and claim me thine, and know
 I am thy husband.”

And in his noble dedication of the *Idylls of the King* to the Memory of Albert, he addresses the widowed Queen—

“May all love,
His love, unseen but felt, o’ershadow thee,
 The love of all thy sons encompass thee,
 The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,
 The love of all thy people comfort thee,
Till God’s love set thee at his side again!”

Husbands and Wives after Death.

Marriages contracted on Earth are seldom perpetuated in Heaven; for they are rarely perfect unions of heart, and such unions alone have eternal endurance. Husbands and wives commonly see each other after death, but they soon separate, and meet and mate with their true consorts.

Sexual intercourse is enjoyed in Heaven as on Earth, “but with vast access of delight, inasmuch as the sensations of Angels are far more exquisite than those of Men. Their vivacity and vigour, moreover, are incessantly renewed: all who enter Heaven are revived with the force and bloom of youth, and are preserved therein to eternity.”* Let us recall the fine saying, “In a word, *to grow old in Heaven is to grow young.*”

No children result from angelic wedlock: for their production, a basis, a physique in Nature is requisite. Instead, “by their ultimate delights, angelic partners are more and more closely united in the marriage of love and wisdom: in Heaven the husband is wisdom, and the wife the love thereof.”†

Devils are also paired in Hell, but their love is lust. Promiscuous intercourse, to which lust is prone, “is forbidden under pains and penalties.”‡

* Nos. 41, 51, and 53.

† No. 44.

‡ No. 54.

Monks and nuns are set free from their vows after death; some incline to marriage and go to Heaven, some to lust and go to Hell. Bachelors and spinsters, who have been so unwillingly, are united to congenial partners. Amongst monks and nuns, and bachelors and spinsters, there are some who have altogether alienated their minds from wedlock. For them a region is provided on the sides of Heaven where they dwell content in celibacy. Their presence affects the Angels with melancholy, and the Angels them with fretfulness. The air of their virginity is to Heaven as a cold wind.*

True Conjugal Love.

True Conjugal Love is at this day so rare that its existence is scarcely recognized. In the hours of courtship and the honeymoon, something of its bliss is revealed, but the glory is dissipated in familiarity, and man and wife stigmatize as romance their early joy in one another. Prolong the gladness of young love, let it widen and deepen with the experience of years, and some idea will be formed of true Conjugal Love.

Conjugal Love under examination is resolved into the attraction which Goodness and Truth have for each other. These in the Lord are one and infinite—in Man and Woman divided and finite, but re-united in their marriage—

“There is a correspondence of this Love with the marriage of the Lord and the Church; that is, that as the Lord loves the Church, and is desirous that the Church should love Him, so a husband and wife mutually love each other.”†

It is therefore “in its origin and correspondence celestial, spiritual, holy, pure and clean above every other Love.”‡ It is the King of Loves, and its activities involve the sweetest pleasures of existence—

“All delights from first to last are collected into this Love, and this on account of the superior excellence of its Use, which is the propagation of the Human Race, and thence the sustenance of Heaven; and as this Use is the

* Nos. 154 and 155. † No. 62. ‡ No. 64.

chief end of Creation, it is fitting that every blessedness, satisfaction, delight, pleasantness, and pleasure should be collected into it.*

The possession of Conjugal Love is only compatible with a life in which the Lord's Will and Wisdom are Man's Will and Wisdom. It is because the world is a prey to Self-Love and its delusions, that Conjugal Love is strange to its experience. It was far otherwise in Ancient Times: then Conjugal Love was esteemed the choicest evidence of the Divine Presence.

"The Origin of Conjugal Love as grounded in the Marriage of Goodness and Truth."

The controversy as to the nature of the difference between the Masculine and the Feminine Mind is an old and unending one. All feel there is a difference, and all see the difference practically defined in the duties which custom assigns to each sex; but whether the difference owes its cause to creation, or education, or partly to creation and partly to education, has been a puzzle to some very shrewd philosophers. Sydney Smith writes—

"A great deal has been said of the original difference of capacity between men and women; as if women were more quick and men more judicious; as if women were more remarkable for delicacy of perception, and men for stronger powers of attention. All this, we confess, appears to us very fanciful. That there is a difference in the understandings of the men and the women we every day meet with, everybody, we suppose, must perceive; but there is none, surely, which may not be accounted for by the difference of circumstances in which they have been placed, without referring to any conjectural difference of original conformation of mind. As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt, and trundle hoops together, they are both precisely alike. If you catch up one half of these creatures, and train them to a particular set of actions and opinions, and the other half to a perfectly opposite set, of course their understandings will differ, as one or the other

* No. 68.

sort of occupations has called this or that talent into action. There is surely no occasion to go into any deeper or more abstruse reasoning in order to explain so very simple a phenomenon. Take it then for granted, that Nature has been as bountiful of understanding to one sex as another." *

It would be difficult to go wrong with greater perspicuity. The truth of the case is no secret; it has been made known again and again, but, as Swedenborg observes, "Truth questioned and denied is to that extent useless." Paul struggled to set forth the reality in the words—

"Man is the image and glory of God: but the Woman is the glory of the Man; for the Man is not of the Woman, but the Woman of the Man; neither was the Man created for the Woman but the Woman for the Man; nevertheless neither is the Man without the Woman, neither the Woman without the Man in the Lord; for as the Woman is of the Man, even so also is the Man by the Woman; but all things of God."

And Milton—

"Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed;
For contemplation he and valour formed,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;
He for God only, she for God in him."

And Tennyson—

"Woman is not undeveloped Man,
But diverse: could we make her as the Man,
Sweet Love were slain: his dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference."

Swedenborg coincides with Apostle and Poets, but with unequalled precision describes the differences and relations which they merely indicate. Let me try to popularize his description.

Man and Woman differ physically; and as the Body is derived from the Mind, we are bound from the diverse Effect to infer a diverse Cause: as their Bodies differ their Minds must differ: and as the root of the Mind is the Will, and the Will is the habitation of the Love, Man's Love and Woman's Love must be distinct as their sex.

* Article "Female Education" in *Edinburgh Review*, 1810.

Now, what is the distinction between Man's Love and Woman's Love?

"Man's Love is discoverable in his affection for knowing, for understanding, and for growing wise. Knowledge is the pursuit of his childhood, understanding of his youth and manhood, wisdom of his manhood and old age.

"Woman's Love is discoverable in her affection for knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom, *not in herself*, but in Man." *

These, their mental characteristics, are visibly reproduced in their forms and habits—

"That the intelligence of Women is modest, elegant, pacific, yielding, soft, tender, but that of Men, grave, harsh, hard, daring, licentious, is very evident from the Body, the Face, the tone of Voice, the Conversation, the Gestures, and the Manners of each: from the Body, in that there is more hardness in the skin and flesh of Men, and more softness in that of Women; from the Face, in that it is harder, more fixed, harsher, of darker complexion, also bearded, thus less beautiful in Men; from the tone of Voice, in that it is deeper with Men, and sweeter with Women; from Conversation, in that with Men it is loose and daring, but with Women, modest and gentle; from the Gestures, in that with Men they are strong and firm, whereas with Women they are timid and feeble; from the Manners, in that with Men they are bold, but with Women they are elegant.

"How far from the very cradle the genius of Men differs from that of Women, was made clearly evident to me from the study of a number of boys and girls. I saw them at times through a window in the street of a great city, where more than twenty assembled every day. The boys in their pastimes were tumultuous, vociferous, apt to fight, to strike, and to throw stones at each other; whereas the girls sat peaceably at the doors of the houses, some playing with little children, some dressing dolls or working on bits of linen, and some kissing each other; and to my surprise, they yet looked with satisfaction at the boys, whose pastimes were so different from their own. Hence I could see plainly that a

* Nos. 33 and 90.

Man by birth is Understanding, and a Woman, Love; also the quality of each, and what each would be without conjunction with the other." *

Let me repeat these distinctions.

Man is the love of knowledge, understanding, wisdom. He searches for information, strives to understand Nature, and delights in the application of the truths he has won.

In Woman we discover no such aptitudes. She cares nothing for science in itself, and has neither desire nor ability to extend its frontiers; but science and wisdom when realized in Man, she does love. In fine, Man loves science for itself; Woman loves science *in* Man. Such is the difference between Man and Woman's Love.

In this view we see Man as a centre of which Woman is the circumference—an oak about which she twines as vine or ivy. Man's Love displays itself in Intellect: Woman is a ring of Love around that Intellect. Her life is the worship of his. Her Intellect is formed for the reception and appreciation of his.

More: Woman is derived from Man. The Love of Man's Intellect (which Woman essentially is) exists in Man himself. We behold it in the pride of his own understanding, when Narcissus-like he gloats over his own graces. Such Love in Men we abhor; yet this Love, which in him moves us to loathing, is nothing but Woman in him. That a Wife should hold her Husband's Intellect in reverence, and that she should find in its dictates the order and strength of her life, is for her the fulness of bliss. It is the articulate or inarticulate longing of every true Woman to be brought to him whom she can honour and obey and girdle with her Love. Charlotte Brontë (with that accurate knowledge of woman's heart which her novels display) describes Miss Shirley Keeldar desiring "a husband whose approbation can reward—whose displeasure punish me. A man I shall feel it impossible not to love, and very possible to fear." The fact is, no Wife is happy who does not find in her Husband her master. Wives indeed try to rule, but they try as engineers test bridges by passing

enormous weights over them. If the bridge endures the strain, the engineer is satisfied: if the Husband yields, the Wife's triumph is her despair.

That a Man should delight in his Intellect, we rightly regard with disgust. Therefore, says our Author, it was provided that Man's love of his own wisdom should be taken out of him and made Woman. The process is described in the mysterious allegory in Genesis, where Eve is extracted from Adam.*

This doctrine of the derivation and dependence of Woman on Man will meet with little favour from those who are committed to the "woman's rights" view of the sexes; yet a contrary doctrine will have to suffer all the disasters to which fancy is subject from fact.

It is broadly asserted that Woman initiates nothing; that in all respects, mental as physical, Man is father and she mother; that whatever is in her was first in him.

Woman's name has no place among inventors and discoverers; nothing in art or science owes birth to her brain. She has kept house for the world since the world began, but it is questionable whether she ever devised or improved fire-place or cradle, dish or kettle, needle or thread. If by compulsion she trades, she never ventures out of the rut of custom; if she grows rich, it is by accumulation, or the industry of routine, never by adventure or speculation. She dislikes change, is naturally conservative. She has had ample practice in literature, but the critic vainly explores her volumes for original thought: her best efforts never exceed a skilful disposition of Man's wares—after his methods. She brings no truth to light, nor does she restore forgotten truths to new life; nor does she forge new theories or arguments. Her moral superiority is sometimes alleged, but ignorantly. She never inaugurates reformation. She rises as Man rises, and sinks as he sinks: history and ordinary experience prove she is ever ready to be as good or as wicked as he is willing to be. Her sympathy with Man is perfect; but her relation

* Nos. 193 and 194: "No Man can possibly love his Wife with true conjugal love who is vain of his own intelligence."

to him is wholly subordinate and maternal. She can no more beget ideas than she can beget children.

It may be objected that many Women are wiser than many Men; but the objection is without point. The question is, Whence is the wisdom of wise Women? Their light may be very great, but, Is it not reflected from Men, to whom they are as Moons? Nor will the question be fairly treated by references to contemporaries, whom it is impossible to estimate impartially. Their light is level with our eyes, and we can neither discern its origin nor quality with certainty. Many Women have astonished their generation by their feats in art and literature, but how seldom has a feminine reputation outlived a century!

We must distinctly separate Conjugal Love from the passion we share with animals—separate them and unite them. Conjugal Love is essentially mental; it is the passion of Woman's Mind for Man's Mind—a passion purely spiritual and exclusively human; but Marriage commencing in the Mind descends into the Body, and is there consummated in carnal delight.

*The Marriage of the Lord and the Church and its
Correspondence.*

The perfect emblem under which the Lord expresses His relation to Man is that of Bridegroom and Bride, of Husband and Wife, and pursuing the idea, of Father and Mother. In this comparison He has crowned Marriage with honour and sanctity in the highest.

Every Good Man is the Church in its least form; to every such Man therefore the Lord is Husband. From Him he lives; to him He is all that Husband is to Wife. Through conjunction with the Lord, his Will is enlarged with love, and his Understanding made prolific with truth.

"It is a common saying, that as the Lord is the Head of the Church, so the Husband is the head of the Wife; whence some may infer that the Husband represents the Lord and the Wife the Church;"* but it is not so. To-

* No. 125.

gether Husband and Wife constitute the Church. The Lord is Husband to the Wife as well as to the Man. He is indeed first received by the Man, and through the Man by the Wife,* but both alike are the Lord's. True Husband and true Wife are one being—"a perfect Church in which the full conjunction of Goodness and Truth is accomplished." †

The Chaste and the Non-Chaste.

What is Chastity? Where is it found?

In the union of one Man with one Woman, and in the satisfaction of their every desire in each other, leaving none loose to stray abroad. Perfect Marriage is perfect Chastity; nothing else is. "Love truly Conjugal, from its origin to its last delights, is pure and holy; so that it may be described as purity and holiness; consequently as essential Chastity." ‡

Whilst Chastity can only be predicated of Marriage, the celibacy of youth is not unchaste. It is neither chaste nor unchaste, but simply non-chaste. "That virgins are commonly called chaste, is owing to ignorance of what Chastity is." § Neither can Chastity be predicated of "eunuchs born or eunuchs made; they are destitute of the ultimates of love, and what has no basis, cannot exist;" to them Conjugal love "is a phantasy, and the delights thereof are as idle tales. ||" Nor can Chastity be predicated of those who do not regard adulteries as sins; still less of those who do not regard them as injurious to society; such have nothing chaste in them—the very word is void of meaning: Nor of those who abstain from adulteries for prudential reasons, as decency, impotence, age, poverty, dread of vengeance and disease: Nor of those who consider Marriage unchaste, and merely the reputable mode of lust: Nor of those who renounce Marriage in vows of perpetual celibacy; these throw contempt on Marriage, which is Chastity, and kill its

* "That which is best worthy of love in thy Husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that."
—Oliver Cromwell to his daughter, Bridget Ireton: *London, 25th Oct., 1646.*

† No. 63.

‡ Nos. 143 and 144.

§ No. 150.

|| No. 151.

possibility in themselves, unless happily some seed of Conjugial Love survive.

This claim which Swedenborg advances for Marriage as identical with Chastity is a fine instance of that divine common-sense which is the pre-eminent distinction of his genius. Celibacy, at the best, is an imaginary virtue. There is no more credit in indifference to the sex than in the privation of any other faculty—in indifference to music, or colour, or food, or pleasure of any sort: but Celibacy cannot escape as a neutral quality. Passing for the virtue of purity, it is a grand source of impurity. As Henry James observes—

“Appetite and passion never exert a controlling and therefore degrading influence until they have been rendered fierce by some foolish asceticism, some silly voluntary humility on our part, or some accidental starvation. Reduce the appetites to a famished condition, imprison them as you do a tiger, allowing them only a stinted measure of nutriment, or so much as they can compass clandestinely, and of course you insure them the tiger’s force and ferocity. Thus the unhappy and unhand-some monk, who from some spiritual insanity, some morbid ambition to achieve an extraordinary personal holiness, or a greater nearness to God than common people enjoy, sets himself to deny and starve out the most honourable and benignant of our natural appetites, often finds his interior thought polluted by the most unclean images, and his whole life turned into a sordid conflict with the basest of concupiscences: a conflict from which happily there is no deliverance but in the renunciation of his proud and delusive spiritual aims.” *

So far from purity belonging to Celibacy, the presumption is quite the other way. In Marriage alone is a wholesome life possible.

Although Protestants are guiltless of the folly of setting Celibacy over Marriage, they inherit the ascetic curse in their habit of regarding the sexual offices in weakness and shame, and treating them with studied reserve. The

* *Substance and Shadow*, Note D.

existence of the most powerful and important function in Human Nature they wholly ignore in education! They leave the first lessons concerning it to be acquired in the obscene gossip and giggle of school boys and girls, and whither those lessons tend and end, it is superfluous to state.

On the Conjunction of the Minds of Husband and Wife, signified by the Lord's words, "They are no more twain, but one flesh."

Woman, as we have seen, is the Love of Man's Understanding—"the Will of the Wife conjoins itself with the Understanding of the Man, and thence the Understanding of the Man with the Will of the Wife."* She may therefore be described as a perpetual desire towards conjunction with him. All her thoughts centre in him. Apart from him she would ask, What is the reason for existence? It is otherwise with Man. He has many interests independent of Woman. On this point Swedenborg has a great secret to reveal—

"It is unknown at this day that love is inspired into Man by Woman; yea, it is universally denied. Wives insinuate that Men alone love, and that they merely admit their affection; and inwardly rejoice that Men believe so.

"The fact is, nothing of Conjugal, or even Sexual Love, originates in Man. That it proceeds from Woman was clearly shown me in the Spiritual World. I was once conversing there on the subject, when the Men stoutly affirmed they loved, and that the Women were simply moved by their passion. In order to settle the dispute, all the females, married and unmarried, were completely removed, whereon the Men were reduced to a very unusual condition, such as they had never before experienced, and of which they greatly complained. Whilst they were in this state the Women were brought back.

"They addressed the Men in the most tender and fascinating manner; but the Men were indifferent, turning away and saying, 'What is all this fuss? What are these Women

* No. 159.

after?' Some replied, 'We are your Wives;' to which they rejoined, 'What is a Wife? We do not know you!' whereat they wept.

"At this crisis of the experiment, the feminine influence broke through the crust which had been permitted to enclose the Men, when instantly their behaviour changed, and they heartily acknowledged the Women.

"Thus the Men were convinced that nothing of Conjugal or Sexual Love resides with them, but only with Women. Nevertheless, the Women subsequently converted them to their former opinion, admitting that *possibly some small spark of Love might pass from the Men into their breasts.*" *

Women, as a matter of course, will resent this as outrageous, and some Men too; but does not Swedenborg strike something very like the truth? It is not meant that Men do not love Women; that would be absurd; but that the excitation proceeds from Woman, that Love is inspired and sustained from her heart, and that her Love is felt in the Man as his own. Andrew Fenwick (who had a rare insight into the mysteries of Human Nature) used to say, that in true Love it was always the Woman who first perceived and desired the Man, and secretly incited him to approach. We indeed know that a Woman often loves where the Man is indifferent, but no Man can love where the Woman is really careless or contemptuous: the source of Love in the latter case does not exist. Absolutely—

"There is not any Conjugal Love appertaining to the male sex; it appertains solely to the female sex, and from this sex is transferred to the male." †

It is no answer, that many a Man is desperately in love where the Woman is quiescent or scornful. We may be satisfied that if the law of Conjugal Love laid down be true, there are no exceptions to it; and that therefore the Man's pertinacity is secretly fed from the Woman's admiration; when she ceases to affect, he will cease to pursue.

The conjunction of Minds induced by Conjugal Love is accompanied by most exquisite physical sensations; as for

* No. 161.

† No. 223.

example, the thrills which result from the congress of Bosoms; "and this because the Breast is the seat of the heart and lungs, which mediate between the Mind and Body; thus the Breast is as it were a royal council chamber and place of assembly around which the Body lies as a populous city."*

Then there is a general sphere which emanates from the Body and the Mind, and which is felt as an indescribable pleasantness about those who are sympathetic—

"I have been informed by the Angels that this sphere issues lightly from the back, but more densely from the breast, where it is conjoined with the respiration; and that this is the reason why married partners of discordant affections lie in bed back to back, whilst those who are accordant mutually turn towards each other."†

Mere Sexual Love is dissipated with gratification, but Conjugial Love, whilst including Sexual Love, increases to eternity. Hence in Heaven Husband and Wife are not spoken of as two, but as one Angel. They even feel as if they were one flesh. Such experience is rare on Earth, not only because Conjugial Love is uncommon, but because the gross natural body absorbs and deadens sensation.‡

The Change of Mind induced by Marriage.

In true Marriage the Wife finds an Understanding in accord with her Will, and the Husband a Will in accord with his Understanding. The Woman desires the Man for what she lacks, and the Man is comforted in what the Woman supplies; the imperfection of each is met in the fulness of the other. In Husband and Wife we behold Consummate Man.

The development of Life in Marriage far exceeds what is possible in the arctic climate of Celibacy. The Woman's Love is at once magnified and chastened in her consort's Wisdom, and the Man's Intelligence brings forth abundantly in the warmth of his consort's sympathy.

Of this ideal Marriage we have little experience on Earth, where Men and Women are mated with the motives of

* No. 179.

† Nos. 171 and 224.

‡ No. 178.

hucksters and brutes. Yet even on such base terms, Marriage is rich with blessing. The birth of children and the affections they evoke, the softening of the Man in the tenderness of the Woman, and the invigoration of the Woman in the strength of the Man, are better a thousand fold than the hardness, the selfishness, the fretfulness, the impurity, and the conceit which are almost inevitably engendered in Celibacy.

Universals respecting Marriages.

"So many are the things relating to Marriage, that to speak of them at length would swell this little book into a large volume."* Under the above inclusive heading the Author therefore despatches various odds and ends; and among them these—

"*The Sense of Touch belongs to Conjugal Love.*" Every Love receives its peculiar gratification at the Senses, and as Conjugal Love is the summary of all Loves, it is fed at every Sense, but specially at the Sense of Touch (which is the basis of all the Senses), where it suffers exquisite delight in a multitude of titillations; "but we leave the further consideration of the matter to lovers."†

"*With those who are in true Conjugal Love, the happiness of dwelling together increases*, because they love each other with every sense. The Wife sees nothing more lovely than the Husband, and the Husband sees nothing more lovely than the Wife; neither do they hear, touch, or smell anything more lovely: hence the happiness they enjoy in living in the same house, chamber, and bed. You that are Husbands can attest this—at any rate from the memory of those hours when your Wife was the only one of the sex you loved."‡

Husband and Wife in true Conjugal Love enter continually into closer union, with the perpetual desire to be one Man, and with an underlying sense that their union is eternal. If they thought for an instant that their connection was to be dissolved, "it would be as if they were cast down from Heaven—

* No. 209.

† No. 210.

‡ No. 213.

"On a certain occasion an Angelic Couple were present with me, when an idle disorderly Spirit removed the belief that their union was eternal, whereon they began to moan, saying, they could not live any longer, and felt such misery as they had never felt before. When their unhappiness was perceived by their comrades in Heaven, the mischievous Spirit was driven away, and their faith in eternity restored, and in gladness they tenderly embraced each other.

"The case is similar with affectionate Couples on Earth. They have an inward conviction of their eternal union; should the thought of death intrude, they are grieved, but their hope revives in the conviction of life beyond the tomb." *

"*The Lord provides Similitudes for all, if not on Earth, then in Heaven.*" All who enter Heaven, whatever may have been their condition on Earth, meet and wed with kindred Spirits. "The Lord provides that pairs be born; and all the delights of Heaven spring from Conjugal Love, as sweet waters from a fountain-head.

"I have heard from the Angels, that when a pair who have been educated from childhood in Heaven become marriageable, they meet in some place as by chance. When they see each other, they instantly know, as by a kind of instinct, that they are a pair. The youth, by an inward dictate says, She is mine, and the maiden, He is mine; and by-and-bye they accost and betroth themselves.

"It is said by chance, by instinct, and by dictate: the meaning is by Divine Providence." †

"Maidens in Heaven, like their sisters on Earth, conceal their inclination to Marriage, from an innate prudence. The Youths there, in their masculine eagerness, know no other-wise than that they move the maidens to love; when the fact is quite the reverse, their passion being an influx from the Women." ‡

The Causes of Coldness, Separation and Divorce.

Swedenborg now descends to the treatment of Marriages which are so only in name—to civil contracts in which the

* Nos. 215 and 216.

† No. 229.

‡ No. 187.

heart has only a slight interest. The causes of coldness he enumerates with the coolness of a lawyer; and the shrewdness wherewith he takes account of health and wealth, rank and chattels, reminds us that our Author was the son of a certain Bishop of Skara.

Love is the heat of Life, and the absence of Love is spiritual cold. Sexual Love is derived from and simulates Conjugal Love, and people marry under its influence and fancy themselves conjoined for ever; but as its fervour abates, the truth is revealed that their Minds have no real affinity. Spiritual cold supervenes; they grow callous towards each other; and in the worst cases "discord, disdain, and aversion ensue, and at last separation from bed and board."

The causes of cold he divides into three—I. Internal, II. External, and III. Accidental.

I.—The internal causes are religious. The first of these is the rejection of religion by both partners. With such Conjugal Love is impossible. "They will ridicule the truth that every one has Conjugal Love according to his state in the Church. Be it so. They are to be pardoned, for they can no more distinguish between marriage and adultery than a camel can go through the eye of a needle." *

A second is, that one partner is religious and the other not. "They cannot live together harmoniously. The irreligious husband cannot look the religious wife in the face, or breath with her, or speak to her except in a subdued tone. Hence such marriages dissolve of themselves." †

A third is, that the partners are of different religions. In true love a wife is attached to her husband through trust in his wisdom. If therefore she is of a different religion, it is obvious that the very reason of love is absent. Here is an experience to the point—

"I was once wandering through the streets of a great city seeking for a lodging. I entered a house inhabited by a man and wife of diverse religion, when the Angels instantly accosted me, saying, 'We cannot remain with you

* No. 240.

† No. 241.

in that house, for the married partners differ in religion.' This they perceived from the internal disunion of their souls."*

A fourth is, false religion, which in so far as it prevents union with the Lord prevents that union of souls which is dependent on union with Him.

Nothing is more common than internal cold from such causes, but it is concealed under cover of politeness and bustling kindliness. Partners between whom a frozen void exists can know nothing of the satisfaction and the bliss of Conjugial Love; and should they read or hear of its ineffable joys, would deride them as fabulous romance.†

II.—A first cause of external cold is "dissimilitude of mind and manners induced by education; as for example, of an ill-bred man or woman to a well-bred one, of neatness to slovenliness, of quarrelsomeness to gentleness. Such marriages are like the conjunction of sheep with goats, stags with mules, turkeys with geese, yea, as of dogs with cats."‡

A second is, "that marriage is ranked with adultery, only that one is sanctioned by law and the other is not. A wife is thus equalled with a harlot, and the man is an adulterer, if not in body, yet in spirit."§

A third is, "a strife for pre-eminence, which changes the freedom of love into servitude. During such strife, if the minds of the partners were laid open, they would appear as boxers regarding each other with alternate hatred and favour; with hatred while in the vehemence of strife, and with favour while in the hope of dominion."||

A fourth is, "a want of determination to business, whence comes wandering lust." Work keeps the mind circumscribed, vigorous and healthy, whilst idleness throws wide its gates to Hell with all its loose desires. Conjugial Love cannot exist with uselessness; it flourishes alone in union with activity and alacrity of life.**

A fifth is, "inequality of rank and age; as of a lad with an old woman, or a girl with an old man; or, as of a prince with a maid-servant, or of an illustrious matron with a

* No. 242.

† No. 244.

‡ No. 246.

§ No. 247.

|| No. 248.

** No. 249.

footman ; unless indeed there be such a strong congruity of character as to overpower such outward inequalities." *

III.—Accidental causes of cold are referred to certain physical acts and desires, concerning which the curious had better refer to Swedenborg himself. †

Apparent Love, Friendship and Favour in Marriage.

"Few at this day are spiritually married, but many live comfortably together. It is in no one's power to prevent internal disagreement; it is enough that friendship and favour be outwardly assumed. Such assumption is necessary and useful; for without it neither families nor society could exist." ‡

The Spiritual World is organized according to sympathies; there you will be near those you like and distant from those you dislike; and no pretence will be available, for the inmost character is there described in the countenance, demeanour and voice, yea, in the very odour of the person. Here vested in flesh it is otherwise; through its dense folds few can plainly discern their brethren, still less their sisters. § Under it we can hide our feelings, assume what we are not, and associate agreeably with those who inwardly move us to weariness, or even to abhorrence. ||

As every one knows, the majority of marriages are contracted on other terms than those of spiritual affinity. "The first desire of this age," says our Author, "is increase of wealth and a full measure of the luxuries of life; the second, a thirst for honour and respectability." ** To win or add to these is the chief purpose of marriage; and thus, when the first heat of lust has subsided, Husband and Wife usually discover a void between their hearts, which in the Spiritual World would be represented by leagues and leagues of space.

Spite of this worldliness, something of the great truth that there is a kinship of Soul between *one* Man and *one*

* No. 250.

† Nos. 256 to 260.

‡ No. 271.

§ "Woman, by a peculiar power, withdraws her internal affections into the inner recesses of her mind." No. 274.

|| No. 272.

** No. 274.

Woman in the Universe, and that their conjunction in marriage is of all triumphs the greatest and of all bliss the sweetest, is recognized by every mind not wholly given over to the Devil. How "love laughs at locksmiths," breaks every fence, defies every danger, and knows nothing impossible between itself and its consummation, is in some way the life and theme of every drama, poem and tale, and will continue to be so "world without end." The story of love will never tire and will never be exhausted.

Here rises the question; If a Man and Woman are married who have no internal relation to each other, whether by their own mistake or the craft of parents and guardians, and either of them encounter one whose presence is light and life and joy, Shall the legal fetters of a conventional union hinder that Heart from the fruition of its love, binding it in hopeless wretchedness to a stone that it drags or a corpse that it loathes?

This problem French novelists delight to present and solve as Swedenborg says it is solved in the World of Spirits; as Socialism says it ought to be solved here, and as Schleiermacher and sundry Germans and Americans have boldly advocated and practised. Our first duty, say they, is to yield to the impulse of the Heart, and be true to ourselves and others, and that it is a crime against Nature to live year by year in the pretence of affection where there is only the languor of indifference or the misery of dislike.

Cool and prudent Swedenborg sets Nay against such reasoning. He holds that marriage is only dissoluble by death; the Lord's words are, "*It is not lawful to put away a Wife and marry another except for fornication.*" For certain reasons, he permits separation, and allows a Husband to enter into concubinage, but the bonds of wedlock are not to be broken; "*where there is no genuine Conjugal Love it ought to be assumed.*" *

Before giving his reasons for this shrewd advice, and as a help to their appreciation, a few words may not be out of

* Nos. 276 and 279.

place on those differences which allow a free dissolution of superficial marriages in the World of Spirits, but which would endanger the fabric of society on Earth.

Here children are products of marriage; in the Spiritual World they are not; and their interests alone constitute sufficient reason why the union of their parents should be maintained inviolable. Women likewise hold most unequal stakes in conjugal partnership; its termination would leave them irreparable losers. In the Spiritual World the body cannot be exhausted beyond renewal, for there all retain to eternity the vigour of youth. There too, the manifest Heart and unsheathed Senses enable Husband and Wife to discern one another infallibly. Here there is no such facility: masked in the flesh we see "through a glass darkly," and make woful mistakes. Where we are most confident we are acting rightly, we subsequently discover we have gone far astray, and if we might drift in and out of marriage according to feeling or conscience, we should have no guarantee that the second choice was better than the first, and too surely should end in boundless debauchery.

Hence public opinion has determined that the choice made in marriage shall be for life, "for better, for worse." Husbands and Wives may wrangle, but the very fact of the permanence of the partnership leads them to make the best of a bad business, and possibly to convert it into a happy one.

We thus see how idle it is to seek a sanction for the abrogation of uncongenial Marriages (as has been done) in the practice of the Spiritual World. Yet if any choose to fulfil the duty indicated by Schleiermacher and "obey the sacred impulse of the Heart," there is nothing to hinder save the frown of society, which many are able to defy, as the records of divorce courts attest.

When therefore Husband and Wife become conscious that their union is a crust with no substance underneath, they are not to fly apart. The love of which they are destitute, let them counterfeit. "Semblances of conjugal affection are not hypocritical; on the contrary, they are

commendable for their usefulness and the ends they secure ; and are moreover demanded by duty and decency." *

Among the uses which the semblances of conjugal affection subserve are these—

By them order is preserved in the house, children tended and provided for, and that air of domestic quiet maintained to which the Husband, worn with the troubles of the world, may resort for rest and refreshment.†

By them a Man's reputation out of doors is preserved. "A Wife knows her Husband's secrets, and if they broke into open enmity, she would proclaim them, and bring disgrace on his name. To prevent this mischief, he must either feign affection or dissolve housekeeping." ‡

By them "various favours are secured from relatives ; especially in the case of a Man who has married a rich Wife who hoards her money and compels him to keep house out of his own income; or when a Man has married a Wife with influential connections in lucrative offices or business, and who have it in their power to advance his condition." §

The semblance of conjugal affection is procured in another and more dreadful way, namely, by the complete subjection of one partner to the other—commonly of the Husband to the Wife. We have a curious revelation on the subject—

"There are Infernal Marriages, in which the partners are inwardly inveterate enemies and outwardly the closest friends. I am forbidden by Wives of this character in the Spiritual World to describe these Marriages, lest their art of obtaining ascendancy (which they sedulously conceal) should be exposed. By the Men, on the other hand, I am urged to divulge the Woman's clandestine arts. I compromise by giving these particulars.

"The Men said they unconsciously acquired a terror of their Wives, and were constrained to obey them in the most abject manner. This was the case not only of ordinary men, but of lofty dignitaries, yea of brave and famous generals. They also said that after they had acquired this terror, they could not help conducting themselves

* No. 279. † Nos. 281, 283, and 285. ‡ No. 286. § No. 287.

towards their wives with friendliness, yielding to all their humours, whilst at heart they hated them with deadly hatred: at the same time the Wives were equally courteous externally.

“Now as the Men greatly wondered how they could thus hate inwardly and love outwardly, they sought for the cause in questioning some Women acquainted with the secret art. From them they learnt that Wives are skilled in a science (which they hide deeply) whereby, if they are so disposed, they can subdue Men to their will. This, vulgar Women accomplish by alternate quarrels and kindness, by harsh and pleasant looks, and polite Women by urgent petition and persevering resistance. They know Men cannot resist their pertinacity; and when they get them under they keep them under, treating them with just so much civility and tenderness as ensures their sway.

“The true cause of the dominion which Wives acquire by this cunning is, that Man acts from Understanding and Woman from Will, and the Will can persist as the Understanding cannot. I have been told that the worst of this sort of Women (who are altogether a prey to the Love of Rule) can remain firm in their humours to the last gasp of life.”*

Betrothals and Nuptials.

The right of choice belongs to the Man. He, by reason of the predominance of the Understanding, is able to come to a sounder conclusion as to a suitable union—in a worldly sense. “Women are born to love, and have not the requisite grounds for discrimination”—again in a worldly sense. Moreover, “Men love the Sex in general: Women one of the Sex in particular.” Hence men can take a wider survey and select from a more numerous variety.

When a maiden has received an offer, she is “to consult her parents or guardians, and deliberate with herself before she gives consent.” She is to consult her protectors, “for

* No. 292. For an illustration of the last sentence, see the account of the subjection of Charles XII. by his She-Devil; present volume, p. 223.

from her limited experience she can know little of men, or of the property and family of her suitor." *

Consent being given, pledges follow—"rings, scentbottles, ribbons, which are the gladnesses of love, and exhilarate the spirits, and contain as it were the heart of the giver." †

Consent is further assured by "solemn betrothal," whereby the minds of the lovers are united in anticipation of complete union. After sufficient time has elapsed, "consecrated by a priest and celebrated with festivity," ‡ Marriage is consummated.

Repeated Marriages.

"It may be a matter of question whether Conjugal Love can be transferred to another after the decease of a partner; also whether repeated Marriages have anything in common with Polygamy; and similar inquiries which often add scruple to scruple with those of a reasoning spirit. That they may no longer grope in the dark, I adduce these remarks." §

Whether a widower or widow should marry again depends entirely on the character of the union with the partner who has retreated to the Spiritual World. If the union was a real one, there must needs be an aversion to a new connection. Over hearts knit together conjugially, Death is powerless. Hidden from one another as to body, Husband and Wife are one in spirit, and as soon as kind Death undoes the last fetters of the flesh, they are re-united eternally.

"Such unions however are at this day rare; there are few who make any approach to them. Marriages interiorly conjunctive can scarcely be contracted on Earth, for elections of internal likenesses cannot be provided by the Lord as in the Heavens. Choice is limited in many ways; as by equals in rank and estate within the same country, city and village." ||

With those who have not been internally united, there is nothing to hinder a repetition of wedlock. Their union

* Nos. 298 and 299.

† No. 300.

‡ Nos. 308 to 310.

§ No. 317.

|| Nos. 318 and 320.

was little more than physical, and the tie being undone, they are free to choose again as inclination or prudence may dictate.

So likewise with even those who have been blest in Conjugal Love; for external reasons they may deem it expedient to renew wedlock; as for example—

“1. If there are children in the house, and a new mother is wanted for them.

“2. If there is a wish for a further increase of children.

“3. If the house is large, and full of servants of both sexes.

“4. If the calls of business abroad divert the mind from domestic concerns, and without a new mistress there is reason to fear disorder and misfortune.

“5. If business requires the co-operation of man and wife.

“6. If the former marriage has been so pleasant that the surviving partner cannot endure solitude.

“7. If sexual passion is too strong for celibacy; and for other external reasons.”*

Polygamy.

“The reason why Polygamy is absolutely condemned in Christendom cannot be clearly seen unless it is known *that there exists a Love truly Conjugal; that this Love can only exist between Two; nor between Two, except from the Lord alone; and that into that Love is inserted Heaven with all its felicities.*”†

Unless this knowledge precede, it is vain to try to frame a rational defence of Monogamy against Polygamy. It is true that Monogamy is prescribed by the Lord, and is the custom of Christendom, but why? Solely, says Swedenborg, on account of the truths comprised in the preceding paragraph.

“Though Conjugal Love is rare, who does not know that there is such a love? and that for excellency and satisfaction it is paramount among loves? That it exceeds the Love of Self, the Love of the World, and even the Love

* Nos' 319 and 321.

† No. 332.

of Life is testified by experience. Are there not Men who for a dearly loved Woman will adore her as a goddess, and submit as slaves to her will and pleasure? a plain proof that this Love exceeds the Love of Self. Are there not Men who for such a Woman will make light of wealth? a plain proof that this Love exceeds the Love of the World. Are there not Men who for such a Woman will treat Life as worthless, and who are ready to die in battle or duel for her sake? a plain proof that this Love exceeds the Love of Life. Lastly, have not Men gone mad from having been denied a place in some Woman's favour?"*

To love is to be happy: the happiest is he who loves most: to love deeply is to be deeply happy; and as the whole world owns there is no Love which for depth and intensity can compare with Conjugal Love, there is therefore no source of happiness to equal it. What joy in Earth or Heaven can surpass that of Husband in Wife and of Wife in Husband! and except in Monogamy, how is such happiness attainable? The very thought of Polygamy is its annihilation—

"Celestial blessednesses, spiritual satisfactions and natural delights can only exist with one Wife; and into the love of Husband and Wife, the Lord has collected all possible blessings, satisfactions, and delights."†

Monogamy is the law of Christianity; and its felicity can only be experienced by Christians, that is "by those who come to the Lord and live according to His commandments." Outside His rule there is no Conjugal Love. Christianity cannot exist with Polygamy. When a Christian enters into Polygamy, he ceases to be a Christian, and is guilty not only of natural but spiritual adultery.‡

The Israelites were permitted to marry several Wives because they were in a merely natural condition. There are many things which may be practised in an animal state, which if attempted in the bloom of Christian life are perdition. Winter is harmless over the stones and sand of a desert, but a day of winter in the midst of summer would play havoc with the finished work of spring and the hope of

* No. 333.

† Nos. 333 and 335.

‡ Nos. 336 to 339.

autumn in a garden. Even so with Polygamy among Jews and Christians.

“Mahometans are permitted to marry several Wives because they do not acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ as one with the God of Heaven and Earth, and therefore they cannot receive love truly conjugal,” * the chastity, purity and sanctity of which are derived from Christianity. A Polygamist cannot see Christian Truth. †

Polygamy is not sin to those who live in it religiously, and abide in a merely natural condition—as do the Mahometans. Wherefore Polygamists have their own Heavens, into which all come “who acknowledge God and live according to the civil laws of justice for His sake. In such God is; and every one in whom God is, is saved.” ‡

“The Heaven of the Mahometans is divided into two—a superior and an inferior, as I have learned from themselves. In the inferior Heaven they live with several Wives and Concubines as on Earth; but in the superior Heaven they renounce Concubines and live with one Wife.

“Mahometanism could not have been received by so many Nations, nor eradicated their idolatries, had not Polygamy been permitted. Without its permission, the Orientals would have burned with the fire of filthy adultery, and would have perished.” §

Christian and Mahometan Angels cannot associate—

“If they came together, the Christian Angels would become natural, and thereby adulterers, or if they remained spiritual, they would be sensible of a lascivious sphere which would interrupt the blessedness of their life. On the other hand, the sphere of the Christian Angels would afflict the Mahometans; they would insinuate that Polygamy was sin, chide them continually, and mortify all their delights. Wherefore their Heavens are kept perfectly distinct.” ||

Jealousy.

“There is a just and an unjust Jealousy. The passion is a just one with those who love each other, who dread the

* No. 341.

† Nos. 345 and 346.

‡ Nos. 348 to 351.

§ Nos. 342 and 343.

|| No. 352.

violation of their affection, and who grieve when it is injured. It is unjust in the naturally suspicious, whose thoughts are sickly in consequence of viscous and bilious blood. Moreover all Jealousy is by some accounted a vice—especially by whoremongers.” *

Jealousy is the zeal or anger of Conjugal Love—

“All Love bursts into anger, yea into fury, when disturbed in its delights. Such wrath accompanies every Love, even in the most pacific creatures: hens, geese, and birds of every kind lose their fear and fly at those who molest their young or rob them of their meat.” †

Inasmuch as Conjugal Love is the chief of Loves, its anger is most terrible, and is well named Jealousy—“*zeli typus*, the type of zeal.” Jealousy is latent in all Conjugal Love; ready to leap forth like fire and consume whoever would touch, harm, or destroy its joy.

The Jealousy of the Good is altogether different from that of the Evil. With the Good, it is simply defensive and is satisfied when aggression ceases; with the Evil it is cruel, pitiless, and insatiable. ‡

Conjugal Love being rare, its Jealousy is rare, but there is much which simulates it, as is even seen in the Licentious and Polygamists. Jealousy with such is not anger, grief, or terror regarding a Love they never had nor knew, but is envy and spite, and dread of the world’s opinion and the world’s tongue.

The Conjunction of Conjugal Love with the Love of Infants.

The Love of Children is derived and inseparable from Conjugal Love. “It may be objected, that married partners who disagree entirely, or who even live apart, have a stronger affection for children than those who love each other, but we are not to be led away by such appearances, for they are fallacies. Conjugal Love *is* the origin of the Love of Infants, and a wise man commences from causes and descends analytically to effects, and not *vice versâ*.” Amongst many, “two spheres proceed from the Lord;

* No. 357.

† No. 358.

‡ Nos. 363 to 366.

namely, the Sphere of Procreating and the Sphere of Protecting what is Procreated. These Spheres pervade the Universe, Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral, and are received and manifested in Man as Conjugal Love and the Love of Infants.”*

We have here an amusing example of the passion for system at any cost, and when cautioned “to disregard appearances as fallacies,” are reminded of the well-worn story of the theorist, who when assured that his doctrine did not square with facts, exclaimed, “Then so much the worse for the facts!”

Conjugal Love as Cause has not its equivalent as Effect in the Love of Children. The genesis and order of these Loves may be as alleged in the Divine Spheres, but if so, they are manifested in endless variety of measure in Men and Women. As common observation and phrenology prove, Amativeness and Philoprogenitiveness are far from existing in equal proportion. We constantly see vigorous sexual passion in combination with indifference to offspring, and intense affection for children united with feeble procreative desire. Doubtless Philoprogenitiveness was designed to care for what Amativeness produced, but in the individual they are rarely found in the due equality of Cause and Effect.

“The Sphere of the Love of Infants affects the Evil and the Good, as experience testifies; likewise tame and wild beasts; yea, in some cases the Love is more ardent in the Evil and in wild beasts. The reason is, that all Love from the Lord is changed into Life according to the Form in which it is received; and the Evil, seeing themselves in their offspring, love them with the vehemence with which they love themselves. Thus it is that the affection for their young is stronger in wild beasts, as lions and lionesses, he and she-bears, leopards and leopardesses, he and she-wolves, and such like, than in horses, deer, goats, and sheep.”†

As Conjugal Love originates in Women and is inspired by them into Men, so likewise the Love of Infants—

* Nos. 385 to 390.

† No. 392.

"It is well known that Mothers are influenced by a most tender Love of Infants, and Fathers by a Love less tender. That the Love of Infants is inherent in Conjugal Love is evident from the delight of girls in babies, and dolls, which they carry, dress, kiss, and press to their bosoms; boys are not at all affected in the same way." *

The Lord is present in Infants as Innocence, and the Innocence in them excites any remains thereof in the Parents with a most holy and exquisite delight. This affection of Innocence by Innocence is accomplished through the Senses—

"By the eyes in seeing Infants, by the ears in hearing them, by their odour, and especially by touch, as is plain from the satisfaction felt in bearing them in the arms, in fondling and kissing them; and this particularly in Mothers who are delighted in burying the face and mouth in their bosoms, in touching them with the palms of their hands, in suckling them at their breasts, in stroking their naked bodies, and in unwearied pains in washing and dressing them on their laps." †

As Innocence retires, differences of character and self-will separate Parents and Children.

The Love of Children is very different in Spiritual and Natural Parents—

"The Spiritual love their Children for what is Good in them—for intelligence, usefulness, and piety. If they do not observe in them such virtues, they are alienated, and they do no more for them than duty requires.

"The Natural regard their Children as themselves, and fawn upon them. They do not love them from any fear of God or for their virtues, but only for their external qualities, which they favour and indulge, closing their eyes on their vices, and excusing and allowing them." ‡

The criterion here as elsewhere is the presence of the Lord—of Him as Goodness and as Wisdom. Him only ought we to love, and whatever be the package, be it Parent, Husband, Wife, Child, Family, or Country, if He is not the contents, there is nothing to claim the affection

* No. 393.

† No 396.

‡ No. 405.

or respect of the Spiritual Man. As the Lord said, "*He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.*"

The course of the treatise is broken at intervals by Memorabilia—adventures and discussions in the Spiritual World, chiefly illustrative of Conjugal Love: some contain curious items of experience, occasionally touched with poetry, but the interest usually evaporates in long-winded disquisitions—Angels, male and female, launching out into most intolerable Swedenborgian metaphysics. Here is a picture of a Husband and Wife from the Third Heaven cut, as it were, out of a panel—

"One morning I was looking upwards into Heaven and heard a voice as of a trumpet, saying—

"'We have perceived that thou art meditating on Conjugal Love, and we are aware that no one on Earth knows anything of its origin and essence: yet it is important that Conjugal Love should be understood. With us in the Heavens, and especially in the Highest Heaven, our chief delights spring from Conjugal Love. We shall therefore send down a Husband and Wife for thy inspection.'

"Instantly a chariot, glittering like a diamond, and drawn by two young snow-white horses, descended from the Inmost Heaven. I saw in it one Angel, but as it drew near, I saw there were two, with turtle-doves in their hands. They said to me—

"'We are a conjugal pair: we have lived in Heaven since what you call the Golden Age, and in the bloom of youth as you now see us.'

"I surveyed them attentively and discerned their character in their countenances and raiment. The Husband appeared of a middle-age, between youth and manhood. His eyes sparkled with the wisdom of love, and his face was of a resplendent comeliness. He wore a robe, which touched his feet, over a vesture of hyacinthine blue, girt about with a golden girdle on which were a sapphire on

each side and a carbuncle in the centre. His shoes were of velvet, and his stockings of bright linen interwoven with silver.

"I saw his Wife's face and did not see it: I saw it was essential beauty, and did not see it, for its loveliness was indescribable: it flamed with a light which dimmed my sight, so that I was lost in astonishment; observing which, she asked—

"'What do you see?'

"'I see nothing but Conjugal Love and the form thereof: I see and I do not see.'

"Thereon she turned sideways from her husband, and I was able to view her more steadily. Her eyes were bright and sparkling from the light of her own Heaven: there Wives love their Husbands for their wisdom, and Husbands their Wives for their love of their wisdom; thus are they united. This love of wisdom was the origin of her beauty, which no painter could set forth. Her hair was dressed to match her countenance: in it were inserted diadems of flowers. She wore a necklace of carbuncles, from which hung a rosary of chrysolites. On her wrists were pearl bracelets. Her upper robe was scarlet, underneath which there was a purple stomacher fastened in front with clasps of rubies. What however surprised me was, that the colours she wore varied according to her attitude towards her Husband: they glittered as she turned to him, and grew dull as she turned from him.

"When I had done looking, we conversed. When the Husband spoke, his Wife seemed to speak likewise; and when she spoke, he seemed to speak too: this union of speech resulted from the union of their minds. I discerned the innocence and peace of Conjugal Love in their tones.

"The interview ended in their saying, 'We are re-called: we must depart.' A chariot conveyed them away along a paved road bordered with flowering shrubs and beds of olive and orange trees laden with fruit. As they drew near their own Heaven they were welcomed by virgins.

"Afterwards I saw an Angel from their Heaven with a roll of parchment in his hand. He unfolded it, saying—

“I see you are meditating on Conjugal Love: in this parchment are contained arcana respecting that Love which have never been disclosed to the world: they are now to be disclosed: and I prophesy, none will receive that Love save those whom the Lord will lead into the New Church which is the New Jerusalem.’

“An Angelic Spirit received the parchment and laid it on a table in a certain closet, which he instantly locked, and holding out the key to me, said—

“‘WRITE.’” *

ADULTEROUS LOVE.

Everything in the Universe has its opposite; and having learnt what Conjugal Love is, we are in a fair way to understand its antagonist—Adulterous Love. The one is inappreciable without acquaintance with the other—

“For who can know what is Evil and False unless he knows what is Good and True? and who knows what is unchaste, dishonourable and ugly, unless he knows what is chaste, honourable and lovely? In like manner, Who can clearly discern what is the quality of Adultery unless he has first clearly discerned what is the quality of Marriage? and who can make a just estimate of the filthiness of the pleasures of Adulterous Love but he who has first made a just estimate of the purity of Conjugal Love? No one knows Good from Evil, but Evil from Good; for Evil is in darkness, whereas Good is in light.” †

As the origin of Marriage is the passion of Woman as Goodness for Man as Wisdom, it follows that the origin of Adultery is the passion of Evil for Falsity. Hence all the Wicked are Adulterers, whatever may be their conduct on Earth; they carry the principle of Adultery in their Hearts; wherefore as Heaven as a whole is called Marriage, so “Hell as a whole is called Adultery—

“All who are in Hell are in the lasciviousness and immodesty of Adulterous Love, and shun and dread the chastity and modesty of Conjugal Love; for those two Loves are diametrically opposed to each other as Hell to Heaven, and Heaven to Hell.” ‡

* Nos. 42 and 43.

† Nos. 424 and 425.

‡ No 429.

Whilst each adulterer in Hell is bound to a single paramour, there is in every Adulterer an inclination to license, and an inability to perceive any reason beyond convenience for Monogamy—

“When a Man is in the lust of Adultery, his Will forces his Understanding to justify it, asking, What is Adultery? Is there any harm in it? Is there not the same harm in the connection of Husband and Wife? Are not children equally born as in Marriage?”*

As to the difference between Marriage and Adultery, the World at this day is generally blind—

“On a certain time the Angels assembled some hundreds from Europe who had been distinguished for their erudition and wisdom, and questioned them concerning the distinction between Marriage and Adultery. After consultation all except ten replied that the Law of the State constitutes the only distinction. They were next asked, Whether they saw any good in Marriage and any evil in Adultery. They answered, that they did not see any good or evil which could be defined by Reason. Being further questioned, Whether they saw any sin in Adultery, they asked, ‘Where is the sin? Is not the act alike?’”†

It is difficult, yea impossible, to decide in whom Conjugal and in whom Adulterous Love prevails. “There are Marriages in which Conjugal Love does not appear and yet is, and there are Marriages in which it does appear and yet is not.” This however is certain—that sacred Love is born and bred in Religion; wherefore in every Good Heart it abides, and whatever may be the lot of that heart on Earth, it will enter into the fruition of its passion beyond the grave.‡

“There are many reasons which prevent an Adulterer from being one in act whilst he is one in spirit. There are some who abstain from fear of legal penalties, from fear of loss of reputation, from fear of disease, from fear of quarrels, from fear of vengeance, from poverty, avarice, age, impotence. If any one abstains from such reasons he is an

* *Divine Providence*, No. 144.

† No. 478.

‡ No. 531.

Adulterer, and after death his character is displayed manifestly.” *

Widely must verbal and professional virtue be separated from real virtue—

“Make an experiment. Catch a Jesuit. Hear him discourse in company, or preach in a temple on the Church and Heaven and Hell, and probably he will move you to sighs and tears for your salvation. Take him home, flatter him excessively, call him the father of wisdom, and make yourself his friend, until he opens his heart. *Then* you will discover what he really thinks of God, the Church and Heaven and Hell—that they are mere fancies and delusions—bonds invented for souls, whereby great and small, rich and poor, may be caught and kept under dominion.” †

The Earthly and Heavenly estimates of crime are very different—

“Various circumstances on Earth mitigate and aggravate crimes, but deeds are of no account after death; simply their results in the formation of character—

“Thus in the case of Adulteries: these are imputed to every one, not according to deeds, but according to motives; for deeds pass with the body to the tomb, but the mind with its motives rises again. ‡

“I have met with several who lived outwardly on Earth like others, dressed gaily, traded on borrowed money, frequented theatres, conversed jocosely on love affairs, and so on. The Angels charged some with such conduct as sin, and others not. On being questioned why they did so, they replied that they regard all deeds from their internal purpose, and distinguish accordingly.” §

Fornication.

Adultery (that is licentiousness by or with one who is Husband or Wife) is condemned without reserve by Swedenborg; it is with him a synonym for Hell: but he begs us not to confound it with Fornication, which he defines as “the lust of a youth or man with a harlot before marriage.” ||

* No. 494. † No. 499. ‡ No. 530. § No. 453. || No. 499.

Fornication is of a neutral character; it is grievous as it inclines to Adulterous Love; it is venial as it inclines to Conjugal Love.

“We must take a clear view of the degrees and diversities of the Love of the Sex, of its chaste principles on the one side, and of its unchaste on the other, arranging each into genera and species. Without these distinctions all relation perishes; Fornication is identified with Adultery, and diverse Evils reduced to one pottage and diverse Goods to one paste.

“Every one sees from common-sense that Fornication is not Adultery. What law or what judge imputes a like criminality to a Fornicator and an Adulterer? The reason is, that Fornication is not opposed to Conjugal Love as is Adultery. Conjugal Love may lie hidden in Fornication as what is Spiritual in what is natural, even as wood is invested in bark and a sword in a scabbard.”*

Fornication is for some a necessity—

“With those in whom the Love of the Sex is vigorous, it cannot be denied indulgence without serious mischief to mind and body. With those in whom the passion is weak, and who can resist its sallies, and with those who can marry early without injury to their fortune, there is no excuse for Fornication. In Heaven, where Marriage is coincident with puberty, Fornication is unknown. The case is different on Earth, where wedlock cannot be contracted until youth is past, and where under some Governments it is forbidden until sufficient means are secured to maintain a family.

“For this cause, as is well known, stews are tolerated by kings and magistrates in great cities, as in London, Amsterdam, Paris, Vienna, Venice, Naples, and even Rome.”†

For Men of strong passions and unable to marry “there seems to be no other refuge than keeping a Mistress. By this means promiscuous and inordinate fornications are avoided, a state resembling wedded life induced, the heat of lust mitigated, the strength preserved from waste in vague amours, mental and physical disease averted, and adulteries and other debaucheries escaped.”‡

* Nos. 444 and 449; also 463. † Nos. 98, 450, and 451. ‡ No. 459.

The Mistress must be neither a Maiden nor a Wife—

“If a Maiden, a virgin is converted into a harlot, who might have been a Bride or a chaste Wife, and some Man is thereby defrauded. . . . Whoever takes a Maiden and makes her a Mistress may indeed dwell with her, and thereby initiate her into the friendship of love, but he must do it with the constant intention to make her his Wife.

“The Mistress must not be a Wife; for if a Wife, then Adultery is committed.”*

He who forms such a connection must make its terms clear, using no deception and exciting no expectations, and keep it strictly physical—

“The love of a Mistress is unchaste, natural and external; the love of a Wife is chaste, spiritual and internal. The minds of a Man and his Mistress are distinct; their union is limited to the body; should however a tenderer affection spring up—should their hearts become engaged, and the Man leave her and marry another, then he destroys Conjugal Love in himself.

“These observations are not intended for those who can govern their lusts, or who can enter into Marriage in their youth. . . . It is far better that the torch of love be lighted with a Wife.”†

To discuss the subject of Fornication superficially would be worse than useless; to discuss it thoroughly is quite beyond our province; but I cannot leave the matter without expressly disowning sympathy with Swedenborg's treatment of the case. Admitting the mischiefs of Celibacy to the full, I shrink from the remedy of Mistress-keeping. It may be that in many cases early Marriage is inconvenient, but what inconvenience will a Christian set against the shame of Fornication and the degradation of Woman? To speak the truth is often highly inconvenient, but a moralist does not encourage us to evade the inconvenience by falsehood. No; he says, Speak the truth and bear the penalty. So with Sexual Passion. Gratify it in honest wedlock, and accept

* No. 460.

† Nos. 459 and 460.

the consequences. Certain I am that the Devil never contrived a more pernicious delusion than that which issued in its most philosophic shape from the brain of the well-meaning Malthus. Over-population from early marriage was never anything but an arithmetical chimera; but who will compare the imaginary difficulties of over-population with the positive evils of prostitution—with its manifold abominations and miseries?

It is to be feared that Swedenborg's own habits betrayed him into this apology for Fornication.

Amazing is his heathenish neglect of the Woman in the prescribed transaction! A youth of vigorous passions may keep a Mistress, and thereby preserve mental and physical equanimity; but what of the Woman thus sacrificed? Nothing: Swedenborg has not a word to say about her, though Hell is her portion.* True, the Mistress must be neither Maid nor Wife; but how Mistresses thus qualified are to be procured, he leaves us to imagine.

Concubinage.

His treatment of Concubinage, defined as “the intercourse of a married man with a harlot,”† is even more repulsive.

“There are two kinds of Concubinage which differ exceedingly, as dirty linen from clean—the one conjointly with a Wife, the other apart from a Wife.‡

“Concubinage conjointly with a Wife is altogether unlawful for Christians and detestable. As soon as any one without just cause adjoins a Concubine to a Wife, Heaven is closed to him, and by the Angels he is no longer numbered among Christians. From that time he despises the Church and Religion, and turns to Nature as his Deity. He is a Polygamist. He commits Adultery and destroys in himself the Conjugal Principle, which is the most precious jewel of the Christian Life.

“Let it be carefully noted however that this is the case only with him who keeps up intercourse with a Wife and a Concubine at the same time. It is not at all the case with

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1113.

† No. 462.

‡ No. 463.

him who for good reasons divides himself from his Wife and keeps a Woman." *

The valid reasons for Concubinage are set forth under three heads, namely,—I. Legitimate; II. Just; and III. Truly excusatory.

I. A legitimate license is the Adultery of the Wife, who, undivorced, is retained at home—

"1st. Because the Husband is afraid to accuse her publicly for lack of legal proof, and thereby incur the secret reproaches of men and the open reproaches of women.

"2nd. Because he is afraid his Adulteress should have the cunning to clear herself, and likewise secure the favour of the judges, and thus his name suffer in the public estimation.

"3rd. Because domestic reasons may make divorce unadvisable. The Adulteress may be an affectionate mother to the children. Husband and Wife may be bound together by mutual services which cannot be terminated. The Wife may have influential connections from whom an increase of fortune is expected. The Husband may have lived with her from the beginning in habits of agreeable intimacy, and after her fall she may be able to soothe him with pleasantries and civility." †

Under these circumstances a Husband is free to keep a Mistress.

II. A just license is found in causes which separate from the bed, as in—

"VITIATED STATES OF THE BODY.

"Contagious diseases.
 "Malignant fevers.
 "Leprosies.
 "Venereal disease.
 "Diseases which destroy sociability and from which dangerous effluvia exhale.
 "Pocks, warts, pustules, scorbutic phthisis, virulent scab, especially if it disfigures the face.
 "Foul eructations from the stomach.

"Putrid exhalations from ulcers or abscesses in the lungs.
 "Lipothamia, or a total faintness of the body.
 "Paralysis.
 "Epilepsy.
 "Permanent infirmity from apoplexy.
 "Certain chronic diseases.
 "The iliac passion.
 "Rupture, and other diseases described in pathology.

* Nos. 464, 465, and 466.

† No. 469.

“VITIATED STATES OF THE MIND.

“Insanity.

“Foolishness and idiocy.

“Frenzy.

“Loss of memory and the like.

“These being just causes of separation are likewise just causes of Concubinage, as Reason sees without the aid of a judge.” *

III. “Really excusatory causes are grounded in what is just. To know them, it is sufficient to mention a few—

“Absence of natural affection for children.

“Deceitfulness.

“Intemperance.

“Internal dissimilitude whence comes antipathy.

“Immodesty.

“A froward requirement of the conjugal debt whereby the man becomes cold as a stone.

“Gossiping about family secrets.

“Addiction to magic and witchcraft.

“Quarrelsomeness.

“Extreme impiety, and like evils.

“Striking.

“Revengefulness.

“Doing evil.

“Stealing.

“There are also milder causes which are really excusatory, which separate from the bed, and yet not from the house; as a cessation of procreation on account of the Wife’s age, whilst the ardour of love continues with the Man; besides similar causes which Reason sees to be just, and which do not hurt the Conscience.” †

Under these elastic conditions it would be hard to say who might not find an excuse for Concubinage. Swedenborg trusts to Husbands not to abuse their liberty, or seek a license for indulgence in the temporary ailments of their Wives; ‡ holding firmly, moreover, “that whilst Concubinage continues, no connection with a Wife is allowable.” §

Conjugal Love does not suffer in lawful Concubinage, but “is stored up and lies quiescent—

“Concubinage is not repugnant to Conjugal Love. It is only a veil which invests it, and which is dropped at death. It is an interruption, not a destruction of Conjugal Love.

* No. 470.

† No. 473.

‡ Nos. 471 and 474.

§ No. 476.

The case may be compared to that of a man who loves his work, but who is detained from it by company, or by public sights, or by a journey; though absent, he does not cease to love his work; or to one who loves generous wine, and who, though he drink inferior liquor, does not lose his relish for what is better.

“That this is the truth I have heard in the Spiritual World, even from Kings there, who when on Earth had lived in Concubinage for good reasons.” *

One can only read and protest with horror. The multitude of Men have no conscience in the matter of Women; † some will frankly tell you, Chastity is no virtue in their Sex. If even licentiousness be condemned, it is in a tone which suggests as much sympathy as censure. Such being the case, Swedenborg has at least this merit, he prescribes restrictions where the world imposes none.

As of Mistresses, so of Concubines, he assumes their existence, and does not bestow on them a syllable of consideration. The heartlessness is noteworthy in the Apostle of the New Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HABITS IN AMSTERDAM.

THERE lived in Amsterdam a wealthy merchant, named John Christian Cuno, with a taste for authorship and literary society. In his latter years he wrote an Autobiography, which spread over four thousand pages in four folio volumes. Not long ago these volumes, bound in sheep and gilt lettered, were picked up in a broker's shop for six thalers (18s.), and taken to Dr. Scheler (Private Librarian to the King of

* No. 475.

† If an illustration be required, a fair one may be found in Croker's *Boswell's Johnson*, Vol. VII., p. 288, ed. 1835.

the Belgians), who lodged them in the Public Library of Brussels.

Our concern with Cuno consists in his acquaintance with Swedenborg. The portion of the Autobiography which describes the acquaintance, Dr. Scheler printed in 1858.

Cuno had heard of Swedenborg, and felt inquisitive concerning him; but Cuno was "respectable," and not until he had made scrupulous inquiry—"especially of the Swedish merchants, amongst whom was Joachim Wretman, in whose Christian piety and intelligence I could confide"—did he feel safe in knowing him. The references having proved satisfactory, he was enabled to write—

"Amongst the free thinkers and enemies of Christianity, the learned Swedenborg cannot be reckoned, for he treats of God and His Word with the greatest reverence. He impressed me with the profoundest veneration for the most adorable Saviour of the World, on whose Divinity his whole system rests. If at times he maintains many palpable errors, and is therefore not to be separated from heretics, yet I do not easily find in him the motives whereby most heretics are misled. All who know him, and are willing to judge of him without prejudice, may, it is true, call his conduct somewhat peculiar, but least of all unbecoming. Enemies indeed, he has none; at any rate he cannot have provoked any by his innocent, not to say holy, demeanour."

Thus, wherever Swedenborg was known, we find a gracious memory.

"I met him for the first time," continues Cuno, "by accident in the book-shop of François Changuion on the 4th of November, 1768. The interview was agreeable to both of us.

"The old gentleman speaks French and German, but neither very readily. He also stammers, though more at some times than others.

"He gave me leave to call on him, which I did next Sunday; and kept up the practice on most Sundays as I returned from morning service.

"He lodged in the Kälberstrasse, in two very comfortable

rooms, in the house of a young couple who keep a haberdasher's shop, and who have a goodly number of little children.

"One of my first questions was, why he did not keep a man-servant to wait on him, and travel with him. He replied that he did not require any attendance, and that whilst travelling he had no fear, for his Angel was always near and in intercourse with him.

"I asked the mistress of the house if she had not a good deal to do in waiting on the old gentleman. 'Scarcely anything,' was her answer. 'My servant has only to lay his fire on the hearth in the morning and he keeps it up all day; and when he goes to bed, so leaves it that there can be no accident. He retires to rest every night when the clock strikes seven, and rises in the morning at eight. We have no more trouble with him. He dresses and undresses himself, and attends to his wants, so that it is as if no one was in the house. I wish indeed he would stay with us as long as he lives. My children will miss him most, for he never goes out but he brings them something nice. The little things are fonder of him than of me and their father. Surely the gentleman must be very rich.'"

Cuno could have enlightened his gossip on the latter head. He learned that Swedenborg had a bill of exchange for 2,000 ducats at three days' sight on Hope and Co., which he had not touched after several months of residence in Amsterdam: also that his annual income from realized property was 10,000 gulden; whereon he exclaims, "How comfortably he might live on so large a fortune at Stockholm, where he has a splendid palace and garden!"—as witness our picture thereof.

"All his works, printed on large and expensive paper, he gives away, and from his booksellers requires no accounts; yet they charge as much as ever they can, and pay themselves pretty well, as I found out when Schreuder charged me four gulden and a half for a copy of the *Apocalypsis Revelata*."

He discovered that Swedenborg had only two suits of clothes—a brown coat and black breeches which he wears at

home, and a suit of black velvet, "perfectly neat and becoming," when out in company.

"He lives very sparingly. Chocolate and biscuit form his usual dinner, of which the household have the larger share. Sometimes he resorts to a neighbouring eating-house: this I learned from himself, but only after much inquiry.

"With regard to his personal appearance, he is indeed for his years a marvel of health. He is of middle height. Although more than twenty years older than I am, I would not venture to run a race with him; for he is as active on his feet as a young man. He told me lately he was cutting some new teeth. Who ever heard of such a thing in a man of eighty-one?"

Cuno would have liked to have had his portrait taken, but there was no artist in Amsterdam that he considered equal to the commission, even at half a dozen ducats. In the engraving prefixed to the *Principia* [reproduced in the present volume] he discerned a perfect likeness, though so many years had intervened, especially about the eyes, which retained an extraordinary beauty.

When Swedenborg first mentioned his guardian Angel, Cuno observes—

"I should have laughed had any one else done so, but the venerable octogenarian spoke with the innocence of a child, and laughter did not once move me. He looked moreover altogether too holy; and out of his smiling light blue eyes, which he kept fixed on me as he conversed, it always seemed as if truth itself were speaking."

At first he felt anxious lest he should suffer insult from scorners, but experience dissipated his fears—

"I have often observed with astonishment in large companies where scoffers came prepared to ridicule the old man, that as he proceeded to relate the most wonderful tales from the Spiritual World with the open-heartedness of a child, they forgot their mockery and listened with mute attention. It was as if his eyes had the power of imposing silence upon every one."

Cuno found Swedenborg of a sociable and equable temper. Whoever invited him as a guest was sure to have him. He

dined sometimes with the Hopes, his bankers, and sometimes with his countrymen, the Grills. He usually ate his Sunday dinner at the house of his friend Wretman; and when Cuno first entertained him, he asked Wretman likewise. On that occasion, the 16th November, 1768, he said he had seen and spoken with King Stanislaus.* Many Spirits were eager to know who the new-comer was, but could not find out, and they begged Swedenborg to ascertain his name. He complied, and not only did Stanislaus reveal himself, but led his inquisitor off to see his daughter, who had been Queen of France.†

Swedenborg was fond of a game at ombre, and Cuno would have been glad to introduce him to his card parties; but as he would stay nowhere later than seven o'clock, and could not converse in Dutch, he gave up the intention.

As Swedenborg's acquaintance, Cuno was much teased for introductions to him, but he put off applicants with the assertion that he was quite accessible, and no introduction was requisite. His ignorance of Dutch was a bar to many. One lady, Madame Konauw, persuaded Cuno to bring him to her house to dinner—

“A coach was sent for us, and the old gentleman was willing and ready. We met the two Misses Hoogs, who had been educated in science and philosophy beyond what is usual with their sex. Swedenborg's deportment was exceedingly courteous. When dinner was announced, I offered my hand to Madame Konauw to lead her to the dining-room, when instantly our youth of eighty-one had his new gloves on, and presented his hand most gracefully to Miss Hoog. He was placed between Madame Konauw and the elder Miss Hoog, both of whom could talk abundantly, but I had stipulated beforehand that they should allow the old gentleman to eat his dinner in peace. They faithfully kept their promise, and their assiduous attention to his comfort seemed to gratify him very much. He ate with so good an appetite

* Stanislaus Leszczyński, born 1677; twice elected King of Poland, but forced to abdicate; became Duke of Lorraine, in which dignity he died, 1766.

† Maria, born 1703; married Louis XV., 1725; died 1768.

that I could not but feel somewhat surprised ; but they could not persuade him to have more than three glasses of wine, and these half full of sugar, of which he was very fond. At dessert the conversation flowed merrily, and afterwards at tea and coffee without interruption till seven o'clock, when, as I had taken care, the coach was ready to convey us home.

"It is incredible what a number of questions the ladies put to him, and he replied to them all: a single incident I will record: A man of note was mentioned (an ambassador, I think) who had died at the Hague. 'I know him!' he exclaimed, 'although I never saw him in this world. He has left a widow, but he is married again, and his present wife is more to his mind than she who remains behind.' This strange statement naturally provoked many queries, and the ladies were discreet enough to receive his answers without demur."

Pombal in those days was reforming Portugal, and the news reached Amsterdam that he had hanged the Bishop of Coimbra. As a young man was telling Swedenborg, he interposed—

"It is not true: he is not hanged. I have seen the Pope, and had a joke with him on the business."*

The young man darted off to the shop of Meyer the bookseller, where several merchants were assembled, and repeated Swedenborg's declaration. "It is but too true," they observed; "the details of the execution are in all the newspapers." Meyer said, "Let us bear the contradiction in mind, and see whether it prove true or false." Another remarked, "The old man is wrong in the head. He'll go to the Hague no more. It was reported that Voltaire was dead, and he told the French ambassador that he had seen him and been shocked at his horrible condition in the World of Spirits. A few days afterwards, the tidings arrived that Voltaire was not dead, whereon Swedenborg quietly decamped, and will not venture there to be laughed to scorn as a false prophet, a dreamer, and a liar!"

Swedenborg proved correct; the Bishop of Coimbra was imprisoned, but not hanged. As to the spiteful anecdote

* Clement XIII. who died in 1769.

about Voltaire, it was wholly fictitious, as Cuno knew; but he recited it to Swedenborg, as he generally related all he heard about him. He smiled, and quietly observed—

“Why, it is more than half a year since I was at the Hague, and I have not even thought of Voltaire for many years; but what falsehoods will not people invent!”

In the spring of 1769, appeared at Amsterdam—

A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. By Emanuel Swedenborg, a Swede.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BRIEF EXPOSITION OF DOCTRINE OF NEW CHURCH.*

THIS treatise is a prospectus—

“I have determined to lay before the world a complete view of the Doctrine of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem; but as it will be a work of some years, I have thought it advisable to issue a sketch thereof, as a precursor of the larger work.” †

He commences with a comparison of the doctrine of Roman Catholics from the Council of Trent with the doctrine of Protestants from the Augsburg Confession. Comparing Trent with Augsburg, he comes to the conclusion—

“That the Roman Catholics before the Reformation taught exactly the same as the Reformed did after it concerning a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, Original Sin, the Imputation of the Merit of Christ, and Justification by Faith therein, with this difference, that the Catholics conjoined that Faith with Charity or Good Works.” ‡

In this concord he fancied he had made a discovery—“its existence is so generally unknown, that the Learned themselves will be ready to wonder at its assertion.” §

* *Summaria Expositio Doctrinæ Novæ Ecclesiæ, quæ per Novam Hierosolymam in Apocalypsi intelligitur.* Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Sueco. Amstelodami: 1769.

† No. 1.

‡ No. 19.

§ No. 20.

Not at all: there is nothing better known to students of theology than the interior unity of Catholicism and Protestantism. On that inward unity, many hopes and schemes for outward unity have been based. The Jansenists proved how little divided them from Calvinism, and the Jesuits from Arminianism.

"The Church of England holds a middle place" between Rome and Geneva. Of the Greek Church he declines to say anything.*

The vigour of Roman Catholicism resides in ceremonies and of Protestantism in notions; and therein consists their vital diversity. The ordinary Catholic knows little or nothing of the abstractions which stand for faith in the mind of a lively Protestant—

"He scarcely knows a syllable of doctrine. His thoughts are engrossed in the externals of worship; in the adoration of Christ's vicar, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of images; by things accounted holy which affect the senses, as masses in an unknown tongue, garments, lights, incense, pompous processions, mysteries respecting the eucharist, and such like. By these means the primitive Romish tenet of the imputed merit of Christ is withdrawn from memory; it is as if buried in the earth and covered with a stone, which the monks watch over lest it should be dug up and revived, and with its resurrection faith should vanish in their supernatural powers of forgiving sins, justifying, sanctifying, and bestowing salvation, and therewith their sanctity, pre-eminence, and prodigious gains."†

The Protestant innovation on the Catholic creed was the separation of Good Works from Faith, and the denial of their saving efficacy. "This the leading Reformers (Luther, Melancthon, Calvin) did, that they might be totally severed from the Roman Catholics, *as these leaders themselves have frequently told me.*"‡

Salvation, or acceptance with God, they ascribed to Faith in Christ slain as a substitute for Adam's sin—for sin inherited and repeated by his entire posterity. The communication of this Faith, whereby Christ's merits are imputed

* No. 18.

† No. 107.

‡ Nos. 21 and 23.

to the sinner, was not to be received by wishing : saving Faith lay in the free gift of God : it was bestowed on this person and withheld from that, no one knew how, in the mysterious and arbitrary exercise of the Divine Sovereignty.

Whilst salvation was attained through Faith alone, Good Works followed its reception as its signs and fruits. They conveyed to Faith no extra efficacy, but merely served as slaves to adorn her queenly train.* Good works in persons destitute of Faith were merely sins in amiable guise.

“Justification by Faith alone prevails at this day over every other doctrine throughout Reformed Christendom. It is greedily learnt by all clerical students at the universities, and is afterwards published by them with an unction as of heavenly wisdom.”†

Wesley would have told a different story, as would Wilberforce and Chalmers at a subsequent date. Solifidian dogma lay quiescent last century under “a frigid morality,” but it was not dead. It held the place of authority ; and if ever a Soul awoke and went in search of God, it confronted the searcher as the Philistine did Israel, and the renown of the giant served as an excuse for other sleepers. Where the dogma did not extinguish, it perverted the efflux of Divine Life ; just as under Catholic circumstances, the same Life would be evaporated in ceremonies and crucified in asceticism.

Swedenborg was well aware that the contradictions of Protestant theology constituted an effective bar to its diffusion : hence he writes—

“It is interwoven with so many paradoxes that its tenets gain no entrance to the Understanding, but only to the Memory, and are professed in blind credulity. They cannot be learnt and retained without great difficulty, nor can they be preached or taught without great care and caution to conceal their nakedness, because sound Reason neither discerns nor receives them.”‡

Elsewhere he asserts its limited reception—

“The greater part of those born in Protestantism do not know what ‘Faith alone’ is. They do not enter into the

* Nos. 59 and 79.

† No. 81.

‡ Nos. 53 and 58.

mysteries of the doctrine. When they hear of Justification by Faith, they imagine that it means no more than a life in accordance with God's precepts in the Word.

"It is of the Lord's merciful providence that very few enter into the principle of 'Faith alone,' for those who do, pass to fearful damnation after death. Everything they have acquired from the Word is taken from them; they are stupid beyond other Spirits, and appear in heavenly light as burnt skeletons covered with skin."*

The Reformers gave theology a frightful wrench in order to break off decisively from Rome, but the dogmas from which they started—a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, Original Sin, the Imputation of the Merit of Christ, and Justification by Faith therein—were deeply erroneous.

The doctrine of the Trinity, as held throughout Christendom, is nothing short of the recognition of three Gods—

"The authors of the Athanasian Creed clearly saw that an idea of three Gods would unavoidably result from the expressions used therein. They tried to evade it by the assertion of a common substance or essence, one and indivisible, but in vain. Not all the ingenuity of metaphysics could out of three persons each God, make one God. Whatever the confession of the lips, the inevitable conception of the mind was three."†

The worship of three Gods is contrary to sound reason; wherefore "Christianity is abhorred by Mahometans, and certain nations in Asia and Africa."‡ The apology that the three are one in essence, is rightly rejected by them as a vain quibble.

The notions about the transmission of Adam's sin to his posterity, whereby equally with Adam they lie under the curse of God I., which curse is removed by the sacrifice of God II.—and not removed unless the merit of God II. is imputed to the unhappy child of Adam, but how imputed no one knows; some saying by faith on the child's part, and some by the arbitrary gift of God I., or God II., or God III.—are deadly fallacies. They are repugnant to healthy common-sense; they are generally stated in phrases which

* *Apocalypse Explained*, Nos. 233 and 250. † No. 34. ‡ No. 37.

have no correspondence with experience, and which only serve for scholastic and pulpit jugglery.

The prevalence of such terrible phantasies concerning God is plain proof that the Church has come to an end—

“The darkness at this time throughout Christendom is so intense that the (spiritual) sun gives no light by day, nor the moon and stars by night. The darkness is solely occasioned by the Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone.” *

The hour had therefore come for the establishment of a New Church. It was Swedenborg's office to set forth its Doctrine, which is in brief—

“I. That there is one God in whom is a Divine Trinity, and that He is the Lord Jesus Christ.

“II. That saving Faith is to believe in Him.

“III. That Evils ought to be shunned, because they are of the Devil, and from the Devil.

“IV. That Good Works ought to be done, because they are of God, and from God. †

“V. And they ought to be done by Man *as* of himself, but with the confession that they are from the Lord operating in him and by him.” ‡

It is a curious question how and where Swedenborg thought the New Church would be planted. When writing the *Arcana Coelestia* his expectation lay with the Gentiles. In the present treatise, he displays some hope in the Roman Catholics over Protestants, and for these reasons—

“First; because the belief in Justification by Faith is obliterated in them, and is likely to be more so.

“Second; because they assign divine majesty to the Humanity of the Lord, as is evident from their most devout adoration of the Host.

“Third; because they hold charity, good works, repentance, and amendment of life as essential to salvation.

“For these three reasons, the Roman Catholics, if they

* No. 79.

† N.B. “Whether you say Good or the Lord, it is the same thing, or Evil or the Devil.”—*Divine Providence*, No. 233.

‡ No. 43.

approach God the Saviour Himself (not mediately but immediately), and administer the holy eucharist in both kinds, may more easily than the Reformed receive a living for a dead Faith, and be conducted by Angels from the Lord to the gates of the New Jerusalem, and be introduced with joy and shouting.”*

Ah, *if* and *if*! A century has elapsed since these lines were written, and Rome is more Popish than ever, and Mary is practically the first figure in her Pantheon!

The policy of Swedenborg's attacks on Protestant Doctrine is very questionable. In the first place, no Protestant would admit that the statement he renders of his creed is correct. Our criticism has the advantage of subsequent experience, but Protestantism might have been left to bury itself. In the extreme forms in which Swedenborg deals with it, in Germany, Holland, and New England, its adherents have either lapsed into Socinianism or fallen asleep. The mongrel faith called Evangelical in England, is notorious for the ignorance and imbecility of its leaders. The early Reformers commanded the intellect of England; but what relation do those bear to the intellect of England who at this day strut on the platform of Exeter Hall? Perhaps nowhere do Protestant traditions linger in such force as in Scotland, but their influence is limited to Scotland. Of what consequence is any Scottish divine beyond the Tweed?

Better than quarrelling with Protestant Doctrine would be to accept its phrases, and show their consonance with the truth. How, that if we would know God truly we must recognize Him in Trinity, as God the infinite and inconceivable Father and Creator, as God the Son manifest in Jesus Christ, and as God the Holy Ghost manifest as the justice, purity, and tenderness of our hearts. How, that we are justified by Faith, that is to say, made just by Faith—by obedience to that Truth which is Faith. How, that the Divine Righteousness is imputed to us, inasmuch as every righteous impulse which affects us is God's, is God in us, is God who in His boundless beneficence gives Himself to us

* Nos. 105 and 108.

so perfectly that we feel His Life as our own: and so on, converting heretical falsehood into heavenly wisdom. Such treatment of Protestant Doctrine would far more effectually sap its errors than direct attacks, which too frequently confirm the very mischiefs they would remove, by reviving attention to what is quietly gliding into oblivion, and calling forth pride and passion to their defence.

Swedenborg had much intercourse with Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin.

Luther.

"I have seen him many times [1763]. He has often wished to recede from the Doctrine of Faith alone, but in vain: wherefore he is still in the World of Spirits, and sometimes undergoes great suffering.*

"I have heard him curse Solifidianism [1764] and say that when he established it, he was warned by an Angel of the Lord not to do so; but that he thought within himself if he did not reject Works, no separation from Roman Catholicism could be effected.†

"He was a most bitter advocate of his own tenets when he entered the Spiritual World, and his zeal increased as souls arrived from Earth who agreed with him. He had a house allotted him, such as he had at Eisleben, and in one of the rooms he set up a desk, raised a little from the ground, in which he took his seat, and opening the doors, he received hearers, and seated them around him according to the degree of their favour for him. He allowed questions to be asked at intervals in his harangues. By-and-bye he acquired a power of persuasion which none who came near him could resist; but as its exercise was a species of enchantment (in use among the Ancients) he was required to desist from it: he obeyed, and taught as before, from memory and understanding. Thus he continued till the Last Judgment in 1757.

"In that year he was removed to another house, and being informed that I conversed with those who are in the

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 55. † *Divine Providence*, No. 258.

Spiritual World, he came with others to me, and after asking some questions and receiving my answers, he perceived that the Church had come to an end, and that a New Church had commenced. At this he grew very indignant, but as he saw the New Heaven increase and his own congregation diminish, his railing ceased, and he began to converse more familiarly with me, and received the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem, and ridiculed his former tenets as in direct opposition to the Word." *

The Elector of Saxony.

"I have conversed with the Prince of Saxony who protected and entertained Luther. He told me he had often blamed him for separating Charity from Faith. He is among the blessed." †

Melancthon.

With Melancthon communion was not so free as with Luther: he was more deeply confirmed in Solifidianism, and the Angelic Spirits about Swedenborg could not bear his presence.

He too occupied a house like that which he had on Earth, and in his library sat writing day after day on Justification by Faith alone. In course of time his furniture disappeared, and he was left with only a table, and paper, pens, and ink. The walls of his study were plaster and the floor yellow like brick; and he clad in coarse raiment.

When he was visited by souls newly arrived from the world, he would summon a Spirit skilled in magic, who decked his chamber with handsome furniture and tapestry of roses; but no sooner were they out of sight than all would vanish to bare walls as before.

He asked the reason of his miserable circumstances, and was answered, because he removed Charity from the Church, which nevertheless is its heart. As he persisted in his erroneous notions, he appeared suddenly in an underground workhouse, "but as he had been one of the Reformers of the Church, he was released by the Lord's command," and

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 796; published 1771. † *Ib.*, No. 796.

restored to his chamber. This occurred repeatedly. When released, "he wore a rough hairy skin, for Faith without Charity is cold."

"He told me himself that at the back of his house was a chamber with three tables, whereat sat characters congenial with his own, and that with them he talked and every day became more and more confirmed in his opinions. At a fourth table were seen monstrous figures, but he was not deterred by their appearance."

At last, seized with fear, he began to write about Charity, but what he wrote one day was not legible the next, because not written from inmost sincerity.

"When the New Heaven was commenced by the Lord, he began to think that possibly he was in error, and consulted the Word: his eyes were opened to see that it is full throughout of LOVE TO GOD and LOVE TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR; and his writing on Charity did not vanish as before, but appeared faintly next day.

"Strange to say, when he walks, his steps make a noise like one walking with iron shoes on a stone pavement."*

Calvin.

About Calvin we have two contradictory accounts. In 1763 he wrote—

"I have spoken, but only once, with Calvin. He was in a Society of Heaven which appears in front above the head. He said that he did not agree with Luther and Melancthon about Faith alone, because Works are so often named and enjoined in the Word, and that therefore Faith and Works ought to be united.

"I was told by one of the Governors of that Society that Calvin was received into membership because he was honest and made no disturbance."†

In 1771 he published a very different account—

"When Calvin entered the Spiritual World he thought he was still on Earth, and when the Angels about him told him the truth, he replied, 'I have the same body, the same

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 797.

† *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 54.

hands, and similar senses.' He was a sensual man, believing nothing outside the range of the physical senses; and this being his quality, he framed all his tenets from his own understanding, and not from the Word. He made indeed quotations from the Word, but only to engage the favour of the vulgar.

"Having left the Angels, he wandered about and searched for Spirits who in ancient times had believed in Predestination. He was told they were all shut up and concealed in a distant place, but that the disciples of Godoschalcus* still wandered at large, and sometimes assembled in a place called in the spiritual tongue Pyris, to which he was conducted, and there he was in the delight of his heart. When however the followers of Godoschalcus were led away to be confined with their brethren in the cavern, he grew weary of himself, and strolled about in quest of an asylum. A society of simple-minded Spirits took him in, but when he found they could not comprehend Predestination, he hid himself in a corner and kept silence. At last some modern Predestinarians inquired after him, and he was brought out of his retirement, and a certain Governor, who had drunk of the dregs of the same false doctrine, received and protected him. Thus he continued until the Last Judgment, when the Governor and his associates were cast out, and Calvin betook himself to a house of harlots.

"As he was free to walk about, he came to me, and I told him of the New Heaven in course of construction of those who acknowledge the Lord as God. After his habit, he heard me silently, but at the end of half an hour he replied—

"'Was not Christ a man, the son of Mary who was married to Joseph? How can a man be worshipped as God?'

"'Is not Jesus Christ our Redeemer and Saviour both God and Man?'

"'He is God and Man; yet still divinity does not belong to him, but to the Father.'

* A Frankish Monk of the ninth century, from whom some say Calvin borrowed his system.

“ ‘Where then is Christ?’

“ ‘He is in the lowest parts of Heaven;’ which opinion he confirmed by His humiliation before the Father, and by suffering Himself to be crucified. He added some scoffs against the worship of Christ, and would have used more blasphemous terms, but the Angels with me closed his lips.

“ Moved by a warm zeal for his conversion I—” [went on to give proofs from the Word that God is Man and Man is God in the Lord]. To which Calvin replied—

“ ‘What are these passages from the Word but vain sounds? Is not the Word the book of all heresies? And is it not thus like vanes on the tops of houses and ships, which veer with every wind? . . . I will declare my faith—There is a God, and He is omnipotent, and there is no salvation for any but those who are elected by God the Father.’

“ On hearing this, I rejoined, in the warmth of my zeal—

“ ‘You talk impiously: begone, you wicked Spirit! You are in the Spiritual World, and do you not know that Predestination implies that some are appointed for Heaven and some for Hell? Have you then any other idea of God than as of a tyrant who admits his favourites to his city, but condemns the rest to a slaughter-house? Be ashamed and blush for your doctrine!’ ”

He had not yet done with Calvin. He read him passages from the Formula Concordiæ, and asked whether the sentiments were his. He answered, “they were derived from his doctrine, but he did not remember whether the very words flowed from his pen, though they did from his mouth.” On hearing this, all the servants of the Lord retired from him, and he turned hastily into a way which led towards a cave inhabited by those who have confirmed themselves in the execrable doctrine of Predestination.

“ I afterwards conversed with some Spirits imprisoned in that cave, and was informed that they were compelled to labour for food, and were all at enmity, every one watching for an excuse to do some mischief to his companion: and this was the delight of their lives.” *

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 798.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A VISIT TO PARIS AND OTHER MATTERS.

SWEDENBORG advertised and distributed the *Brief Exposition* liberally. To Dr. Beyer he wrote—

“AMSTERDAM, 15th March, 1769.

“I had the pleasure of receiving yours, Sir, of the 23rd Nov., 1768. The reason I did not answer it, was, that I would wait until a little work was published, entitled, *A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse*, wherein are clearly shown the errors of the Doctrines of Justification by Faith alone, and the Imputation of the Righteousness or Merits of Jesus Christ. I have sent this treatise to all the Clergy throughout Holland, and I intend to send it to the most eminent in Germany. I have been informed that they have attentively perused it, and that some of them have already discovered the truth, and that others do not know which way to turn; for it is made perfectly plain that because of those Doctrines no true Theology exists in Christendom.

“I purpose sending you by the first ship twelve copies, which you will please distribute as follows: one copy to the Bishop, one to the Dean, and the rest, except your own, to the Professors of Theology at the colleges and the Clergy in the city; for none can more justly appreciate the book than those who have entered into the Mysteries of Justification. After the little work has been read, be pleased kindly to request the Dean to declare his opinion thereof in the Consistory. All those that can and are willing to see the truth, will accede.

“Many now ask me, when the New Church will be established. I answer: By degrees, as the Doctrines of Justification and Imputation are extirpated; which probably may be effected by this publication.”

Meanwhile he received news that the Dean of Gottenburg had anticipated him, and had denounced his writings in the Consistory; whereon he prudently determined to suppress in Sweden the circulation of his attack on Protestantism. Instead of a dozen copies, he sent but one to Beyer, and begs—

“AMSTERDAM, 23rd April, 1769.

“You will oblige me by keeping this for yourself alone, and by showing it to nobody, because it contains an improvement of the whole system of Theology prevalent in Christendom; and, to a certain extent, the Theology which shall be that of the New Church. Its contents will with difficulty be understood by any in Gottenburg, except yourself.”

Swedenborg thought he had found a disciple in Cuno: Cuno listened unresistingly as he talked of his acquaintance with Angels and Devils, and possibly at times with some degree of faith; but in the main he regarded Swedenborg as a lion it was a credit to lead about. The publication of the *Brief Exposition* was the occasion for a rupture of their factitious friendship. Cuno writes—

“I thought some of the priests and preachers of our great city would come forth to encounter him. When I had waited more than a month in vain, I could no longer endure such cold indifference”—

And therefore addressed a letter to Swedenborg in confutation of his positions.

“As nothing came of it, I went to him. I found him quite unconcerned; or, if I must indeed speak the plain truth, a little angry. He seemed touched that I should view his good Angels with suspicion, and that I should think him so simple that he could not detect knaves among them. He told me dryly, that if I would not believe him, I had certainly spent far too much time in reading his writings. As he uttered these words, it struck me that the smile and the innocence to which I was accustomed in his countenance entirely disappeared.”

Very soon however the displeasure vanished, and the old kindness returned: he slipped into Cuno's hand a paper

explaining how from a Philosopher he had become a Theologian. "It was no answer to my letter," complains Cuno, "but it is the autograph of one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and deserves to be preserved."

In Cuno's Autobiography there are a series of criticisms of Swedenborg's books, which prove how superficial was his appreciation of the Seer. Of the essence of his Philosophy he had not an idea: he bewilders himself in its circumstances, testing them by Lutheran orthodoxy, and approving or condemning accordingly. He was disposed to be good-natured, but there was too much to offend his prejudices; and he had to protest, "that if Homer sometimes nods, the good Swedenborg snores like a drunken boor." His angelic acquaintance was of course inexcusable. "I pity the poor man," he writes. "He repeats his fables to the deaf so long as he has no witnesses."

Swedenborg left Amsterdam for Paris about the end of April, 1769, on an expedition concerning which there is some mystery. In his letter of 15th March, addressed to Dr. Beyer from Amsterdam, occurs the remark—

"I go from hence to Paris in about a month, and with a design that must not be made public beforehand."

The nature of this unmentionable design cannot be divined, and the ignorance is tantalizing; for Swedenborg haunts French literature as a founder or associate of secret societies; but when we require the evidence, we get nothing but rumour.* If speculation were allowable, it might be conjectured that he was beguiled into communion with some of the many mystagogues who preceded the Revolution. If so, the disappointment must have been mutual: Swedenborg was not for them, nor they for Swedenborg.

It is said he wished to publish his *True Christian Religion* in Paris, and submitted it to Chevreuil, the Censor Royal, who having examined it replied, that a tacit permis-

* See the article *Swedenborg* in the *Biographie Universelle*, wherein he is connected with an artist named Elie, who supplied him with money and furthered his designs; also Béranger's Autobiography reviewed in the *Athenæum*, 12th and 26th Dec., 1857.

sion would be granted on condition, as was customary in such cases, that the title should bear *Printed at London*, or *at Amsterdam*, but that he would not condescend to the subterfuge. The anecdote is given on fair authority;* but it is scarcely credible that the manuscript of the *Vera Christiana Religio* was ready for the printer in the spring of 1769.

Swedenborg's hatred of Roman Catholicism is intense: he seldom mentions it without extravagance, and is blind as an Orangeman to its merits: nevertheless, whilst pronouncing damnation on all confirmed Papists (as on all confirmed Protestants), he allows that hosts under the nominal dominion of Rome belong to Heaven—

“Those who have thought more about God than the Pope, and have done works of charity in simplicity of heart, readily renounce their superstitions. The transition from Popery to Christianity is as easy for such persons as entering a temple when the gates are thrown open.”

Since the Last Judgment, Catholics are not allowed to form Societies in the World of Spirits, but are drafted off with more or less celerity to Heaven or Hell. They retain their hereditary faith for a time in the World of Spirits, where they are presided over by a Pope, and are gradually weaned from their idolatrous practices. When delivered from their errors, “they feel as aroused from sleep, as passed from the dreariness of winter to the cheerfulness of spring, as sailors who after a tedious voyage have reached their desired haven.

“It is a wonderful circumstance that no Roman Catholic on his first entrance to the Spiritual World sees Heaven: his vision is terminated overhead by a dark cloud. As soon however as he enters a state of conversion, the cloud disappears, Heaven is opened, and he sees Angels in white raiment.”†

* The Preface to a French translation of the *Vera Christiana Religio* published in Paris in 1802, wherein it is said “the anecdote was communicated to one of the editors by M. Chevreuil himself.”

† *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 820 and 821, and *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 56 to 60.

Amongst the Catholic Kingdoms, Swedenborg had the highest opinion of France: "It is provided," he writes, "that there should be among them a nation which has not submitted to the papal yoke, and which regards the Word as sacred. This is the noble French nation."* United in externals to Rome, France is disunited in many respects as to internals.†

Ten years before he had made acquaintance with—

Louis XIV.

"It was granted me to speak with Louis XIV., [great] grandfather of the reigning King of France, who whilst on Earth worshipped the Lord, read the Word, and acknowledged the Pope only as the head of the Church; in consequence whereof he has great dignity in the Spiritual World, and governs the best society of the French nation.

"Once I saw him as it were descending by ladders, and after he descended, I heard him saying that he seemed to himself as if at Versailles; then there was a silence for about half an hour, at the end of which he said that he had spoken with the King of France, his [great] grandson, concerning the Bull Unigenitus, advising him to desist from his former design, and not to accept it, because it was detrimental to the French nation. He said he insinuated this into his thought profoundly.

"This happened in the year 1759, on the 13th of December about eight o'clock in the evening."‡

Admitted, that "*the Lord seeth not as man seeth, for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart;*" nevertheless uncomfortable sensations will arise as this picture of Louis XIV. is ranged in line with those of Elizabeth of Russia and George II. of England.

Pope Clement XII.

When Swedenborg was in Rome in 1739, Clement XII. was blind and full of years. He died in 1740, "and for some

* *Divine Providence*, No. 257. † *Apocalypse Revealed*, Nos. 740 and 744.

‡ *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 60; also *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5980; and Appendix, p. 33.

time presided over the Papists in the World of Spirits, but abdicated of his own accord, and passed over to the Reformed Christians, among whom he still is, and enjoys a blessed life.

"It was granted me to speak with him. He said he worships the Lord alone, because He is God; that the invocation of saints is vain and ridiculous; and further, that when on Earth he wished to restore the Church to its pristine purity, but, for reasons which he mentioned, he found it impossible.

"At the time of the Last Judgment, when the great northern city was destroyed, I saw him carried forth in a couch to a place of safety. A widely different event overtook his successor." *

Benedict XIV.

Lambertini died in 1758, after a liberal and able popedom of eighteen years as Benedict XIV. Voltaire dedicated to him his tragedy of *Mahomet*.

Three weeks after his decease, Swedenborg conversed with him on the New Jerusalem. He listened with apparent approval, but his acquiescence was simply politeness. When left to himself, he associated with cunning and malicious Spirits, and as he persisted in such companionship, he was consigned to the cavern of a harsh corrector, who punished him severely.

When examined as to his life on Earth he was forced to confess that he held the Word in contempt, ridiculed many of its passages, and regarded his own speeches in Consistory of superior value. He thought the saints had more power than the Lord, for His authority had been transferred to the popes. He loved the Jesuits, and when they were shown to be Devils, he still clung to them. He had confirmed the Bull Unigenitus and urged its reception.

He joined the most wicked of his religion, who were magicians, and wished to learn their arts. He got among the Neapolitans, who are the worst of Italians. He loved them for their cunning, in which he asserted he was their

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 59; *True Christian Religion*, No. 820; and *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5272 and 5845.

master. He met a saint who said he had been a pope, and who had come from Hell to see him. They talked together, and wished to ascertain which was most cunning: they were found equals. Afterwards he was led by various windings to the deepest of the Papal Hells, into which he rushed as to his appointed and congenial place.*

Sixtus V.

"I was permitted to converse with Pope Sixtus V. He told me he presided over a society formed from Catholics of eminent industry and judgment, and was selected for the office because he had come to these conclusions half a year before his death—

"That the vicarship of the Popes was an invention for the sake of dominion.

"That the Lord the Saviour being God, ought alone to be worshipped.

"And that the Scriptures were divine, and thus more holy than papal edicts.

"He said the Saints were nobodies, and was surprised when I informed him that their invocation was decreed in synod and confirmed by a bull.

"He said he led the same active life that he had done on Earth, and that every morning he prescribed for himself nine or ten things to be accomplished by evening.

"I asked how he contrived to accumulate so great a treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo. He answered, that he wrote himself to the superiors of rich monasteries requesting donations for holy purposes, and because he was feared, liberal contributions poured in. I told him the treasure still remained. 'Of what use is it now?' he rejoined. I then said that the treasure at Loretto had grown enormously since his time, and also in certain monasteries, especially in Spain, but not so great as in former ages; and added that the money is not hoarded for use, but for the mere delight of possession, and that thus the misers were like Pluto. When I mentioned Pluto, he exclaimed, 'Hush! I know.'

* *Spiritual Diary*, Nos. 5843 to 5847.

“He desired me to inform those in the world, that Christ is the God of Heaven and Earth, and that the Word is holy and divine; also, that the Holy Spirit does not speak through the mouth of any one, but that Satan does so, with the wish to be taken for God; and whoever is stupid enough to fancy otherwise, goes to Hell, where those who think themselves gods live as beasts.

“I objected, ‘Perhaps these sayings are too harsh for me to write;’ but he replied, ‘What I say is true: write and I will subscribe the copy.’ He then departed, and having signed his name to the copy, sent it as a bull to other Catholic societies.” *

Sixtus (Felix Peretti) was born of humble parents in 1521. In his twelfth year he became a Franciscan, and was distinguished alike for his austere manners and his keen intelligence. He was elected Pope in 1585 and died in 1589. His administration was able and severe; he extirpated brigandage without pity, promoted agriculture and manufactures, filled his treasury, and conducted his foreign affairs with masterly shrewdness. He published a new edition of the Septuagint in 1587, and one of the Vulgate with improvements in 1590: and is said also to have superintended an Italian translation of the Bible which was condemned by the Spanish Inquisition.

Loyola and Xavier.

Loyola is briefly described as a good spirit, with a horror of his followers as atheists. He had no pleasure in being thought a Saint, and shunned adoration, saying he was unclean.†

Xavier when he met Swedenborg was idiotic, but had sense enough to say that in the place where he is confined he is not insane, but that idiocy comes on whenever he fancies himself a Saint.‡ Elsewhere he is styled a cunning magician, working profanely by means of conjugal love and innocence. §

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 752.

† *Spiritual Diary*, Part vii., Appendix, p. 22.

‡ *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 65; and *True Christian Religion*, No. 824.

§ *Spiritual Diary*, Nos. 4570 and 4603.

Catholic Saints.

All who have been canonized are kept in secret places in the Spiritual World, and cut off from intercourse with their worshippers. Many Catholics, and especially monks, inquire after death for their favourite or patron Saints, and are much surprised at not being able to see them. They are informed that all have gone to their places in Heaven or Hell, and that they are ignorant of the worship and invocations addressed to them; and that if they do accept and desire reverence, they fall into delirious phantasies and talk like idiots.

“The worship of Saints is such an absurdity that its bare mention excites horror in Heaven. Their invocation is mere mockery. I can assert, they no more hear the appeals of their votaries on Earth than do their images in the streets, or on the walls of the churches, or than do the birds that build in the steeples.” *

Clement XII. told Swedenborg, “he had spoken with almost all who had been made Saints, male and female, and he had seen only two in Heaven, and they abhorred being invoked.” †

St. Agnes.

The girl-martyr “dwells in a chamber with virgins for her companions. When a worshipper calls for her, she goes out, and asks what is wanted with a humble shepherdess; and her companions chide the worshipper even to shame. Agnes is watched lest she should grow proud. She is now removed elsewhere, and is not tolerated among upright women unless she confesses her own badness.” ‡

St. Geneviève.

The Parisians, like the Londoners, constitute a society in the World of Spirits, and their patron, Geneviève, “sometimes appears to them with a saintly countenance and splendidly

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 61 to 64; and *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 822 to 825.

† *Spiritual Diary*, Part vii., Appendix, p. 20. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 21.

apparelled. When they begin to pray to her, an instant change comes over her face and raiment, and she becomes like an ordinary woman, and reproves them severely for making a god of one who is held by her associates as of no more account than a servant-maid, and is astonished that men and women should be led into such trifling conduct.”*

Among Swedenborg’s readers was Lavater, who addressed him as follows—

“ZURICH, 24th August, 1768.

“Most Reverend and Excellent Man,

“I doubt not but you are often troubled with letters from foreigners with whom you are unacquainted, and as you are much engaged in meditation, business, travels, and the company of persons of renown, you will probably consider the present application from an unknown Swiss as trifling and impertinent: yet knowing that so great a man is my contemporary, I cannot help asking him a few things, which seem to me of the greatest importance. I know of no person in the world but yourself (who has given proofs of an extraordinary and almost divine knowledge) capable of resolving my questions: I therefore take the liberty of proposing them, and trust you will condescend to satisfy me as soon as possible.

“I. I have been engaged with heart and soul for three years in writing a poem on the future happiness of Christians, and have been collecting the opinions of the Wise and Learned on the subject: particularly I have written to Zimmerman, the celebrated physician to the King of England, a Hanoverian, and my intimate friend. I most fervently wish to have your opinion likewise; it would be of great use to me. I would willingly send you a copy of my poem, but I do not know whether you are acquainted with German: if you are not, I will if you please translate the principal parts into Latin.

“II. I have been long convinced by the Holy Scriptures and my own experience, that God frequently answers

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 826.

sincere and ardent prayers by wonders and even real miracles. I am now writing a dissertation on the subject, and therefore solicit your opinion. Probably you do not doubt that God and Christ still work miracles for the faithful: it may be that you can adduce some instances which are beyond doubt. Is it true that Catherine Fagerberg, a very pious girl in Stockholm, has cured the otherwise incurable by prayer and extraordinary faith? Could you furnish me with authentic evidence of her powers?

“III. I have read and heard much of your familiar converse with the spirits of the departed: May I be permitted, Most Respected Man, to propose some questions, from a mind that is very sincere and full of reverence towards you, by the solution of which I may be convinced concerning these almost incredible reports?—

“First.—Felix Hess, my friend, died 3rd March, 1768. Will he appear to me while I am living, and when, and how? Will he reveal anything to me respecting the happiness of those in Heaven? Will he tell me anything of my ecclesiastical destination on Earth? (I fervently desired him before his death to comply with those requests if possible.)

“Second.—Henry Hess, brother of the preceding, and my very good friend. Will he be convinced of the power of faith and prayer, which I teach, and which he doubts, and when? Which likewise of the doubtful among the inhabitants of Zurich will be convinced?

“Third.—Shall I ever be so happy as to converse with Angels or Spirits without delusion, and without transgression of the Divine Commandment against interrogation of the Dead? By what manner of life, or by what virtues, can I attain so high a privilege?

“Fourth.—I had a dream on the 9th of June, this year—Did it proceed from Felix Hess?

“Be not angry, thou Most Excellent and Learned Man, with a very studious Disciple of Truth, who will neither rashly believe nor disbelieve, but who has a breast open to his inmost soul for whatever truth beams forth. Farewell:

do not suffer me to wait long for an answer. May God and Christ, to whom we belong whether living or dead, be with you!

“JOHN CASPAR LAVATER,
“*Minister of the Gospel.*”

Swedenborg was a poor letter writer, but he must needs have been a master in the art to have met or evaded the queries of Lavater: he neither answered nor evaded them: he allowed the epistle of his courteous inquisitor to sleep in his desk. Lavater however was not to be repulsed. At the end of a year he abated and altered his requests, and tried again.

“ZURICH, 24th September, 1769.

“Most Noble, Venerable, and Beloved in Christ our Lord,

“I have taken the liberty of writing to you a second time, as it is likely you have not received my former letter on account of your travels; but I have at last learnt by what means this will probably reach you.

“I revere the wonderful gifts thou hast received of our God. I revere the wisdom which shines forth from thy writings, and therefore cannot but seek the friendship of so great and excellent a man. If what is reported be true, God will show thee how much I seek to converse with thee in the simplicity of my mind. I am a young man, not yet thirty years old, and a minister of the Gospel: I am and shall be employed in the cause of Christ as long as I live. I have written something on the happiness of the future life—Oh! if I could exchange letters with thee on this subject, or rather converse!

“I add a writing: thou shalt know my soul.

“One thing I beg of thee, thou divinely inspired man! I beseech thee by the Lord not to refuse me!

“In March 1768, Felix Hess, my best friend, died, a youth of Zurich, twenty-four years of age, an upright man, of a noble mind, striving for a Christian spirit, but not yet clothed with Christ. Tell me, pray, what he does; paint to me his figure, state, etc., in such words that I may know that God in truth is in thee.

"I send also a writing in cipher, which thou wilt understand if what is reported of thee be true: I request that it be not shown to any one.

"I am thy brother in Christ. Answer very soon a sincere brother: answer the letter I have sent, and in such a manner that *I may see* what I am believing upon the testimony of others.

"Christ be with us, to whom we belong, living or dead.

"JOHN CASPAR LAVATER."*

Though thus entreated, the oracle remained dumb. Lavater's inquiries proceeded from the common misapprehension that open intercourse with the Spiritual World confers omniscience. Swedenborg might be able to converse with many Angels and Devils, and yet find Felix Hess inaccessible.

Lavater continued to read Swedenborg, and his writings prove that he did not read in vain: much that is good in them is Swedenborgian.

The visit to France, whatever its object, was short—a month at the outside, between 26th April and 22nd May, 1769, taking the dates of his letters as evidence. To add to its mystery, a report got abroad, that he was ordered out of Paris, which, in a letter to Beyer,† he says, "is a direct falsehood, as Count Creutz, our envoy in Paris, can certify."

Is there no light to be shed on this matter? Is there no contemporary evidence as to Swedenborg's business in Paris in 1769?

Returning to Amsterdam from Paris, Swedenborg sailed for London. "I shall never forget," writes Cuno, "the farewell he took of me at my house. The truly venerable old man was never so eloquent, and spoke with an unction to which I had been unaccustomed. He exhorted me to

* These Letters from Lavater were published in his life-time in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, London, 1790, pp. 179 and 245. The Editors state that the Latin originals were in their possession. Lavater died in 1801.

† Dated from Stockholm, 30th October, 1769.

continue in good, and to acknowledge the Lord for my God—

“‘If it please God,’ said he, ‘I shall return to you once more, for I love you.’

“‘My dear Swedenborg, that can never be: I, at least, do not reckon upon a long life.’

“‘You cannot know: we must remain in this world as long as Divine Providence deems fit. He who is conjoined to the Lord has already a foretaste of eternal life, and cares but little for this transitory state. Believe me, if I knew that God would to-morrow take me from the world to Himself, I should like to have the musicians brought to me to-day, and, for a good conclusion, make myself right merry.’

“He seemed more innocent and joyous than I had ever seen him. I let him talk on, and was speechless with astonishment. He saw a Bible on my desk, and opening it at 1 John v. 20, 21, said—

“‘Read those words.’

“Closing the book, he resumed—

“‘I would rather write them down, that you may not forget them.’

“But his hand shook, and whilst he dictated, I wrote the passage myself—

“And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life. Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.”

“When I had done he rose and took his leave, falling upon my neck and kissing me most affectionately.”

In London he published a pamphlet, for Kant’s benefit,* I presume—

On the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body, which is supposed to be effected by Physical Influx, or by Spiritual Influx, or by Pre-established Harmony.

* See present volume, p. 350.

CHAPTER XL.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN SOUL AND BODY.*

THERE is not much in this short treatise with which we are not familiar, and unless Swedenborg thought it likely to meet some queries of Kant, it is difficult to imagine a motive for its publication. The title recalls the memory of a former disquisition *On the Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*, published in 1734.

An attempt is made to define the connection of Mind and Body, and to resolve the mystery of Consciousness.

"There are three hypotheses concerning the Intercourse of the Soul and the Body, or concerning the operation of the one in the other, and of the one with the other: the first is called Physical Influx, the second Spiritual Influx, and the third Pre-established Harmony.

"No fourth hypothesis can be framed; for either the Soul must operate on the Body, or the Body on the Soul, or both reciprocally."†

Let us dispose of the third hypothesis first. It was invented by Leibnitz, and is lucidly described by Lewes—

"In the days of Leibnitz it was an axiom universally admitted, that Like could only act upon Like. The question then arose, How does Body act upon Mind; how does Mind act upon Body? The two were utterly *unlike*: How could they act upon each other?

"Leibnitz borrowed this hypothesis from Spinoza—whom, by the way, he always abuses: The Human Mind and the Human Body are two *independent but corresponding* machines. They are so adjusted that they are like two unconnected clocks constructed so as that at the same

* *De Commercio Animæ et Corporis, quod creditur fieri vel per Influxum Physicum, vel per Influxum Spiritualem, vel per Harmoniam Præstabilitam.* Londoni: 1769. 4to, pp. 28.

† No. 1: Berkeley's hypothesis he cannot have heard of, although Berkeley died in 1753, sixteen years before Swedenborg's publication.

instant one should *strike* the hour and the other *point* it.”*

Swedenborg objects “that the hypothesis of Pre-established Harmony is fallacious,” inasmuch as it includes only half the truth. It is a fact “that the Mind acts as one and simultaneously with the Body; but there is successive as well as harmonic action; as for instance, when we think and then speak, or when we will and then do.”†

The hypothesis of Physical Influx is that of the Materialists—

“It appears as if the objects which affect the eyes, flowed into the Mind and produced thought; in like manner those which affect the ears, the nose, and the touch. The organs of the Senses receive impressions from without, and the Mind appears to think and will according to the impressions; wherefore ancient Philosophers and the Schoolmen believed there was an influx from the Senses to the Soul.”‡

It is difficult to state the case of the Materialist, for the name includes many modifications ascending from him who would identify the Mind with the congeries of the Senses. Swedenborg’s objection to Physical Influx is based on the dogma, that the Stream of Life from God is downwards and outwards through the Soul into the Body; that it is impossible for anything to flow upwards and inwards; and that Life is only coloured and broken in its encounter with Nature in the Senses.§

Spiritual Influx, “by some called Occasional,” is adopted by Swedenborg; and its exposition will render clearer the causes of his dissent from the preceding hypotheses—

“Spiritual Influx originates in Order and its Laws. The Soul is a Spiritual Substance, and is therefore purer, prior, and interior; but the Body is Material, and is therefore grosser, posterior, and exterior; and it is according to Order that the purer should flow into the grosser, the prior into the posterior, and the interior into the exterior; thus

* *Biographical History of Philosophy*, p. 458, ed. 1857.

† No. 1.

‡ No. 1.

§ Nos. 1 and 11; see also p. 103, present work, where Swedenborg states his case with much felicity, and before his spiritual initiation.

what is Spiritual into what is Material, and not the contrary.*

“What is Spiritual clothes itself with what is Natural, as a Man clothes himself with a garment. It is well known that both an Active and a Passive are necessary in every operation, and that nothing can be produced by an Active alone, and nothing from a Passive alone. It is similar with what is Spiritual and what is Natural; what is Spiritual is a living force, being active, and what is Natural is a dead force, being passive. Hence it follows that whatever existed in Nature from the beginning, and whatever comes into existence from moment to moment, exists from what is Spiritual by what is Natural.

“Another fact is also known; the principal and instrumental requisite to every production appear as one in the production, though distinctly two.”†

The hypothesis of Spiritual Influx, he continues, “has been received by the Wise in the Learned World in preference to the other two.”‡ There are however “three things which involve the hypothesis in shade, namely—

Ignorance respecting the Soul.

Ignorance respecting what is Spiritual.

Ignorance respecting the nature of Influx.

Wherefore this ignorance must be removed that the truth may be fully and rationally seen.

“This can be accomplished by no one unless it has been granted him by the Lord to be at the same time the companion of Angels in the Spiritual World and of Men in the Natural World. Such has been my case.

“It has hitherto been wholly unknown, even in Christendom, that there is a World of Spirit completely distinct from the World of Nature. No Angel has descended, and

* No. 1.

† No. 11.

‡ No. 2: *E. G.*, Bishop Butler—“The observation how sight is assisted by glasses shows that we see with our eyes in the same sense as we see with glasses. Nor is there any reason to believe that we see with them in any other sense; any other, I mean, which would lead us to think the eye itself a percipient. . . . And if we see with our eyes only in the same manner as we do with glasses, the like may justly be concluded from analogy of all our other senses.”—*Analogy*, Part I., Chap. I.

no Man has ascended to see and declare the existence of either World. Lest therefore the reality of Heaven and Hell should be questioned, and Men become Naturalists and Atheists, it has pleased the Lord to open my spiritual sight, and to elevate me to Heaven and let me down to Hell and exhibit both to my view.*

"I am compelled by conscience to publish what I have thus learnt; for what is the use of knowledge unless diffused? Is it not like money hoarded in a coffer and occasionally counted? Silence would be spiritual avarice."†

So much premised, there follow details of the constitution of the Spiritual World (of the Sun of pure fire, with its heat and light modified in the various Heavens), details which it would be superfluous to recite.

These details, important though they be, do not yield ~~any~~ kernel of the Author's philosophy, which is, that God alone lives, that Creation (all that is *not* God) is dead, and is vivified in every particular and at every instant by the Divine Presence.

Many philosophers of superior genius, he observes, have taught that the Body lives from the Soul, but they all fail to explain how the Soul lives. The Soul is indeed interior and purer than the Body, but, in itself, is no more alive than the Body ‡—

"It is believed by many that the Soul is a spark of Life, and that thus Man lives of himself; but it is altogether a mistake.

"Man thinks and wills *as from himself*, but it is God alone who acts: He is the Active to whom Man is the Passive. Man in re-action (likewise from God) acquires the *sensation* and *appearance* of independence, whereby his conjunction with God is effected." §

This we have gone over before, but the matter will bear repetition.

I hope Swedenborg's doctrine has been made clear. If it remains obscure, the fault is in the exposition, for there is no difficulty in the doctrine itself.

* Nos. 2 and 3.

† No. 18.

‡ Nos. 8, 11, and 18.

§ No. 14.

He holds that the Stream of Life flows downwards and outwards through many degrees of Existence—through Existences which have nothing in common as to structure, but which correspond to each other; for example, Mind, Brain, Body, all differ, whilst strictly related one to the other as Cause and Effect.

Take an ordinary item of Experience and see how it is treated by a believer in Physical Influx and by a believer in Spiritual Influx.

A tree is seen. "An impression is made on the retina and an idea ascends to the Mind." Not so, says Swedenborg; the grosser cannot enter the rarer. The impression on the eye is met and accepted by the Mind; the impression is merely the completion of the conception—a vessel into which Life leaps on presentation.

A tune is played. "It originates certain feelings." No; it only serves as a base for certain feelings. It does not create the feelings. Did not the feelings corresponding to the music inwardly exist, the music would have no more efficacy than any other noise.

The case may be compared to a seed set in the ground: Life descends, occupies, and develops the plant. Light, air, moisture and soil contribute nothing beyond the requisite conditions for the influx of Spirit.

Disorderly conditions are assembled: Life enters, and there is Hell. Orderly conditions are assembled: Life enters, and there is Heaven. For this reason, Swedenborg advises us to disown alike the possession of Good and Evil, and refer both to influx induced by happy or unhappy circumstances.

Materialists are powerless against this hypothesis. It absorbs their facts and dissipates their inferences. They tell us that unless a Man has a Brain of such a size, shape and texture, he cannot feel, reason, or observe in certain modes. True: but the Brain is not therefore identical with Feeling, or Reason, or Memory; it is simply their instrument. The instrument is adapted to the internal force it is required to manifest: we may estimate the internal by the capacity of the external, but we need not confound the one with the other.

"There is no Psychology apart from Physiology." True in one sense, untrue in another. Physiology cannot be dis-severed from Psychology. As our Author observes, "When the Body is sick the Mind is sick;" but the common sickness is quite explicable without swamping Psychology in Physiology.

The Comtist assures us, "We can have no Ideas independent of Experience." True, says Swedenborg. "Experience is therefore the origin of Ideas." Nay, says Swedenborg. Experience is the Body of which Thought is the Soul; you cannot have one without the other.

Education (whether it stands for the development of Memory, or Reason, or Love) is nothing but the leading forth of Life by means of appropriate conditions. The organization is touched with the requisite circumstances, and Life in correspondence therewith flows forth. You can make no draft in proper form on God which He will fail to meet.

A Discussion in the Spiritual World.

"After these pages were written, I prayed to the Lord that I might be permitted to converse with some disciples of Aristotle, Descartes, and Leibnitz, that I might learn their opinions concerning the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.

"When my prayer was ended, there were present nine men, three Aristotelians, three Cartesians, and three Leibnitzians. They arranged themselves around me, the Aristotelians on the left, the Cartesians on the right, and the Leibnitzians behind. At a considerable distance, and distant from each other, were seen three persons crowned with laurel. I knew by an inflowing perception that they were the three great Masters themselves. Behind Leibnitz stood one holding the skirt of his garment. I was told he was Wolf.

"The nine men saluted, and conversed together in a mild tone of voice; but presently a Spirit arose from below with a torch in his right hand, which he shook in their faces, whereon they became enemies, three against three, and looked at each other fiercely: for they were seized with the lust of disputation. The Aristotelians, who were Schoolmen, opened the discussion, saying—

“ ‘Who does not see that objects flow through the Senses into the Soul, as one enters through doors into a chamber, and that the Soul thinks according to such influx? When a lover sees his bride, does not his eye sparkle, and transmit the love of her into the Soul? When a miser sees bags of money, do not his senses induce ardour in the Soul, and excite the desire of possessing them? When a vain man hears himself praised, does he not prick up his ears, and do not these transmit the praise to the Soul? Who then can conclude otherwise than that Influx proceeds from Nature, or is Physical?’

“While they were thus speaking, the Cartesians held their fingers on their foreheads; and now withdrawing them, replied—

“ ‘Alas! you speak from appearances. Do you not know that the eye does not love a virgin or bride from itself, but from the Soul? likewise that the senses do not covet the bags of money, but the Soul; nor the ears devour the praises of flatterers, but the Soul? Is it not perception that causes sensation? and perception belongs to the Soul, and not to the Body. Say if you can, what causes the tongue and lips to speak, but the thought? and what causes the hands to work, but the will? and thought and will are of the Soul, and not of the Body. Thus, what causes the eye to see, and the ears to hear, and the other organs to feel, but the Soul? Every one therefore, whose wisdom is elevated above sensual apprehension, must conclude that influx does not pass from the Body into the Soul, but from the Soul into the Body.’

“When these had finished, then the Leibnitzians began to speak, saying—

“ ‘We have heard the arguments on both sides, and have compared them; and we have perceived that in many particulars the latter are stronger than the former, and that in many others the former are stronger than the latter; wherefore, if you please, we will compromise the dispute.’

“On being asked how? they replied—

“ ‘There is not any influx from the Soul into the Body, nor from the Body into the Soul, but there is a unanimous and instantaneous operation of both together, to which a

celebrated Author has assigned the elegant name of Pre-established Harmony.'

"After this the Spirit with the torch appeared again, but the torch was now in his left hand, and he shook it behind their heads, whence all their ideas became confused, and they cried out at once—

"'Neither our Soul nor Body knows what part to take; wherefore let us settle this dispute by lot, and we shall abide by the lot which comes out first.'

"So they took three bits of paper and wrote on one Physical Influx, on another Spiritual Influx, and on the third Pre-established Harmony; and put them into the crown of a hat. Then they chose one of their number to draw, who brought out Spiritual Influx. Having seen and read the slip, they all said, some with voices clear and flowing, and some with voices faint and indrawn—

"'Let us abide by this, because it came out first.'

"Then an Angel suddenly stood by, and said—

"'Do not imagine that the paper in favour of Spiritual Influx was drawn by chance. It was of Providence. You do not see the truth of that doctrine, because your ideas are confused; but the truth presented itself to the hand of him who drew the lots, that you might yield it your assent.'"*

A convenient mode of settling a controversy!

Leibnitz.

Swedenborg claims Leibnitz as a convert to the doctrine of the unity of Humanity, spite of the Individual's sense of independence.

Some who considered it incredible that they were parts of a Great Man, and governed by a common circulation, were isolated in a certain Society, and there discovered that it was quite impossible for them to think otherwise than in agreement with their companions—

"This was done with many, and amongst others with Leibnitz, who was convinced that no one thinks from himself, but from others, nor others from themselves, but all by influx from Heaven, and Heaven by influx from the Lord."†

* No. 19.

† *Divine Providence*, No. 289.

Wolf.

Swedenborg thought meanly of his old comrade in Philosophy. Some Spirits of Mercury came to Wolf in search of information, but they found him a dry pump. He wished to be accounted somebody: he did not love to seek and set forth the truth. He sought to produce an effect by stringing together assertions in complex series, but the acute Spirits questioned his premisses, and wondered why he should afflict them with the obscurity of authorities: to them truth was its own evidence. At last they tried to make him useful by simple questions as to nomenclature, but as he still prosed away in material ideas, they left him.*

Aristotle.

As in the case of Cicero, Swedenborg speaks hesitatingly of Aristotle. Hearing two Spirits talking overhead, "I was told on inquiry, that one was of the highest distinction in the learned world, being, *I was led to believe*, Aristotle. Who the other was I did not learn.

"He was let into the state in which he was on Earth; for every Spirit can easily be let into his former state, since every state of his previous life remains with him."

He found in him a sincere passion for truth. "He worked from thoughts to terms, and not like the Schoolmen from terms to thoughts, and who thereby establish whatever they desire.

"I conversed with him on analytic science, remarking, that a child in half an hour speaks more than could be logically and analytically detailed in a volume; and that he who would think artificially according to terms is like a dancer who would dance from a knowledge of anatomy: he could scarcely stir a foot, whilst without thought of anatomy, he sets in motion all the moving fibres of his body, his lungs, diaphragm, sides, arms, neck and other parts, which volumes would not suffice to describe. He approved of my observation, and added, that to learn to think from terms is an

* *Earths*, No. 38. "Wolf had not the same strength of interior judgment as Leibnitz."—*True Christian Religion*, No. 335.

inversion of order, and that whoever makes the attempt is very silly.

“He showed me his conception of the Supreme Deity. He had represented Him to his mind as having a human face, and encompassed about the head with a radiant circle; but he now knew that the Lord is Himself that Man, and that the radiant circle is the Divine sphere proceeding from Him, flowing not only into Heaven, but into the Universe, disposing and governing all things. He added, whosoever disposes and rules Heaven disposes and rules the Universe, because one cannot be separated from the other. He said also, that he believed in one God, whose attributes were distinguished by a variety of names, which others worshipped as so many gods.

“A woman appeared extending her hand to stroke my cheek, whereat I expressed surprise. Aristotle thereon observed, that whilst he was on Earth such a woman often appeared to him, stroking his cheek, and that her hand was beautiful. The Angels explained, that such a woman sometimes appeared to the Ancients, who called her Pallas; and that the woman who appeared to Aristotle was from Spirits who lived in Ancient Times, who delighted in meditation, but without philosophy. Such Spirits were pleased with Aristotle, because he thought from an interior principle, and they represented their pleasure by the woman.

“Lastly, he told me what idea he had formed of the Soul or Spirit of Man, which he called Pneuma—namely, that it was an invisible vital principle, like something ethereal. He said he knew that his Spirit would survive death, for it was his interior essence, which cannot die because it can think. He had not however any clear view of the matter, because he had formed his idea from his own intelligence, and had taken but little from ancient wisdom.

“Aristotle, it may be remarked, is among sane Spirits many of his followers are among the infatuated.”*

* *Earths*, No. 38.

CHAPTER XLI.

ENGLISH FRIENDS AND GENTILES.

SWEDENBORG'S attempts to excite attention in England were such signal failures, and stirred in him such suspicions, that he might have adopted Goldsmith's complaint: "Whenever I write anything the public *make a point* to know nothing about it." He had however a compensation unknown to Goldsmith—he had readers in Heaven. He relates, that having visited a temple of wisdom, and strolled through its garden in company with some philosophic Angels—

"As I was retiring, I observed a book on a cedar table under an olive entwined with a vine. I looked at the book attentively, and lo! it contained my own treatises on *Divine Love and Wisdom* and *Divine Providence*. I said to my companions, 'In that book it is fully shown that man is an organ receptive of Life, and not Life itself.'" *

He was not however to die without English disciples. When the *Arcana Cœlestia* appeared in 1749, Stephen Penny of Dartmouth read "with an extraordinary degree of pleasure." Penny was an acquaintance of William Cookworthy, a Plymouth apothecary, a member and minister of the Society of Friends, and a man of considerable literary and scientific acquirements. Penny, it is supposed, lent him one of Swedenborg's books about 1760. Cookworthy at first threw it down in disgust: he tried again, and as he read, dislike gradually yielded to wonder and delight. In 1763 he translated and printed in Plymouth an edition of the *Doctrina Vitæ*—Swedenborg's first appearance in English, with the exception of the abortive issue of part of the *Arcana Cœlestia* in 1750.

* *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 875: in *True Christian Religion*, No. 461, the story is repeated, but the book on the cedar table is said to have been the *Arcana Cœlestia*—which volume, or the whole eight, is not stated.

Another convert appeared in Dr. Messiter, a London physician, resident at Broom House, Fulham. He assisted Swedenborg in the distribution of his works among people of distinction. In a letter accompanying a parcel of Swedenborg's books to Dr. Hamilton, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, Messiter observes—

23d October, 1769.

“As I have had the honour of being frequently admitted to the Author's company when he was in London, and to converse with him on various points of learning, I will venture to affirm that there are no parts of mathematical, philosophical, or medical knowledge, nay, I believe I might justly say, of human literature, to which he is in the least a stranger; yet so totally insensible is he of his own merit, that I am confident he does not know he has any; and, as he somewhere says of the Angels, he always turns his head away on the slightest encomium.” *

Another convert was the Rev. Thomas Hartley, Rector of Winwick, Northamptonshire—a man of devout and catholic spirit. His first public service was the translation of the *De Commercio Animæ et Corporis*, which he issued in 1770 under the title of *A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx as it respects the Communication and Operation of Soul and Body*. In the preface he testifies of the Author—

“I have conversed with him at different times, and in company with a gentleman of a learned profession and of extensive intellectual abilities [Dr. Messiter]: we have had confirmation of these things from his own mouth, and have received his testimony, and do both of us consider this our acquaintance with the Author and his writings among the greatest blessings of our lives. The extensive learning displayed in his writings evinces him to be the scholar and the philosopher; and his polite behaviour and address bespeak him the gentleman. He affects no honour, but declines it; pursues no worldly interest, but spends his

* Dr. Messiter died in 1785 “at his house near Islington. He was a man of distinguished abilities and great medical knowledge.”—*Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1785.

substance in travelling and printing, in order to communicate instruction and benefit to mankind; and he is so far from the ambition of heading a sect, that, wherever he resides on his travels, he is a mere solitary and almost inaccessible, though in his own country of a free and open behaviour. He has nothing of the precisian in his manner, nothing of melancholy in his temper, and nothing in the least bordering on the enthusiast in his conversation and writings."

Hartley wrote to Swedenborg desiring some particulars of his life and family, to serve for his defence against possible calumnies. He supplied the desired information in a letter. In answer to Hartley's offer of money, should he require any, he replied—

"As to this world's wealth, I have what is sufficient, and more I neither seek nor wish for"—

And to Hartley's solicitude about his social comfort in Sweden—

"I live on terms of familiarity and friendship with all the Bishops of my country, who are ten in number; as also with the sixteen Senators, and the rest of the Nobility; for they know that I am in fellowship with Angels. The King and Queen, also, and the three Princes their sons, show me much favour: I was once invited by the King and Queen to dine at their table—an honour which is in general granted only to the Nobility of the highest rank; and likewise, since, with the Hereditary Prince. They all wish for my return home; so far am I from being in danger of persecution in my own country, as you seem to apprehend, and so kindly wish to provide against; and should anything of the kind befall me elsewhere, it cannot hurt me."

To say the least, Swedenborg painted his home circumstances in rose colour: and even whilst treating Hartley to the pleasant tale, his long immunity from persecution was at an end.

Dr. Hampe, "preceptor to George II.," was another of his English friends.

Notwithstanding the co-operation of Cookworthy, Mes-

siter and Hartley, blank indifference continued towards Swedenborg in England: he excited neither curiosity by his wonders nor anger by his attacks on orthodoxy.

When his life as Prophet began, his hope was set on the Gentiles: had he turned to the Gentiles after failure in Christendom, his conduct had been natural; but as his failure in Christendom grew more manifest, more resolute grew his determination to command the attention of Christendom by attacking its creed with every weapon at his command. Nevertheless he did not altogether forget the Gentiles, nor, when he mentioned them, to set their virtues in contrast with the habits of Christians.

The Africans.

“Of all the Gentiles, the Africans are most beloved in Heaven.*

“When I conversed with them in the Spiritual World, they appeared in garments of striped linen: they told me their women wear striped silk. . . . They said their law allowed polygamy, but that each kept to one wife, for true conjugal affection cannot be divided; that in a plurality of wives what is heavenly perishes, and connection terminates in lasciviousness, impotence, and disgust; whilst conjugal love endures to eternity, and increases in potency and delight.” †

He had much talk with them on God, the Lord the Redeemer, and the interior and exterior Man: “they were charmed with such discourse;” they comprehended what he had to say, “for their interior sight is singularly strong and clear,” and “they are more internal and spiritual than other nations.”

Now comes a wonderful story—

“In consequence of the Africans having such perception, they have at this day a revelation, which is diffused from the place of its commencement in the centre of the continent round about, but does not extend to the countries bordering on the sea.

* *Heaven and Hell*, Nos. 326 and 514.

† *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 77.

"I heard the Angels rejoicing over this revelation, because by means of it a communication is opened for them with human rationality, which has been hitherto closed by blind faith.

"It was told me from Heaven that the truths now published in the *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord*, the *Sacred Scripture*, and *Life* are orally dictated to them by Angelic Spirits."

The whereabouts of this happy people we should vainly discover: Central Africa is the wide designation. There is indeed a rough map of the favoured tract in the *Spiritual Diary*, but it affords little aid to curiosity. That they are not altogether isolated from the wicked world appears from these particulars—

"Strangers from Europe are not admitted to their country; but when any, and especially Monks, penetrate their borders, they ask what they know, and when they enter into the details of their religion, they call them trifles which it is an offence to hear. They acknowledge our Lord as the God of Heaven and Earth, and laugh when they are told of a three-fold Deity, and of salvation by a mere effort of thought. They call ingenious wickedness stupidity, for there is death in it.

"They set European intruders to work, and if they refuse to be useful, they sell them as slaves at a small price to the lowest of the people, who may legally chastise them at pleasure." *

St. Augustine.

"I have conversed at times with Augustine, who in the third century† was bishop of Hippo in Africa. He told me that he is there at the present time, and inspires those about him with the worship of the Lord, and that there is a hope of the new Gospel being diffused in the adjacent regions." ‡

Swedenborg's treatment of the Gentiles is so indefinite

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, Nos. 75 to 78; and *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 837 to 840.

† The fourth and fifth centuries: he was born 354 and died 430.

‡ *True Christian Religion*, No. 840.

as to prove plainly, if proof were wanted, that he got little in the Spiritual World which he did not carry there. Of Buddhism and Brahminism he has nothing to say, because probably he knew nothing. About the Chinese he makes a few notes, but they are vague and not worth citation. Japan he does not mention.

The Mahometans.

“Mahomet himself is not to be seen at the present day. I was told that in early times he presided over the Mahometans, but as he desired to domineer over all things of their religion as God, he was cast from his seat. Certain societies of Mahometans were once instigated by Evil Spirits to acknowledge Mahomet as God. To quell the sedition, Mahomet was raised from below and shown to them, and I then saw him. He appeared like corporeal Spirits who have no interior perception; his face was of a hue approaching to black. The only words I heard him say were, ‘I am your Mahomet;’ and immediately he sank down into his place.”*

As Catholics are governed for a while after death by a Pope, so are the Mahometans by one who personates Mahomet—

“One Mahomet was a native of Saxony. He was taken prisoner by the Algerines and turned Mahometan. Having been a Christian, he was led to speak with them of the Lord, affirming He was not the son of Joseph, but the Son of God. This Mahomet was afterwards replaced by others.

“A flame like that of a small torch indicates the dwelling of the representative Mahomet; it is invisible to all but Mahometans.”†

At the close of September, 1769, Swedenborg left London for Stockholm. He was wanted at home: trouble was brewing for himself and his friends.

* *Continuation of Last Judgment*, No. 70.

† *True Christian Religion*, No. 829.

CHAPTER XLII.

LAST DAYS IN SWEDEN.

ONE offence was this: Swedenborg had forwarded from Amsterdam a box of his *De Amore Conjugiali* for distribution in Sweden, which box his nephew, Bishop Filenius, caused to be arrested at the port of entry, with the purpose of subjecting its contents to ecclesiastical scrutiny: whereupon Swedenborg observed to Beyer—

“STOCKHOLM, 30th October, 1769.

“Inasmuch as the book is not theological, but chiefly moral, its revision is unnecessary, and consequently absurd. Such a course of procedure would pave the way for a dark age in Sweden.”

Filenius, if malicious and meddlesome, was ineffective, for continues Swedenborg—

“His conduct cannot affect me in the least. I had sent five copies before me and brought thirty-eight with me, the half of which I have delivered to the Bishops, the Senators, and the Royal Family, and when the rest are distributed there will be more than sufficient for Stockholm. I think of sending those stopped at Norkjoping abroad, where the volume is in much request.”

Swedenborg had some sharp words with Filenius. The seizure had been made in his diocese on the ground that the introduction of any works at variance with the Lutheran faith was illegal. He naturally turned to his kinsman for explanation and redress. The Bishop embraced and kissed him, and promised to procure the release of the books. When however Swedenborg discovered that Filenius himself was the instigator and maintainer of the seizure, he reproached him for his duplicity, likened him to Judas Iscariot, and said, that “he who spoke lies, lied also in his life”—plain dealing which was not to be forgiven.

A more serious matter was the prosecution of his

disciples, Drs. Beyer and Rosen, by Dean Ekebom in the Gottenburg Consistory. Supposing their heresy proved, deposition from office and banishment from Sweden would follow.

Swedenborg heard of their prosecution whilst in Amsterdam, and from thence addressed two letters of remonstrance to the Consistory. In the first he writes—

“AMSTERDAM, 15th April, 1769.

“Dr. Ekebom’s *Reflections* concerning the Doctrines of the New Church, which have been declared to the world by our Saviour Jesus Christ through me His servant, have been communicated to me; and forasmuch as I find them full of personal reproaches, and occasionally laden with untruths, I deem it too prolix to reply particularly to them, especially as I perceive that they have been written by one who has no eyes to see what is conformable to the Word of God and an enlightened understanding: such a character our Lord describes in Matt. xiii. 13-15.”

Ekebom was a blundering adversary. He actually stated in his deposition—

“I do not know Assessor Swedenborg’s religious system, nor shall I take pains to come to a knowledge of it. I was told that it might be learned from his treatises on the New Jerusalem, Faith, and the Lord, which I do not possess, neither have I read nor seen them.”

Whereon Swedenborg remarks—

“Is not this to be blind in the forehead, to have eyes behind, and even these covered with a film? Can any judge, secular or ecclesiastical, regard the condemnation of writings after such a fashion otherwise than criminal?”

In return, Swedenborg accused Ekebom of “blaspheming the Spiritual Sense of the Word, which the Lord has revealed by me;” and repels Ekebom’s charge of Socinianism with vehemence—

“It is a horrid blasphemy and untruth. Socinianism signifies the negation of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, when nevertheless His Divinity is the chief doctrine of the New Church: wherefore I regard the word So-

cinian to be a scoffing and diabolical utterance. This, with the rest of the Doctor's *Reflections*, may be considered in the same sense as '*the flood which the Dragon cast out of his mouth after the Woman.*' Apoc. xii. 15."

He then defends himself by citations from the Scriptures and the Formula Concordiæ, and by the authority of the Fathers; adding, that if double the number be required from the Formula Concordiæ, he would be ready to furnish them.

On both sides, this was dismal fooling. For Swedenborg to shelter himself behind Protestant Confessions, which he had elaborately denounced, was ludicrous: alike in letter and spirit he was a heretic to Lutheran orthodoxy—a dissenter from the Church of Sweden; only Ekebom had neither sense, nor patience, nor candour to conduct the demonstration.

As the result of Ekebom's clamour, the clerical deputies from Gottenburg were instructed to complain to the Diet, of Swedenborg and his adherents. Filenius, then President of the House of Clergy, heard the complaint with willing ears, and a committee was appointed to investigate the matter, who reported in favour of Swedenborg, speaking of him "very handsomely and reasonably." His adversaries however gained one point—that a memorial should be presented to the King in Council, requesting the attention of the Chancellor of Justice to the trouble at Gottenburg. To this request the King yielded, and the members of the Gottenburg Consistory were commanded to render an account of Swedenborgianism.

As a contribution to this account, Dr. Beyer addressed *A Declaration* to the King on the 2nd of January, 1770, in which he testified—

"It happened four years ago that I met with some of Assessor Swedenborg's works. His mode of writing on theology at first appeared to me dull and incomprehensible; but impelled by curiosity to peruse about half a volume with calm attention, I discovered important reasons to form a resolution not to desist until I had read the whole of his writings: and although I devoted to them every

moment that could be spared from my official duties (whereby I was enabled to read some of them over and over), *yet I could wish to be allowed to weigh them for many years longer, in order to qualify myself to give a mature account of their important contents.*"

Beyer was an awkward subject for prosecution. Whither his sympathies tended were manifest, but then he had so much under consideration, and until he had completed his investigation, how could he be censured! Moreover by an Article of the Swedish Church it is declared—

"We believe, acknowledge, and teach that the only rules and guides by which all Doctrines and all Teachers of Doctrines must be viewed and judged are, and can be no other than, the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, both in the Old and New Testament. Holy Writ alone is acknowledged as a measure, rule, and judge; by which, as by a touchstone, all Doctrines must be accurately investigated and decided upon as to their truth or falsehood."

Beyer rested his defence on this Article: he argued—

"As therefore Doctrine is deemed pure so far only as it flows from the Word of God, and is proved thereby, and as the privilege of avowing it is conceded when in conformity with the Divine Law, I venture in my weakness, yet with humble confidence, to pour forth the deepest sentiments of my heart concerning the theological writings of Assessor Swedenborg."

For practical purposes, an absurd Article—one on which any heresy might plant itself. Matters are better managed in England, where an innovator is not allowed to indulge in licentious references to the broad Bible, but is brought to book on the stern formula of the Thirty-nine Articles.

After disposing of Ekebom's ignorant assertions with much gentleness, Beyer concluded—

"In obedience therefore to your Majesty's most gracious command that I should deliver a full and positive declaration respecting the writings of Swedenborg, it is my duty to testify that so far as I have been able to study, *I have found in them nothing but what closely coincides with the*

words of the Lord Himself, and that they shine with a Light truly Divine."

The Gottenburg Consistory made no haste towards a decision. Months elapsed; distressing rumours were borne to Swedenborg; at last, in bitterness of spirit, he appealed to the King—

"STOCKHOLM, 10th May, 1770.

"SIRE,

"I am compelled to have recourse to your Majesty's protection, for I have met with such treatment as has fallen to the lot of no one since the establishment of Christianity in Sweden, much less since there has been liberty of conscience."

Having described the seizure of his books at Norkjoping and the disturbance at Gottenburg, he goes on—

"I had no notice sent me of these proceedings. My person, writings and sentiments on the worship of the Lord our Saviour, were attacked and persecuted, and I have never been called on for my defence: but Truth itself has answered for me."

With amazing but characteristic simplicity he urges his miraculous claims on the King—

"I have already informed your Majesty, and beseech you to recall it to mind, that the Lord our Saviour manifested Himself to me in a sensible personal appearance; that He commanded me to write what has been already written and what I have still to write; that He was afterwards graciously pleased to endow me with the privilege of conversing with Angels and Spirits, and of being in fellowship with them. I have already declared this more than once to your Majesty in the presence of all the Royal Family, when they were graciously pleased to invite me to their table with five Senators and several other persons: this was the only subject discussed during the repast.

"Of these privileges I have also spoken to several other Senators; and more openly to Count Tessin, Count Bonde and Count Höpken, who are alive, and who were satisfied of the truth. I have declared the same in England, Holland, Germany, Denmark and Paris to Kings, Princes and distinguished people, as well as to others in this Kingdom.

“If the common report is to be believed, the Chancellor has said that what I have declared is untrue, although the very truth. For others to assert that they cannot give credit to my claims, therein I will excuse them, for it is not in my power to do for them what God has done for me, and convince them by their own eyes and ears of the accuracy of those things I have heard and seen and published. I cannot enable them to converse with Angels and Spirits; nor can I work miracles to dispose or force their understandings into the comprehension of what I say. When my writings are read with attention and cool reflection (in which many things are to be met with hitherto unknown), it will be easily seen that I could not have acquired such knowledge save by open acquaintance with the Spiritual World. . . . If any doubt still remain, I am ready to testify under the most solemn oath that I have set forth nothing but the truth without any mixture of deception.”

He concluded by throwing himself on the King's protection, and requesting him to hasten the deliberations of the Consistory. As for Drs. Beyer and Rosen, he protested—

“I advised them to nothing but to address themselves to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. As far as I have been able to learn, they have done no more. Yet these gentlemen have been most cruelly persecuted like myself, by the Bishop and Dean of Gottenburg. All that the Dean has laid to my charge is mere scandal and falsehood.”

Swedenborg's sufferings could scarcely equal his vociferation; if hurt, he roared. After the manner of angry men, he professed himself perfectly cool: to Beyer, he wrote, “We must not throw stones to drive off the indecent barkings of the Dean,” and to Wenngren, a Gottenburg magistrate, “The merciless slanders of the Dean's party have fallen on the ground, like fire-balls from the clouds, and there gone out.”

His assumption to the King, that his offence was limited to his advocacy of the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ betrayed probably as much obtuseness as adroitness. It was not a sudden assumption: a month before he had written to Beyer—

“STOCKHOLM, 12th April, 1770.

“The state of the question is this—Is it allowable to address ourselves immediately to the Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, or must we go a roundabout way, namely to God the Father, that He may impute to us the merit and righteousness of His Son, and send the Holy Spirit? That we should go the straight way, namely to the Redeemer Jesus Christ, is in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and the Formula Concordiæ, and also with our Liturgy and Psalms, and is in entire agreement with the Word of God. If this liberty were taken away, I would rather dwell in Tartary than Christendom.”

Finally, he addressed a letter in July, 1770, to the Universities of Upsal, Lund, and Abo, urging the impropriety of their being governed in any way by the verdict of the Gottenburg Consistory, especially “on the most important subject which has been submitted to any Council or Senate for seventeen hundred years, inasmuch as it concerns the New Church predicted by the Lord in Daniel and the Apocalypse.”

The uproar at Gottenburg died out; the Consistory came to no decision. Shortly before Swedenborg left Stockholm for the last time (July, 1770), the King said to him, “The Consistory has been silent on my letters and your works;” and, placing his hand on his shoulder, added, “We may conclude they have found nothing reprehensible in your books, and that you have written in conformity with the truth.”

So ended the controversy; yet not altogether in Swedenborg’s favour: his adversaries managed to enforce the law against him which prohibited the import of heretical books to Sweden, as he found out in the following year, 1771. He intended to appeal against the exclusion, but whether he did so, does not appear.

Considering Swedenborg’s offences against established opinion, he got through life very easily. Many who have gone not nearly so far have fared worse. He owed his quiet to the prevalent indifference to religion—to the Gallios “who cared for none of those things.” Such a fire-

brand as Ekebom was an exceptional nuisance. Many would view the old man as a harmless dreamer with whom it would be cruel to meddle; some would respect him for his ordinary good sense, and try to wink at his extraordinary folly; and others would regard his pretensions with ignorant credulity and awe. If we except Beyer and two or three others, it is doubtful whether any in Sweden read his writings with serious attention.

His most dangerous antagonist was his nephew Filenius, who, with some clergy, contrived an artful plot. Swedenborg was to be questioned in public, and when, as a matter of course, he would assert his Divine Commission and commerce with Angels, they would pronounce him insane, and have him committed to a mad-house. Count Höpken revealed the cunning device of the rascally Bishop, and advised him to fly the kingdom. Swedenborg was much afflicted at the communication; and going into his garden fell on his knees, and prayed for direction. He arose with the consolatory answer, *that no evil should touch him*. So it proved. His inoffensive bearing, with his rank and reputation, served as bars against the designed outrage.

Robsahm tells a story of a young man going to Swedenborg's house to kill him. The servant suspecting something wrong, said he was not at home, but the young man did not believe her, and ran into the garden in search of his victim, but his cloak caught in a lock, and his naked sword fell from beneath. Thus detected, he escaped in haste. There is no saying what madmen may not do, but Swedenborg offered little temptation to any assassin.

The Swedes.

Of his countrymen, Swedenborg had a sad opinion—

“They are among the most wicked of nations. They are supremely malicious. All goods are adulterated and all truths falsified in their minds. Their profession of Christianity is little else than verbal. It is impossible to describe the profligacy of most of them. The worst give themselves up to sorcery after death; those who have practised arts requiring skill, such as mechanics and gardeners, turn

them to magic. These commit crimes which I am not allowed to set forth; they are horrible beyond imagination.”*

When sending out the *Summaria Expositio*, he observed to Beyer—

“The treatise has been dispersed throughout Christendom, Sweden excepted; because in Sweden true divinity is in a wintry state. There is in general a greater length of spiritual night towards the North Pole, and therefore a stronger inclination to kick and stumble against the wisdom of the New Church; but we must exclude some among the clergy from this observation. To myself I apply the Lord’s words, ‘Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.’”

About this time Swedenborg made his last communication to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm in a paper descriptive of the Horse as the Correspondence of the Human Understanding, concluding with an offer to interpret the Egyptian Hieroglyphics to the Associates. He wrote—

“It is commonly known that Hieroglyphics were inscribed on the columns and walls of temples and other buildings in Egypt; but it is acknowledged that no one can determine their signification.

“Those Hieroglyphics are no other than Correspondences expressive of things Spiritual by things Natural. The Egyptians, more than any people in Asia, cultivated the Science of Correspondences; but in process of time they lost the Science in idolatry”—forgetting the Substance in the Symbol. “The Science became extinct: at this day it is scarcely known that such a Science ever existed, or that it is of any importance.

“The Lord being now about to establish a New Church, it has pleased Him to reveal this Science, so that the Word in its Spiritual Sense may be opened. This I have done in the *Arcana Cœlestia* and *Apocalypsis Revelata*.

“As the Science of Correspondences was esteemed by

* *Spiritual Diary*, No. 5034.

the Ancients the Science of Sciences and constituted their wisdom, it would surely be of importance for some one of your society to devote his attention to it; and for this purpose he may begin, if agreeable, with the Correspondences disclosed in the *Apocalypsis Revelata*.

"Should it be desired, I am willing to unfold the meaning of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and to publish their explication—a work which no other person could accomplish." *

How the Academy received the proposal, I do not know. Had he been invited to fulfil his offer, we should have had a practical test of his acumen to set against Young and Champollion.

A boy was found at Skara who had visions and prescribed for the cure of diseases. About him Beyer wrote to Swedenborg, who answered—

"STOCKHOLM, 14th November, 1769.

"If true, his case proves the communication of Spirits with Man. A genteel and rich family here would be glad to take the boy into their house and provide for his education. If the youth is inclined to come to Stockholm, you can send him with any one who is coming this way; and in that case you will be pleased to furnish thirty dollars for the expenses of the journey, and to give him my direction that I may conduct him to the house.

"I will pass over his vision of the white serpents, which he had in his tender infancy, for it may admit of various constructions. That he should know the use of herbs and the cure of certain diseases (if really the case), is not because such diseases and cures exist among Spirits and Angels. There are no natural diseases, nor hospitals, in the Spiritual World; but there are spiritual diseases and spiritual uses which correspond with natural diseases and cures on Earth, and are the causes of the same. There

* Swedenborg sent a copy of this paper to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Hartley, from which it was first printed in London in 1824. It is now published as an Appendix to most editions of the *White Horse*.

are in the Spiritual World mad-houses, in which are lodged those who theoretically denied God, and in others, those who practically did the same."

Beyer's wife died, and having given Swedenborg an account of her last hours, he replied—

"STOCKHOLM, 30th October, 1769.

"Two clergymen so wrought upon her as to effect a conjunction with the Spirits she then spoke of. To some it happens to be in the state of the spirit in the hour of death. The Spirits who first spoke with her were of the Dragon's company who were cast out of Heaven. They are so full of hatred towards our Saviour, to His Word, and to all which belongs to His New Church, that they cannot bear to have the name of Christ mentioned. When the sphere of the Lord from the Heavens alights on them, they become mad with rage, and seek cover in holes and caverns.

"Your wife was with me yesterday. She told me a variety of things concerning what she thought, what she said to you her husband, and to the clergymen—the seducers. Were I near you, I could tell you much that it will not do to write."

It was cruel to hint so much and give so little. We may infer some suspicion on the part of Beyer, for, in reply, he asked for the names of the two clergymen who seduced his wife—in the matter of faith. Swedenborg answered—

"STOCKHOLM, 29th December, 1769.

"With respect to the two clergymen your deceased wife spoke of, she has not mentioned their names, for which reason neither can I mention them. . . She is still with the Spirits of the Dragon, who on the day of her death first spoke through her."

Whether Swedenborg had any women for disciples does not appear: the Latin of his books would hide their contents from the majority. Of the sex in general, as we have seen, he had grown suspicious. He would see no

female alone, asserting that "Women are artful, and might pretend that I sought their closer acquaintance"—a rakish sort of caution, and not without a double application.

Emerentia Polhem, whom in youth he had loved, was subsequently married. When her daughters visited him after her death, he assured them he conversed with their mother whenever he pleased.

In his latter years he used to say his true wife awaited him in the Spiritual World, and on Earth was the Countess Gyllenberg.*

Who was this Countess Gyllenberg?—a name not uncommon in Sweden. To Dr. Kahl, the Dean of Lund, I owe her almost certain identification.†

She was Elizabeth Stjerncrona, married in her fifteenth year to Count Frederic Gyllenberg, President of the Royal College of Mines, to which Swedenborg was Assessor. Gyllenberg died, and Swedenborg records in his Diary that he was a hypocritical Spirit.‡ The Countess survived her husband ten years; she died in 1769, aged fifty-five.

She was no ordinary woman. She published at Stockholm in 1756 a quarto volume of 628 pages, entitled *Marie Bästa Del*—that is, *Mary's Better Part*, and in 1760 a second volume of 1180 pages, both anonymously. The volumes are composed of meditations on Scripture and religious counsel in prose and verse, and reveal a mind well versed in theology and softened in a pious, poetic, and mystic spirit. They contain no tincture of Swedenborgianism, but one may infer from their tenor that she would offer no resistance to the Heavenly Doctrines, but probably receive them with hearty welcome. We may presume any spiritual intimacy with Swedenborg would date from her widowhood (1759) about which time she ceased from authorship (1760):

* The anecdote was preserved by Charles Augustus Tulk—of whom I shall have something to say in another chapter. He probably had it through his father from some of Swedenborg's English friends.

† In an article entitled, *A Gifted and Bible-versed Countess*, in *Snäll-Posten*, a Swedish newspaper, of 4th Dec. 1858.

‡ *Spiritual Diary*, Nos. 4740, 5161, 5976, 5977, 5983, 5984, 5996, and App., p. 79.

thus her writings afford no evidence as to the final condition of her mind.*

To Dr. Beyer, Swedenborg wrote—

“STOCKHOLM, 23rd July, 1770.

“As I am going in a few days to Amsterdam I shall take my leave of you in this letter, hoping that our Saviour will keep you in good health, preserve you from farther violence, and bless your thoughts.”

In his letter to the Universities, he announces the purpose of his journey—

“I am going to Amsterdam, where I intend to publish the whole Theology of the New Church, the foundation whereof will be the worship of the Lord our Saviour.”

Robsahm records that on the day he left Stockholm, he called upon him at the Bank of Sweden, and lodged in his hands a protest against any judicial examination of his works during his absence. “I then asked him if we should meet again. He answered in a gentle and affectionate manner—

“‘I do not know whether I shall return; but of this you may be certain, for the Lord has assured me—I shall not die until the book I have just finished is printed. Should we not see each other again in this world, we shall meet in the presence of our Heavenly Father if we do His Commandments.’

“He then took his leave as cheerfully as if he had been a man of thirty.”

He sailed, leaving his native land for ever.

* A number of Swedenborg's autographs were sent from Stockholm to London for sale in 1855. One of them was written on the title-page torn from a copy of *Mary's Better Part*. Swedenborg read little and preserved few books, and we may suppose, that only in some access of more than ordinary interest he inscribed his name in Gyllenborg's volume.

The title-page is now in the possession of the Rev. Henry Wrightson, of Green Street, Grosvenor Square, and, with this bit of romance tagged thereto, is a possession wherein I envy him.

CHAPTER XLIII.

LAST VISIT TO AMSTERDAM.

AT Elsinore dwelt Christian Tuxen, Commissioner of War to Denmark. Hearing of Swedenborg's frequent passage through the Sound, he sought his acquaintance, which settled into friendship. In view of the present voyage, Swedenborg had promised Tuxen a visit: he wrote—

“If the ship remains for some time off Elsinore, I shall have the pleasure of going to your house to wish you, your dear lady and children all possible happiness.”

The ship was detained by contrary winds off Elsinore, and, says Tuxen—*

“I took a boat and went out to see him. The captain bade me welcome, opened the cabin door, and shut it after me. I found the Assessor seated in undress, his elbows on the table, his hands supporting his face, which was turned towards the door, his eyes open and much elevated. I was imprudent enough to address him at once, expressing my happiness at meeting him; whereon he started (for he had been in a trance or extasy, as his posture indicated), rose with some confusion, advanced a few steps from the table in a singular and visible uncertainty, as was plain from his countenance and hands. He soon recovered himself, welcomed me, and asked how I was there. I answered, I heard he was on board a Swedish ship lying below the Koll, and had come with an invitation from my wife and self to favour us with his company at our house. He immediately consented, pulled off his gown and slippers, put on clean linen, and dressed himself as deftly as a young man of one-and-twenty. He told the captain where he was to be found should the wind prove favourable, and accompanied me to Elsinore.

* In a paper, translated from the Danish, printed in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, London, 1790. I have already made several drafts on Tuxen's narrative.

“My wife, who was then indisposed, was in waiting to receive him, and to request his excuse if in any respect our house should fall short of our wishes to entertain him, adding, that for thirty years she had been afflicted with a violent hysterical disease which caused her much pain and restlessness. He very politely kissed her hand, and answered—

“‘Oh dear! of this we will not speak: only acquiesce in the will of God: it will pass away, and you will return to the health and beauty of fifteen.’

“I do not recollect what she or I said to this; but I remember that in answer to us he replied, ‘Yes, in a few weeks;’ from which I inferred that diseases which have their foundation in the mind do not disappear instantly after death.

“We then conversed on my wife’s sufferings, and he told us that for twelve years past he had been afflicted with a very weak stomach, and during that time had scarcely taken any other food than coffee and biscuits.”

Tuxen brought out a copy of his letter to Hartley, in which he had written, “I was born at Stockholm in 1689,” and inquired if the printer had made a mistake, for the true year was 1688. Swedenborg answered—

“‘No: the reason was this—You may remember in reading my writings to have seen it stated in many parts that every number has a spiritual signification. Now, when I put the true year in that letter, an Angel present told me to write 1689 as much more suitable than 1688. ‘You know,’ said the Angel, ‘with us time and space are nothing.’”

Tuxen observed that he found it impossible to remove time and space from his thoughts, to which Swedenborg rejoined—

“‘That I easily believe; nor could I do it at first; but I will show you how it is to be done’—

“And entered on a very ample and rational explanation, but was interrupted by an invitation to dinner from a Swedish merchant.

“On his return he politely entertained my wife and daughter and three or four young ladies with conversation

on favourite dogs and cats that were in the room, which caressed him, and jumped on his knee, showing their little tricks. During this trifling discourse (mixed with singular questions, all of which he kindly answered, whether they concerned this or the other world) I took occasion to say I was sorry I had no better company to amuse him than a sickly wife and her young girls. He replied—

“‘Is not this very good company? I was always fond of ladies’ society.’

“This led me to ask him jocosely, whether he had ever been married, or desirous of marrying.

“‘No,’ said he. ‘In my youth I was on the road to matrimony: Charles XII. recommended the famous Polhem to give me his daughter.’

“‘What prevented the marriage?’

“‘She would not have me. She had promised herself to another, to whom she was more attached.’

“I then craved his pardon if I had been too inquisitive; he replied—

“‘Ask whatever you please, and I shall answer with the truth.’

“I then inquired, whether in his youth he could keep free from temptations with regard to the sex. He replied—

“‘Not altogether. In my youth I had a Mistress in Italy.’*

“After some little pause, he cast his eyes on a harpsichord, and asked whether we were lovers of music, and who played upon it. I told him we all loved music; that my wife in her youth had practised, having a fine voice, better perhaps than any in Denmark, as several persons of distinction had assured her, who had heard the best singers in France, England, and Italy, and that my daughter also played with pretty good taste. On this Swedenborg desired her to play. She then performed a difficult and celebrated sonata, to which he beat the measure with his foot on the sofa where he was seated; and when finished, he said, ‘Bravo! very fine.’ She then played another by Ruttini; and when she had played a few minutes, he said, ‘This is by

* See present volume, p. 82.

an Italian, but the first was not.' This finished, he said, 'Bravo! you play very well. Do you not also sing?' She answered, 'I sing, but have not a very good voice, though fond of singing, and would sing if my mother would accompany me.' He requested my wife to join, and they sang a few Italian duettos and some French airs, to which he beat time, and afterwards paid many compliments to my wife on account of her taste and fine voice, which she had preserved notwithstanding so long an illness.

"I took the liberty of saying, that since in his writings he declared that at all times there were Good and Evil Spirits present with every one, Might I then make bold to ask, whether now, while my wife and daughter were singing, there had been any from the other world present with us? He answered, 'Yes, certainly;' and on my inquiring who they were, and whether I had known them, he said, it was the Danish Royal Family, and mentioned Christian VI., Sophia Magdalena, and Frederic V., who through his eyes had seen and heard what had gone on. I do not positively recollect whether he also mentioned the late beloved Queen Louisa among them. After this he retired."

On another occasion Tuxen asked him if he knew how many in this world favoured his doctrines, and was answered—

"Not many as yet. The number may be fifty or thereabout, and in proportion the same number in the World of Spirits."

He inquired how a man might know whether he was on the road to salvation.

"It is very easy," said Swedenborg. "He need only try himself by the Ten Commandments—Does he love and fear God? Is he happy at the welfare of others? Does he envy them? If excited by injury to anger and revenge, Does he subdue his resentment because God has said vengeance is His? and so on. If to such questions he can answer Yea, he may rest assured he is on the road to Heaven; but if Nay, he is on the road to Hell."

Frederic V. of Denmark died in 1766.

"Have you seen him?" asked Tuxen, adding, that though

some frailties might attach to him, I have a certain hope that he is happy."

"Yes," answered Swedenborg; "I have seen him, and I know that he is not only very well off, but likewise all the Kings of the House of Oldenburg: they are associated together. Such is not the happy case of our Swedish Kings."

General Tuxen had been piously brought up, but was fascinated by Voltaire. In his riper years he reverted to faith and was finally confirmed therein by Swedenborg. Like many others, his first impression was unfavourable. He writes—

"I confess when I began to read his works and cast my eye on the passage, '*A Horse signifies the understanding of the Word*,' I was repulsed. Afterwards I read them attentively in series from the beginning, and though I found many things which surpassed my comprehension, yet I remembered the answer of Socrates when his opinion was sought concerning the writings of Heraclitus, '*I do not understand them everywhere, but what I do understand is so excellent, that I do not doubt that what I do not understand is equally good*.' This encouraged me to read more and more; by what I read I profited; and I came to the conviction that no system of divinity is more worthy of God and consolatory to Man; and so I will believe until convinced that any part thereof is either contrary to Scripture or sound Reason."

He adds, "For my part, I thank our Lord, the God of Heaven, that I have been acquainted with this great man and his writings. I account the acquaintance the greatest blessing of my life, and I hope I shall profit thereby in working out my salvation."

Swedenborg and Klopstock once met in Copenhagen. The poet writes—

"Our ladies would not let me alone until I visited him. He was no object of curiosity to me. History is full of cases of those led astray by pride, like Swedenborg. I fell into disgrace with him at once, because I had no taste for

buying his dear quartos. I came directly to the point, and begged him to talk with one of my deceased friends. He said with a tone still more drawling than usual, 'If his Royal Majesty the reigning King of Denmark, Frederic the Vth. [I am not adding a syllable] had most graciously ordered me to speak with his deceased wife, her Majesty Queen Louisa.'—Here I interrupted him. 'It appears, then,' said I, 'that a man who is not a prince, and whose friends may nevertheless be in the other world, is not worthy to be spoken for by Monsieur Swedenborg.' I went away, and he said while I was going, 'When you are gone, I shall be again immediately in the company of the Spirits.' 'I was wrong,' I answered, 'not to have hurried away sooner, for you ought not to lose a single moment of the time you pass in such good company on my account.'

We owe the anecdote to Dr. Wilkinson, who observes, "Was ever errand so idle? If the Spiritual World had been a chest of drawers, no one would have opened it for him on such a showing. There was not live motive enough to command the opening of a peep-show."* Setting aside the inbred vulgarity and insolence of Klopstock, I am afraid Swedenborg was rather fond of drawling out sentences in which "Royal Majesty" was a too frequent sound.

Arrived in Amsterdam, Swedenborg commenced printing his manuscript, and to that busy-body, Cuno, we are again indebted for some particulars. To a correspondent in Hamburg he wrote—

"AMSTERDAM, 26th January, 1771.

"You ask me what the venerable man is doing? This I can tell you. He eats and drinks very moderately, but lies in bed rather long—thirteen hours are not too much for him. When I told him his work, *De Telluribus*, had been translated and published, he was much delighted, and his eyes, which are always smiling, became still more brilliant. He is now indefatigably at work; yea I must say, he labours in a most astonishing and superhuman manner at his new book. Only think! for every printed sheet, 4to, he has to

* *Emanuel Swedenborg: a Biography*, p. 231.

prepare four sheets of manuscript. He now prints two sheets every week, and corrects them himself; consequently he has to write eight sheets every week. What appears to me utterly inconceivable, he has not a single line beforehand in store. His book, he states, will consist of about eighty sheets in print, and he calculates that it will not be finished before Michaelmas."

Cuno was mistaken about the rapid rate of Swedenborg's composition. There is reason to conclude that he had been engaged on his book long before he went to Amsterdam; moreover a large part was simply reprinted from former works. Yet we may readily believe from the looseness and iteration of his style that he wrote rapidly. Sandel visited him in Stockholm, and observing a number of manuscripts without corrections lying on his table, inquired, "Do you take the trouble to make these fair copies for the press yourself?" to which Swedenborg replied, "These are as they were written; I am but a secretary: I write what is dictated to my spirit."*

"I could not conceal my astonishment," continues Cuno, "that he should inscribe himself on the title-page, '*Emanuel Swedenborg, servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.*' He answered, 'I have asked, and have not only received permission, but have been commanded to do so.' It is surprising with what confidence the old gentleman speaks of the Spiritual World, of the Angels, and of God Himself. If I were only to give you the substance of our last conversation, I should fill many pages. He spoke of those who ascribe all things to Nature (whom he had seen shortly after death), and told me things which made me shudder: these I pass by, that I may not judge him hastily. I willingly admit I know not what to make of him; he is a problem I cannot solve. I sincerely wish that upright men placed by God as watchmen on the walls of Zion had some time ago occupied themselves with this man."

In another letter of 5th March, 1771, Cuno writes—

"I cannot forbear to tell you something new about Swedenborg. I paid him a visit last Thursday, and found

* *New Jerusalem Magazine*, London, 1790, p. 54.

him writing as usual. He told me he had been in conversation for three hours that morning with the deceased King of Sweden [Adolphus Frederick, died 1771]. He had seen him on Wednesday, but as he observed him deeply engaged in conversation with the Queen (who is still living) did not disturb him. I inquired, How is it possible for one on Earth to be met with in the World of Spirits? He answered, It was not the Queen herself, but her Familiar Spirit. What might that be? I asked; for I had neither heard him speak of such Spirits, nor read of them. He then informed me that every Man has his Good or Bad Spirit, who is his double; he has the same figure, the same countenance, the same tone of voice, and wears similar garments; in a word, this Familiar Spirit of the Queen appeared exactly as he had often seen her at Stockholm. In order to allay my astonishment, he added that Dr. Ernesti of Leipsic had appeared to him in a similar manner, and that he had held a long disputation with him in the World of Spirits."

Swedenborg under his own hand sets forth the story of the appearance of the Spirit kin to Ernesti, and also to Dean Ekebon: it is a tedious affair: these are its heads—

A Council of Clergy was summoned in the World of Spirits. Primitive Christians—Apostolic Fathers stood on the right, wearing their own hair and bearded. Distinguished advocates of Modern Faith stood on the left, with wigs of women's hair and collars of twisted entrails. A great critic [Familiar Spirit to Ernesti] ascended a pulpit with a wand in his hand and prepared to speak, but his voice died in his throat. With another effort he burst into this attack on our Author—

"Oh! my brethren, what an age is this! There is risen up a person out of the common herd of laymen, who having neither gown, nor cap, nor laurel crown, has yet had the assurance to pull down our Faith from Heaven and cast it into the Stygian Lake. What a sin and a shame is this; when yet that faith is our star, which shines like Orion at night, and like Lucifer in the morning! This person, although advanced in years, is altogether blind to the Mysteries of our Faith," etc., etc.

When he had finished, his companions with the shaven faces, wigs and collars, clapped their hands, and cried out, "Most wisely spoken! A man might as well pretend to ride on horseback to the heavens, and bring a star down in his pocket, as produce a New Faith."

At this the bearded Christians on the right expressed great indignation, and an Angel looking towards Swedenborg said, "You know what the Evangelical Protestants, so called, believe, or profess to believe, concerning the Lord our Saviour: read us then some passages from their writings."

Thus invited, he read from the *Formula Concordiæ* a number of extracts, and then turning to the great critic, twin to Ernesti, conversed aloud with him in this fashion—

"I know that all present are consociated with their like in the Natural World: tell me, I pray, do you know with whom you are connected?"

"Yes; with a famous man, a leader of the army of church worthies."

"Pardon me. Do you know where that famous leader lives?"

"Not far from Luther's tomb."

"Why do you speak of his tomb? Do you not know that Luther has risen again, and has now renounced his errors, and is translated to the New Heaven, and sees and pities those who follow his insane opinions?"

"I know it; but what is that to me?"

"Be so good as exert your influence with your dignified friend, and communicate my fear that he has thoughtlessly sown the seed of Naturalism by writing against the worship of our Lord and Saviour."

"That is impossible; for he and I are of one mind on that subject."

At the conclusion of the Council, a man suddenly started up from the party on the left, having on his head a tiara and over it a cap. He touched his cap with his finger and said—

"I also am associated with a Man on Earth, honourable for eminent station: I know this, for I speak from him as from myself."

"Where does he live?" asked Swedenborg.

"At Gottenburg [Dean Ekebon], and I was once of opinion that this New Doctrine of yours has a tincture of Mahometanism."

At these words the Apostolic Fathers were astonished and changed colour, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Oh! what a scandal! What an age is this!"

In order to appease their indignation, writes Swedenborg, "I waved my hand, requesting to be heard, and said—

"I know indeed that a person of distinction did bring some such charge against me; but had he known what a blasphemous charge it was, he would have torn the letter to pieces, and committed it to the fire, rather than to the press."

At these words Ekebon's Familiar Spirit hung down his head, but presently raising it, said—

"This is the severest speech I have yet heard from you," to which Swedenborg rejoined—

"The fault is in the two accusations brought against me, of Naturalism and Mahometanism, which are both wicked lies and deadly stigmas, invented in subtlety with a design to prejudice the hearer, and deter him from the holy worship of the Lord. Desire your friend at Gottenburg to read what the Lord says in the Revelation iii. 18, and also ii. 16."*

With stuff of this sort did Swedenborg belabour his adversaries!

"What will the learned Ernesti say when he comes to hear of it?" asks Cuno, and answers, "Probably he will say the old man is in his second childhood! he will only laugh, and who can be surprised?"

Towards Ernesti, Swedenborg was very bitter, and at this time, 1771, issued a single leaf against him, which ran as follows—

"I have read what Dr. Ernesti has written about me in his theological work, p. 784. It consists of mere personalities. I do not observe a grain of reason against anything in my writings. As it is against the laws of honesty to assail any one with such poisoned weapons, I think it beneath me to

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 137.

bandy words with that illustrious man. I will not cast back calumnies by calumnies. To do so, I should be even with the dogs which bark and bite, or with the lowest drabs who throw street mud in each others' faces in their brawls. Read, if you will, the arcana revealed by the Lord through me His servant . . . and then decide from Reason respecting my Revelation."

The vigour of this tirade is refreshing, especially after the report of an absurd and dreary debate in the World of Spirits; but the occasion of so much virulence is hard to find. Ernesti conducted a theological review at Leipsic,* wherein he noticed several of Swedenborg's works,† but with no greater asperity than is the privilege of critics. Probably he was nettled by Ernesti's light and contemptuous handling. Old though he was, Swedenborg was young to criticism, and took it unkindly; nor had he fully measured the inevitable scorn which awaits the advocates of new opinions with any divine force in them. "*Beloved,*" wrote St. Peter to such, "*think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you.*" This advice laid to heart, the hooting of the rabble, literate or illiterate, may be encountered with something like indifference.

Swedenborg took some pride in his pithy manifesto: it would do for Dean Ekebom—two evil birds might be hit with the same stone; and to Beyer he wrote—

"AMSTERDAM, 2nd July, 1771.

"Herewith I send you two copies of the memorandum against Dr. Ernesti. You can, if you please, hand one to the Consistory, as it has been circulated in Germany. What is said therein is also applicable to your Dean."

About this time the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt wrote a letter desiring information on several subjects. Sweden-

* *Neue Theologische Bibliothek*, from 1760 to 1769, comprised in ten portly octavo volumes.

† Swedenborg's reference to p. 784 carries us to nothing which concerns him, and must either be a mistake or reference to some work to us unknown.

borg did not answer at first, being doubtful of its authenticity; but his misgivings were set aside by a visit from M. Venator, minister of that prince. In his reply to the Landgrave he says—

“AMSTERDAM, 1771.

“As to the work called *Arcana Cælestia*, it is not to be had in either Holland or England, all the copies having been sold; but as I know there are some in Sweden, I will write to those who have them, and ascertain whether they will part with them at any price.

“In your gracious letter you ask, How I attained fellowship with Angels and Spirits, and whether that privilege can be communicated from one person to another? Deign then to receive favourably this answer—

“The Lord our Saviour foretold that He would come again into the world and establish a New Church. He has given this prediction in the Apocalypse xxi. and xxii., and also in several places in the Evangelists.

“As however He cannot come again to earth in person, it was necessary that He should do so by means of a man, who should not only receive the Doctrine of His New Church in his understanding, but also publish it by printing.

“The Lord prepared me for this office from infancy: He has manifested Himself before me in person, and has sent me, His servant, to fill it.

“This took place in the year 1743. He afterwards opened the sight of my spirit, and thus introduced me into the Spiritual World, and allowed me to see the Heavens and many of their wonders, and also the Hells, and to speak with Angels and Spirits, and this continually for twenty-seven years. I declare in truth that such is the fact.

“This favour of the Lord towards me has been solely for the sake of the New Church, the Doctrine of which is contained in my writings. The gift of conversing with Spirits and Angels cannot be transmitted from one person to another: the Lord Himself must open the spiritual sight. A Spirit is sometimes permitted to enter a Man, and to communicate to him some truth; but it is not granted to the Man to speak mouth to mouth with the Spirit. It is even very dangerous,

for the Spirit enters into [and establishes] the Man's self-love, which is at enmity with heavenly love."

In a second letter to the same personage, with two copies of his new book, he suggests—

"AMSTERDAM, 15th July, 1771.

"Submit the work, if you please, to the learned Ecclesiastics of your Duchy, but, I pray you, choose those *who love the truth, and who love it only because it is the truth*. Others will see in the work no light, but merely darkness."

Referring to his interview with the Prince of Prussia in the Spiritual World, who gave him a message to his sister, the Queen of Sweden, he says—

"The report is quite true, but the incident is not to be regarded as a miracle. It is one of those memorabilia, such as I have printed about Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others, which serve for testimonies that the Lord has introduced me to the Spiritual World, and that I converse with Spirits and Angels.

"It is true that I have talked with the deceased Stanislaus, King of Poland. . . . In the same way I have often talked with the Pope who lately died. He was with me a whole day, but I am not permitted to publish anything respecting his condition."

We have had most of this before, but it is desirable to see with what unflinching pertinacity Swedenborg advanced and maintained his claims.

To M. Venator he also sent a copy of his new work, saying—

"AMSTERDAM, 13th July, 1771.

"I desire your judgment upon it, because I know that being enlightened by the Lord, you will therein see truths in light in accordance with the Word more than others."

Of miracles he wrote—

"You will see in my book that there are no miracles at this day. The reason is, that those who do not believe because they see no miracles, might easily be led by miracles into fanaticism.

"I have seen two quarto volumes of miracles wrought

by the Abbé Paris, which are nothing but falsehoods, being partly fantastic and partly magical.* It is the same with the other miracles of the Roman Catholics.

“At this day Faith will be established and confirmed in the New Church by the Word alone, and by the truths which it reveals. If truths appear in light to the reader of my last work, it is an evidence that the Lord is present and enlightens him. Every truth in the Word shines in Heaven, and the light descends to those who love truth because it is truth.”

Another Minister of State applied to Swedenborg for particulars of a Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeldt, named John William, who disappeared in the year 1745, without any one knowing what had become of him. Nothing was said either of his age or his person. Swedenborg answered that the Prince, after being twenty-seven years in the Spiritual World, was in a Society to which he could not readily gain admission; that the Angels had no knowledge of his state; and that the matter was not of sufficient importance to warrant an application to the Lord about it.†

Whilst busy with printers, Swedenborg had yet leisure and inclination for society. Cuno had to write—

“He is by no means reserved and recluse, but open-hearted and accessible to all. Whoever invites him out may expect to see him. A young gentleman, a stranger to him, asked him to dinner last week, and he duly appeared at his table, where he met Jews and Portuguese and conversed with them freely. Whoever is curious to see him

* François de Paris, a Jansenist, died in 1727, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Medard, Paris. Extraordinary cures rewarded visitors to his tomb, to the disgust of the Jesuits. Public excitement grew so intense that the churchyard was shut up. As the couplet ran—

“De par le Roi, defense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.”

Swedenborg's sweeping assertion is noteworthy: he could seldom preserve his reason when speaking of Catholics. Did he forget that his own father wrought miracles?

† Dr. Wilkinson's *Emanuel Swedenborg*, p. 230.

has no difficulty; it is only necessary to go to his house, and he allows anybody to approach him. As may easily be conceived, these numerous visits deprive him of much time."

He reckoned his work would occupy eighty sheets and would not be ready till Michaelmas, but he completed it in sixty-eight sheets, and had the volume ready for sale by Midsummer. Its title ran—

The True Christian Religion; containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, foretold by the Lord in Daniel, vii. 13, 14, and in the Apocalypse, xxi. 1, 2. By Emanuel Swedenborg, Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It is interesting to find that many years before, ere even the *Arcana Cœlestia* had appeared, he had made an estimate of his readers. In his Diary it is written—

"27th August, 1748.—I have conversed with Spirits concerning the reception the world will give to the particulars which I am going to publish about them. Evil Spirits insinuated that nobody would believe me. As I walk the streets, I discuss the question with them, and it has been given me to perceive that I shall have five sorts of readers.

"The first reject my writings entirely, either because they are of a different persuasion, or are enemies of the faith: they cannot be received by them, for their minds are impenetrable.

"The second receive them as scientifics, and are delighted with them as curiosities.

"The third receive them intellectually and with readiness, but their lives remain unaltered by them.

"The fourth receive them in a persuasive manner, allowing them to penetrate to amendment of life: to this class they occur in certain states and do good service.

"The fifth receive them with joy and reduce them to practice."

In August, 1771, Swedenborg bade his friends in Amsterdam a final farewell, and sailed for London.

CHAPTER XLIV.

TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.*

THIS is the “work of some years” announced in the *Brief Exposition*, and is a body of divinity: a considerable portion is a reprint of former matter, and about a third of its 542 pages consists of discussions and adventures in the Spiritual World, some original and some transferred from the *Apocalypse Revealed* and *Conjugal Love*. Let us pass over what is familiar, and note simply what seems new or interesting in the several chapters.

I. GOD THE CREATOR.

“*There is a universal influx from God into the souls of Men, teaching that there is a God and that He is one.*”

This aphorism is not to be construed into an admission of innate ideas. Apart from external information (*i. e.*, Revelation), we should be ignorant of God. Swedenborg teaches that for the creation of an idea there must be a congress of Life with Knowledge or Experience. Thus the influx from God which attests His existence and unity would be dissipated unless received in corresponding Knowledge, or marred if received in imperfect Knowledge—

“The reason why so many think of three Gods notwithstanding the inspiration of Unity is thus explained. Influx is modified everywhere by the forms into which it descends. It is the same God who gives life to Man and Beast, but life in one is human and in the other bestial, and human and bestial solely because of the diversity of the recipients. The same is true of Men good and evil; their difference is not one of life, but of form. It is so also in the Vegetable Kingdom. The influx of heat and light from the sun into

* *Vera Christiana Religio, continens Universam Theologiam Novæ Ecclesiæ a Domino apud Danielelem, cap. VII. 13, 14; et in Apocalypsi, cap. XXI. 1, 2, prædictæ. Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Domini Jesu Christi Servo. Amstelodami: 1771.*

every plant is alike, but it is varied according to the particular form of each: it is the same in a vine and a thorn, but if a thorn be grafted on a vine, the influx is inverted and proceeds according to the thorn. So likewise in the Mineral Kingdom. The same light falls on a piece of chalk and a diamond, but in the one it is rendered opaque, whilst in the other it is reflected in brightness." *

"Unless God was one, the Universe could not have been created or preserved."

"The Universe is a coherent and uniform work from first to last, and depends upon God as does the body upon the soul. It is so created that God may be everywhere present, and keep the whole and all its parts under His government and observation. For this reason He calls Himself '*the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End, the Alpha and Omega.*'"

In the most utter sense the Universe is pronounced subservient to Man—

"God intended this one end in its creation, namely, the formation of a Heaven of Angels from the Human Race.

"The Divine Love can have no other motive: the Divine Wisdom can do nothing but advance Love's aim.

"Consequently there is not a single thing in the Universe which does not involve some obvious or hidden service for Man." †

"Whoever denies God enters into communion with Satanic Spirits of Hell. All Satanic Spirits deny God."

"Every Man as to his Spirit is associated with his like in the Spiritual World. I have been frequently permitted to see the Spirits of Persons living upon Earth in the Heavenly and Infernal Societies to which they respectively belonged, and have conversed with them for days together." ‡

"No doctrine or worship of the Church can be consistent or coherent with those who acknowledge not one God, but many."

* Nos. 8 and 11.

† Nos. 13 and 67.

‡ No. 14: This may be taken as another view of Cuno's story, namely, that Swedenborg conversed with Ernesti and the Queen of Sweden in the Spiritual World whilst they were yet on Earth.

The proposition is directed against "those who divide God into three Persons, and declare each Person to be God, and attribute to each distinct qualities and offices, which they do not allow to the other. Hence not only is the unity of God divided, but theology and the Human Mind thrown into distraction.

"The truth is, the division of the Divine Essence into three Persons leads to a denial of God. It is as if a man should go to a temple to perform his devotions, and should there see painted over the altar one God as the Ancient of Days, another as a great High Priest, and a third as a flying Æolus, with this inscription, 'These three are one God;' or, as if he should see there the unity and trinity described as a Man with three Heads upon one Body, or with three Bodies under one Head.

"Should any one enter Heaven with such an idea, he would assuredly be cast out, however he might excuse himself by saying that the Head or Heads signified Essence, and the Body or Bodies different Properties."*

"The Infinity of God in relation to Spaces is called Immensity, and in relation to Times, Eternity; and yet there is nothing of Space in His Immensity, and nothing of Time in His Eternity.

"The Angels by the Immensity of God have a perception of His Love, and by Eternity, of His Wisdom: the reason is, that they abstract Spaces and Times from their thoughts of the Godhead, and this abstraction leads immediately to such perception.

"Since however human thought is bounded by ideas derived from objects in Time and Space, it is impossible for Man to have any distinct perception of the Immensity of God before the existence of Spaces, and of His Eternity before the existence of Times; nay, should he strive after such perception, he might fall into a delirium, and from this into a denial of God.

"I was once convinced of this by experience. I was considering what God was from Eternity, and what He did before Creation, whether He deliberated over His work, and

whether such deliberation was possible in vacuum; with other vain conceits of the same kind. In order to prevent my falling into a delirium by such speculations, I was elevated by the Lord into the sphere and light of the interior Angels, when the ideas of Time and Space, which had before limited my conceptions, were a little removed, and then it was granted me to comprehend that the Eternity of God is not an Eternity of Time, and since there was no Time before the Creation of the World, it was altogether an idle folly to pursue such speculations about God.

“I was confirmed also in this truth, namely, that as the Divine has no connection with days, years, and ages, therefore the World was created by God *not in Time*, but *Time began with the World*.

“I will add this memorable circumstance. Two statues appear at the extremity of the Spiritual World in a monstrous human form with their mouths wide open, by whom such persons as bewilder themselves with vain and foolish conceits about God in His eternal existence, seem to themselves to be devoured. The appearance results from the phantasy of the speculators.

“Vain too is the desire to know what God is in His Substance. It is enough to acknowledge Him from things finite in which He infinitely is. The man who would know more of God than this may be compared to a fish out of water, or to a bird under the receiver of an air-pump.”*

“Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Omnipresence are properties of the Divine Wisdom derived from the Divine Love.

“This is an arcanum from Heaven which has never yet been clearly revealed to any Human Understanding, because it has never yet been known what Love is in its essence, or what Wisdom is in its essence, and still less what is the Law of Influx of the one into the other; and that according to that Law, Love enters by a universal and particular Influx into Wisdom, and resides therein like a king in his own kingdom, or a master in his own house, relinquishing to Wisdom all authority of judgment.”†

*

Nos. 28, 31, and 280.

† No. 50.

“The Omnipotence of God in the Universe and all its parts proceeds and operates according to the Laws of His own Order.

“God is Omnipotent because He has all Power from Himself, and the Power of all other beings is derived from Him. His Power and Will are one; and since He wills nothing but what is good, He can therefore do nothing but what is good.*

“The Love of God extends not only to good persons and things, but to evil persons and things; not only to Heaven, but also to Hell; not only to Michael and Gabriel, but to the Devil and Satan; for God is everywhere, and from eternity to eternity the same.†

“Hence may be seen the great folly of those who believe, and still more of those who teach, that God can condemn, curse, or cast into Hell, that He can predestinate any to eternal death, or can avenge injuries, be angry, and punish; for He cannot even turn away His Face from any one, or regard him with the least severity; these and like acts being contrary to His very Self.

“It is the prevalent opinion that the Omnipotence of God is like the absolute power of an earthly monarch, who can do what he chooses, can absolve and condemn at pleasure, can make the innocent guilty, declare the faithless faithful, exalt the unworthy and undeserving above the deserving and worthy, and under the slightest pretences deprive his subjects of their estates, and condemn them to death, with other acts of the same arbitrary nature.

“From this infatuated opinion have arisen innumerable falsities, fallacies, and chimeras in the Church. Given the two words—*Omnipotence* and *Faith*, and what may not be conjured out of them?

“If the Omnipotence of God was absolute, and equally capable of effecting good and evil, would it not be possible, yea would it not be easy, for God to exalt Hell to Heaven, change Devils to Angels, and purge every sinner in a moment from his sins?

“God cannot by His Omnipotence effect such trans-

* No. 56.

† No. 43.

formations, because they are contrary to the established Laws of His own Order.”*

“God is Omniscient, that is, He perceives, sees, and knows all and everything, even to the most minute, that is done according to Order, and by that means also whatever is done contrary to Order.”

The point here set forth is, that God is present in Evil as Order striving with Disorder.

“Since God is in the Heavens by virtue of their Order, which Order He is, He is consequently familiar with their antagonistic Hells; and by their re-action is Master of all their evils and falses.†

“Where there is not Order, God is omnipresent in a continual struggle to produce Order.‡

“Thus it is that whoever is in good can perceive evil, and whoever is in truth can perceive what is false. The Angels can see what is doing in Hell, and what monsters are therein; but Devils cannot see the Angels nor what is doing in Heaven any more than if they were blind.”§

“A Man has power against Evil and the False from the Divine Omnipotence, he has Wisdom respecting Good and Truth from the Divine Omniscience, and he is in God by virtue of the Divine Omnipresence, in proportion as he lives according to the Divine Order.”

This aphorism owes its force to the truth that all excellence in Man is God's presence in him. If therefore he resists Evil, the resistance is a communication from the Divine Omnipotence; “for Man is born in Evil, and Evil cannot resist itself.”|| If he is wise, his Wisdom is a manifestation of the Divine Omniscience. If his life is righteous, he lives in God, for God is Order; “and as he suffers himself to be reduced to Order, God becomes omnipresent in him and he in God.” Not that any man can escape from God: He abides in the inmost of all His creatures, whether good or evil. His absence is as impossible from any creature as is the Sun's from the Earth; but the creature, like the Earth, by aversion can exist in winter. “It is a general canon in Heaven that God is in every Man, but that

* Nos. 57 and 58. † No. 62. ‡ No. 70. § No. 61. || No. 68.

Man is not in God unless his Will is conformed to God's Will." *

II. THE LORD THE REDEEMER.

There is little in this chapter which is not in the treatise on the Doctrine of the Lord, of 1763, beyond sharp applications of its truths to tri-personal theology.

"The reason why we say Lord, and not Jehovah, is, because Jehovah in the Old Testament is called the Lord in the New. By the Lord the Redeemer, we mean Jehovah in the Humanity." †

"Jehovah God descended and assumed Humanity for the purpose of redeeming and saving Mankind."

Why did God assume Humanity to redeem Humanity?

"Because God, who is in inmost and thus in purest principles, could not otherwise descend to the lowest principles in which the Hells reside. The assumed Humanity was the arm wherewith He reached them. Without it He could no more have effected redemption than could Europeans subdue the Indies without ships and soldiers, or than trees could grow with heat and light, but without air for their transmission, or than fishermen could catch fish by casting their nets in the air. Jehovah, as He is in Himself, cannot by all His Omnipotence approach any Devil in Hell or on Earth so as to curb his fury." ‡

"Jehovah God descended as the Divine Truth, which is the Word; nevertheless He did not separate from it the Divine Good."

It is said that Redemption—in other words, the subjection of the Hells, the re-ordering of the Heavens, and the restoration of the Church—was effected by the Divine Truth, and this because all Good has its power by means of Truth. "The Divine Good, considered in itself, is like the round hilt of a sword, a piece of blunt wood, or a bow without an arrow; but the Divine Truth derived from the Divine Good is like a sharp-pointed sword, or like a piece of wood fashioned into a spear, or like a bow furnished with arrows. Swords, spears, and bows in the Word spiritually signify truths adapted to spiritual warfare.

* Nos. 70 and 366.

† No. 81.

‡ No. 84.

"In the Spiritual World the power of Truth is particularly conspicuous; for a single Angel by Divine Truths from the Lord can put to flight, pursue, and confine in Hell a whole troop of Infernal Spirits, notwithstanding they appear like the Anakim and Nephilim. Men on Earth may have like power from the Lord over Evils and Falses." *

III. THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE DIVINE OPERATION.

The Holy Spirit is not a Person, nor the Spirit of the infinite Jehovah, but the Divine Influence communicated *through* the Lord Jesus Christ—an Influence which commenced and resulted from the incarnation—"which proceeds from the Human, and not immediately from the Divine of the Lord.†

"Hence we perceive the common error that God the Father sends the Holy Spirit; and the error of the Greek Church, that God the Father communicates the Holy Spirit immediately from Himself.

"This truth, that the Holy Spirit is an effluence through the Lord from God the Father, is from Heaven, and the Angels call it an arcanum; for it was never before disclosed to the world." ‡

In setting forth the truth about the Trinity, the popular notions about three Gods are pertinaciously and tediously exposed. Among his propositions it is said—

"A Trinity of Persons was unknown in the Apostolic Church. The Doctrine was first broached by the Council of Nice, and thence received into the Roman Catholic Church, and thus propagated among the Reformed Churches. The Council of Nice devised, concluded, and determined that three Divine Persons existed from eternity, in order to stop the damnable heresy of Arius." The remedy was little better than the disease; "for from that time an incredible number of heresies concerning God and Christ sprang from the earth, whereby the head of Antichrist was exalted, and the Church utterly devastated." §

* Nos. 86 and 87.

† *Apocalypse Explained*, No. 183.

‡ No. 153.

§ No. 174.

“In primitive times all Christians throughout the world acknowledged that the Lord Jesus Christ was God, to whom all power was given in Heaven and Earth.

“The Apostolic Church may be compared to the Garden of God, and Arius to the serpent from Hell; and the Council of Nice to Eve who offered the fruit to Adam.

“If the Lord’s Divinity be denied, the Christian Church expires, and becomes like a sepulchre with the epitaph, *Here the Church lies buried.*” *

By the true Doctrine of the Trinity we acquire a right idea of God—

“And a right idea of God is to the Church what the inmost sanctuary and altar were to the Temple; for as a chain depends on the staple from which it hangs, so does the whole body of theology depend on a right idea of God as its head. If the reader is willing to credit it, every one has a place in Heaven according to his idea of God.” †

IV. THE SACRED SCRIPTURE, OR THE WORD OF GOD.

This Chapter is a reprint of the treatise of 1763 on the Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, with a few unimportant additions and omissions.

V. THE CATECHISM OR DECALOGUE EXPLAINED AS TO ITS EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL SENSE.

“There is no nation on Earth which does not know that murder, adultery, theft, and false witness are evils; and unless there were laws for their prevention no society could exist.

“Who therefore can suppose that the Jews were so stupid as to be ignorant of what is thus universally confessed? Why then was the Decalogue miraculously given from Sinai by Jehovah Himself?

“Because the Commandments are not only Civil and Moral Laws, but also Divine Laws; to confer on them a religious obligation; to testify that their transgression was not only sin against Man, but sin against God.” ‡

* Nos. 636 to 638.

† No. 163.

‡ No. 282.

The Ten Commandments are a summary of the Word and of all religion. Hence in the Jewish Church the Decalogue was the holy of holies—the Law by eminence.

The Commandments contain a Spiritual and a Celestial Sense within the Literal Sense, and these Senses comprise an infinity of applications—

“Every word may be compared to a seed, which if sown may grow into a tree producing abundance of other seed. This is evident from the wisdom of the Angels which is all derived from the Word, and which increases to eternity. As the Angels advance in wisdom, they see more and more clearly that no limit can be set to wisdom, and that whatever be their acquirements, they are still in wisdom’s outer court, and can never in the least particular exhaust the Divine Wisdom, which they call an abyss. Now since the Word is from that abyss, it is plain that in its every item there is a kind of infinity.”*

So much premised, he proceeds to give a cursory view of the Literal, the Spiritual, and the Celestial application of each Commandment.

VI. FAITH.

Whilst the writing of this Chapter is in large part new, it contains little which we have not already discussed. Faith with Swedenborg is not such credence as may be induced by the study of Paley and Whately, but the affinity which exists between Goodness and Truth. Whoever will believe the Truth must be prepared to live according to the Truth, and as he so lives he will acquire Faith, and not otherwise. Thus it is that the Righteous have Faith, and the Wicked have no Faith.

Jesus Christ is the perfect exhibition of Divine Truth under human conditions; and he who sees this and bows before Him as God, proves thereby that he has attained a true and saving Faith. Such a Faith is not to be compassed by the ablest arguments; it is a Divine gift—a gift which accompanies obedience to the Divine Will as far as known. When Peter confessed, “*Thou art the Christ, the Son of the*

living God," the Lord replied, "*Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in Heaven.*" Paul admitted the same condition of Faith when he assured the Corinthians, "*No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.*" What volumes of dreary and useless ratiocination about Christ's divinity might be spared if His own testimony and Paul's were accepted!

Following his illustration of the dogma, "That a saving Faith is a Faith in the Lord God the Saviour Jesus Christ," he observes—

"These statements were written in the presence of the Lord's twelve Apostles, who, while I was writing them, were sent to me by the Lord."*

VII. CHARITY, OR LOVE TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR, AND GOOD WORKS.

With the principles of this Chapter we have likewise made acquaintance elsewhere, though its composition is fresh.

Man is defined as constituted of three universal Loves—the Love of Heaven, the Love of the World, and the Love of Self.

"The Love of Heaven means Love to the Lord and Love towards our Neighbour; and as each of these regards usefulness as its end, it may be called the Love of Uses.

"The Love of the World is the Love not only of riches and property, but also of all things which the world supplies for the delight of the bodily senses, as beauty for the eye, harmony for the ear, fragrance for the smell, delicacies for the palate, blandishments for the touch, besides handsome apparel, convenient habitation, the pleasures of society, and all the satisfactions thence resulting.

"The Love of Self is the Love not only of honour and distinction, but of meriting and seeking after high posts and employments, and thus of bearing rule over others."†

Unlike the ascetic and puritan, Swedenborg neither denounces nor tries to extirpate the Loves of Self and the

* No. 339.

† No. 394.

World: he grants that in themselves they are Hell: he only requires that they be held subordinate to the Love of Heaven—

“These three Loves are implanted in every Man from Creation, and consequently he inherits them by birth, and they tend to his perfection when they are rightly subordinate to each other, but to his destruction when they are not rightly subordinate.” *

“The Man after God’s own heart” loves himself and loves property, but loves them as means whereby he may be useful to his Neighbour: but who is his Neighbour?

His Neighbour is that Individual or Community wherein God is manifest—

“Since the Lord ought to be loved above all things, it follows that the degrees of Love towards our Neighbour ought to be regulated by Love towards the Lord, consequently by the proportion in which the Lord is received by our Neighbour, or in which he possesses anything from the Lord; for in that same proportion is he in possession of good, all good being from the Lord.” †

Charity is no exceptional virtue: “It consists in acting justly and faithfully in whatever office, business, and employment we are engaged, and with whomsoever we have any connection.” ‡

You wish to please God: then do your duty wherever your lot is cast. As you cannot serve society better than by fulfilling your natural vocation faithfully, so neither can you please God otherwise, for He has no interests apart from society.

Quite a secondary rank is assigned to alms-giving and professional philanthropy—“to those aids and assistances which a Man lends to his Neighbour independent of the ordinary duties of his station—

“It is a prevailing notion that Charity consists solely in giving to the poor, relieving the indigent, providing for widows and orphans, contributing towards the building of hospitals and other edifices for the reception of the sick, the stranger, and the fatherless, but particularly in the building,

* No. 395.

† No. 410.

‡ No. 422.

ornamenting, and endowing of churches: many things however of this sort have no proper connection with Charity, but are extraneous to it.

“Those who make Charity consist in such actions, must of necessity consider them meritorious; and although they may say they disclaim all regard to merit, yet in their hearts they cannot but entertain a belief that they are entitled to it. This is evident from what is observed of such persons after death; for they then begin to reckon up their works, and to demand salvation as a reward.”*

VIII. FREE DETERMINATION.

The same question is discussed in this Chapter as in the treatise on the Divine Providence, but less thoroughly and even less satisfactorily. Predestinarians are denounced in many vigorous epithets—

“From the Faith devised at the Council of Nice, and now prevalent in Christendom, it follows as a consequence that God is the cause of Evil. Hence have sprung many dreadful heresies, and that most horrible one, the Doctrine of Predestination espoused by the Council of Dort.”†

Then we have the plea *ad misericordiam*—

“What more pernicious doctrine could have been devised, or what more cruel notion of God could have been conceived, than that any of the Human Race are damned by a positive pre-determined decree? How cruel is a faith which maintains that the Lord, who is love itself and mercy itself, can cause a multitude of men to be born and devoted to Hell! or that thousands and tens of thousands are brought into the world with an inevitable curse on their heads, being in fact born Devils and Satans! and that in His Infinite Divine Wisdom, He never did and never does provide some method of deliverance for those who lead good lives, and acknowledge the being of a God, that they may escape everlasting fire and punishment! Is not the Lord the Creator of all, and the Saviour of all? and does He not guide and govern all His Creatures, not desiring the death of any? What then can

* No. 425.

† No. 487 and 489.

be believed or conceived more inhuman than that whole tribes and nations under His auspices should be delivered up by a positive pre-determined decree as a prey to the Devil, to glut his voracious appetite?" *

To Arminian rhetoric of this sort we have all listened, and felt how little it was to the purpose. The trouble to be disposed of is, the fact of Hell—the existence of Evil in the domain of an Almighty Creator; it is merely an aggravation of the difficulty to proclaim His infinite beneficence and unwilling toleration of eternal misery, to which legions of His Creatures are perpetually passing. We may reject the Calvinistic treatment of the difficulty as incredibly diabolic, but it has the merit of a logical solution, whilst the Arminian rhetoric about a good and impotent Deity suggests nothing but the profane similitude of the unhappy hen which hatched ducks and could only screech and flutter as they took to the water.

Much has been elsewhere cited in illustration of Swedenborg's opinion about the Origin of Evil. Man is pronounced free: but when we press to know in what sense, we receive a very peculiar answer.

He is not free, if by freedom is meant independence—

"It is impossible for God to create Himself—thus to create Life; for what is Life but the inmost activity of Love and Wisdom, which are in God, and which are God; which Life may be called the very essential Living Force." †

Man is therefore a dead form vivified by the indwelling of God, whose independence and freedom are felt in Man by Man as his own.

He is free then in the sense that he *feels* free—that he *feels* that he lives of himself, that his thoughts and deeds are his own, that he merits praise in success and blame in failure. He *feels* free, but his sensation is an illusion.

How then out of such relations have we Evil?

Man varies and mars the Divine Life in its efflux. That Life issues from the Angel as Social Love and as Self-Love subordinate to Social Love, and from the Devil as Self-Love

* No. 486.

† Nos. 470 and 471.

alone. All the disorder and misery we know is attributed to this cause, namely, the transmission of Divine Life as *ungoverned Self-Love*.

We have therefore Evil assigned to Man's manner of reception and effusion of God—in fact, to the character of his organization. As the Phrenologists say, given such a Brain, you can only have such a Life: note nevertheless, that however the Man is limited by his Brain, he always *feels* free and independent; he appropriates—that is to say, “eats of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.”

If this be true—if Man, whether Angel or Devil, merely *feels* free, and if the efflux of Life is governed by his organization—it is foolish to scold or moan over Hell. We may be certain that Creation contains no blunders, and that the prodigious Force which issues as Self-Love is neither lost, nor worse than lost, in a limbo of eternal damnation.

Swedenborg frequently writes of Hell in the imbecile spirit of the Church, but at the same time he is happily inconsistent, and yields countless hints for its more rational treatment: these hints it is impossible here to pursue; let this observation suffice—

The Angel as he includes Self-Love includes the Devil, and as he subordinates the Devil in himself to social service, Why may not the same process be repeated on a universal scale, and Hell be reduced to the service of Heaven? “What is dirt?” asked Palmerston, and answered, “Dirt is matter out of place.” What is Hell? I ask, and answer, Hell is Self-Love out of service.

IX. REPENTANCE.

Repentance is the first constituent of the Church in Man. The evidence of the regenerative Divine Presence is displayed in Man's discovery of his evils, in his sorrow over them, and in his resolution to refrain from them—

“How is Repentance to be performed? I answer, Actually: that is, by a Man's examining himself, knowing and acknowledging his sins, making supplication to the Lord, and beginning a new life.

“When a man says to himself, ‘This evil is a sin,’ and abstains from it through fear of eternal punishment, *then* from a Pagan he becomes a Christian.” *

True Repentance is painful; it is the scrutiny, the detection and the condemnation of particular faults of heart and habit. Repentance in gross is a sentimental luxury. The whole congregation prays, “O God the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners;” but how many would resent as slander the open imputation of any single sin!

“What is easier for a Man who is in affliction and terror than to pour forth sighs and groans, beat his breast, and proclaim himself guilty of every sin, when yet he is not conscious of a single sin in himself? Does the crowd of Devils, who reside in his Loves, depart with his outcry? Not they! They mock at his profession, and establish their habitation.” †

Repentance is very difficult for Protestants; they have not formed the habit like Catholics of fixing their attention on their failings, and many hold it in mortal aversion.

“Here however is an easy method. Let a man when meditating any evil, say to himself, ‘I intend this, but as it is a sin, I will not do it.’ By this means the temptation injected from Hell is expelled, and its further entrance prevented.

“Nevertheless inquiry was made in the Spiritual World as to how many could comply with this simple prescription; and they were so few that they might be compared to doves in a wide wilderness.” ‡

X. REFORMATION AND REGENERATION.

Repentance is followed by Reformation, and Reformation by Regeneration.

By Reformation is designated the state in which Man *strives* after goodness; and by Regeneration the state in which he *has attained* goodness. The one is a state of aspiration; the other, of fruition. In Reformation, the Will is

* Nos. 525 and 530.

† No. 529.

‡ Nos. 513, 535, and 536.

controlled by the Understanding; in Regeneration, the Will has the Understanding for a servant.

At this day, we are all born with Self-Love supreme in our characters—

“The Natural Man is a Beast; indeed, as to his Will, he is a Wild Beast, and, unless born anew, he would be a tiger, a panther, a leopard, a wild boar, a scorpion, a tarantula, a crocodile, etc.; and would end as a Devil among Devils in Hell.”*

His distinction from the Beasts is the possession of an Understanding which is independent of his Will. By means of this Understanding, the revolution of his natural character is accomplished. Divine Truth from the Word enters the Understanding, and in its Light the evil lusts of the Will are made manifest; Repentance ensues, followed by the slow and bitter work of Reformation.

XI. IMPUTATION.

This chapter is wholly controversial—an exposure of the figment of righteousness imputed to the unrighteous, which originated in the Council of Nice, was altogether unknown in the Apostolic Church, and is neither declared nor signified in any part of the Word.

XII. BAPTISM.

“Without a knowledge of the Spiritual Sense of the Word, no one can know what the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper involve and signify:”† yet any one conversant with the literature of these ceremonies will feel that Swedenborg has little to say that is fresh: his merit, if any, is definition, not expansion.

His case in reference to Baptism may be stated thus—Water corresponds to Truth, and as Water cleanses the Body, so does Truth cleanse the Soul. In Baptism it is promised or implied—*As this Water purifies thee outwardly, so will Truth purify thee inwardly.*‡

* Nos. 574 and 588.

† No. 667.

‡ No. 670.

"Baptism is the sign of introduction to the Christian Church, as is plain from these circumstances—

"1. The rite was instituted instead of Circumcision [proof wanted, says the Anabaptist], and as Circumcision was the sign of admission to the Jewish Church, so is Baptism to the Christian. [If Baptism is instead of Circumcision, Why baptize females?]

"2. That it is only a sign of introduction to the Church is evident from the Baptism of Infants, who are as incapable of receiving anything of Faith as the young shoots of a tree." [Here again the question is begged. By what Scripture is the Baptism of Infants justified?]

"3. Not only Infants are baptized, but converts to Christianity whether young or old, and this before they have been instructed, if they do but confess themselves desirous of embracing the Faith. [Again custom is invoked as authority, when authority is required for custom.]

"4. Hence John baptized in Jordan, because Jordan was the entrance to Canaan, and Canaan represented the Church."*

Baptism is thus reduced to a symbolic promise of something *to be done* in the Infant and the Convert.

"What man of sound reason cannot see that the washing of face, hands, and feet, yea of the whole body in a bath, effects no more than the removal of dirt? Who can suppose that such washing cleanses the Spirit in common with the Body? A thief and a murderer might be washed, but would the washing remove their evil dispositions?"†

Baptism is practised in the Spiritual World—

"Infants are introduced to the Christian Heaven by Baptism, and assigned by the Lord to Angels who take care of them until they grow up and can think and act for themselves, when they choose associates each in correspondence with his peculiar character."‡

One use of Baptism there is to preserve its tender subjects from the influence and wiles of Mahometan and Idolatrous Spirits;§ but how a drop of water on the forehead, or even

* No. 677.

† No. 677.

‡ Nos. 672 and 673.

§ No. 678.

a thorough good washing, should prove such a potent charm, we are left to imagine.

XIII. THE HOLY SUPPER.

The promise of Baptism is fulfilled in the Holy Supper. In the one case the recipient is passive and in the other active.

The Bread corresponds to Divine Love and the Wine to Divine Truth: Bread and Wine are to the Body what Love and Wisdom are to the Soul.

The Bread and Wine of the Supper have, no more than the Water of Baptism, any spiritual efficacy. Their worthy reception pre-supposes an internal qualification—*the Lord sups with his Disciples*; and the first evidence of the Disciple is penitence. He must have examined his heart, discovered himself a sinner, and longed for deliverance from its corruption. Such knowledge and such sorrow testify the presence of a new life within him—to the advent of the Lord as the Love whereby he longs, and as the Light whereby he sees.

To the Holy Supper the Disciple comes. He eats the Bread, he drinks the Wine, and thus outwardly repeats what has been inwardly transacted, and thereby ultimates, confirms, completes, and seals the deed.

XIV. THE CONSUMMATION OF THE AGE, THE COMING OF THE LORD, AND THE NEW HEAVEN AND THE NEW CHURCH.

Over again we have the story of the Four Churches—the Most Ancient, the Ancient, the Jewish, and the Christian, which, viewing Mankind as an Individual, are likened to the four stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. *

The birth of those Churches in Goodness and their death in Evil are treated as accordant with Divine Order for the sake of variety—

“ Who cannot see, for instance, that the True receives its

* No. 762.

quality from the False, and the Good from the Evil, even as does Light from Darkness, and Heat from Cold? What would become of Colour supposing White existed without Black? Are not the perceptions of the Senses awakened by Opposites? Are not the eyes blinded by White alone, and relieved by tints in which there is something of blackness, as is the case with Green? Are not the ears deafened by monotone, and charmed by the varied relations of harmonious and discordant notes? What is beauty without reference to ugliness? and hence painters set off grace to the greatest advantage alongside deformity. What are pleasure and prosperity apart from what is unpleasant and unprosperous? How hurtful it is for the Mind to brood over one idea."*

We have met this argument before, and have observed that Swedenborg was hardly equal to its consequences.†

The Christian Church had come to its end—consummated in the Last Judgment of 1757—

"Its existence was divided into two: one extending from the advent of the Lord to the Council of Nice; the other from the Council of Nice to the eighteenth century. In the progress of the latter epoch, it was split into three branches—the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the Reformed."‡

The end of the Christian Church "was foretold and described by the Lord in the Gospels and the Apocalypse;" and in the *Apocalypse Revealed* it was shown that the Revelation of John was a prophecy of the events of 1757, "which I solemnly aver I saw with my own eyes when broad awake."§

The hour of the Lord's second advent had arrived, but He could not appear in person. Why?

"Because since His ascension He is in His glorified Humanity, and He cannot appear in that Humanity to any man unless his spiritual eyes be opened, and this opening

* No. 763.

† See p. 276 present volume.—Hobbes observed, "It is almost [he should have said altogether] all one for a man to be always sensible of one and the same thing, and not to be sensible of any at all."

‡ No. 760.

§ Nos. 758 and 772.

cannot be effected in any who is in evils and in falses derived from evil.”*

His promise was, that He would come in the Clouds of Heaven. What are the Clouds of Heaven?

“By the Clouds of Heaven is meant the Word in its Literal Sense; and by the Power and Glory in which the Lord is to come is meant the Word in its Spiritual Sense.”†

In the revelation therefore of the Spiritual Sense, the Lord makes His second advent—makes it by Swedenborg, who solemnly attests—

“From the first day of my call to this office, I have never received anything relating to the Doctrines of the New Church from any Angel, but from the Lord alone whilst reading the Word.”‡

This New Church “is the crown of all the Churches which have been on Earth.” Why?

Because none of the former Churches knew God aright. “The Most Ancient Church worshipped the invisible God, with whom there can be no conjunction; so likewise did the Ancient Church. The Israelitish Church worshipped Jehovah, who in Himself is the invisible God, but under a human form, which Jehovah God put on by means of an Angel, and in which form He was seen by Abraham, Sarah, Moses, Hagar, Gideon, Joshua, and sometimes by the Prophets. The fourth Church, called Christian, did indeed acknowledge one God with the lips, but in three persons, each whereof singly and by himself was God, thus three Gods.

“The New Church will worship one visible God in whom is the invisible, as is the soul in the body; for thus and no otherwise can conjunction be effected between God and Man.”§

The former Churches corresponded to infancy, youth, manhood and old age, but the New Church corresponds to immortal life—

“It will endure for ages and ages, as was foreseen by Daniel and by the other Prophets: and the like is said in

* No. 777. † No. 776. ‡ No. 779. § Nos. 786 and 787.

the Revelation: '*The seventh Angel sounded, and there were great Voices in Heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.*'" *

How the Church, initiated in the revelation of the Spiritual Sense of the Word, was to be extended and established, is a question on which Swedenborg's testimony wavers. He seems to have forgotten the Gentiles, to whom in earlier days he asserted the Church was in process of transfer; and now his hopes actually extend to the Clergy of the old devastated ecclesiasticism!—

"The New Church comes down from Heaven in proportion as the falses of the former Church are removed; for what is new cannot gain admission until what is old is rooted out; and this must first take place among the Clergy, and by their means among the Laity." †

One cause for delay on Earth, is the time requisite for the organization of the New Heavens—

"It is agreeable to Divine Order that a New Heaven be formed before a New Church on Earth; for the Church is both internal and external, and the internal Church forms one with Heaven: and that the internal must be formed before the external, and afterwards the external by the internal, is a truth known and acknowledged by the Clergy." ‡

The work ends with this strange document—

"Memorandum.

"After this work was finished, the Lord called together His twelve Disciples who followed Him in the world, and the next day He sent them throughout the whole Spiritual World to preach the Gospel that the Lord God Jesus Christ reigns, whose kingdom shall endure for ever and ever, according to the prophecy in Daniel (vii. 13, 14); and in the Revelation (xi. 15); and that '*Blessed are those who are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb.*' (Rev. xix. 9.)

"This was done on the 19th day of June, in the year

* Nos. 788 to 790, and *Coronis*.

† No. 784.

‡ No. 784.

1770. This is understood by the Lord's words: '*He shall send His Angels, and they shall gather together His Elect from one end of Heaven to the other.*' (Matt. xxiv. 31.)" *

The Memorandum is repeated three times in the *True Christian Religion*!† Its contents are somewhat surprising, inasmuch as elsewhere he seems to regard the Apostles as representative rather than real characters, "and no better than others."‡ He should have said whether Matthias had taken the place of Judas Iscariot.

There is a novel peculiarity in the style of the *True Christian Religion*—a prodigious efflorescence of imagery. If anything good or bad is described, it is said to be like this and like that through line after line: indeed, if the comparisons were struck out, the big book would be sensibly diminished, and not disadvantageously; for most of them are far-fetched or grotesque, and do little to illustrate the text. Take for example one of the best—

"The quality of the Unregenerate Man who assumes the appearance of a moral member of society and a good Christian, may be compared to a dead body wrapt up with spices, which nevertheless spreads around a noisome stench, tainting the perfume of the spices, and insinuating itself into the nostrils, and so injuring the brain. He may also be compared to a mummy gilded, or laid up in a silver coffin, on looking into which the eyes are shocked at the sight of a black corpse. He may also be compared with bones and skeletons lying in a sepulchre built of *lapis lazuli* and adorned with costly ornaments. He may be compared too with the rich man clothed with purple and fine linen, whose internal was nevertheless infernal. He may further be compared with poison so sweetened as to taste like sugar; or with hemlock when in bloom; or with fruits which have shining and beautiful rinds, but whose kernels are eaten up by worms; or with a sore covered over with a plaster, and afterwards with a thin skin, beneath which there is nothing but corrupt matter." §

* No. 791.

† *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 790.

‡ Nos. 4 and 108.

§ No. 595.

Again, having stated that a New Heaven is in process of formation, consisting only of such as believe on the Lord God the Saviour and approach Him immediately in worship, he goes on to say—

“Henceforth the prayers of every Man who lives in a Christian country and does not believe on the Lord, are not attended to, but are in Heaven like evil odours, or like eructations from diseased lungs; and although he may fancy that his prayer is like the perfume of incense, yet in its ascent to the Angelic Heaven, it is as the smoke of a chimney which by the violence of the wind is driven down into the eyes of men below; or like incense from a censer under a monk’s cloak. This is the case from henceforward with all worship which is directed towards a Trinity of distinct Persons, and not towards a Trinity conjoined in one person.”*—

Words these, not of truth and soberness, but of an old man fretted with neglect.

The Memorabilia of adventures and discussions in the Spiritual World (many of them tedious “yarns” indeed), gave offence to some who otherwise approved of the work. Among these was Count Höpken, who in a letter to General Tuxen relates—

“SCHENNINGE, 11th May, 1772.

“In a rather serious manner, I once represented to the venerable man that I thought he would do better not to mix his beautiful writings with so many Memorabilia, of which ignorance makes a jest and derision. He answered, *their insertion did not depend upon him; that he was too old to sport with spiritual things; that he was too much concerned about his eternal happiness to give way to foolish notions; and assured me, on his hope of salvation, that he had truly seen and heard whatever he had described.* It may be so: the Church cannot judge of mysteries, nor can I.”

He likewise told Höpken “*he had orders from the Lord to publish them.*”

Swedenborg had exhausted his message, copious though it was, but he lacked the discretion which knows when to leave off. Probably a habit of writing for publication had been formed and could not be broken, and he had to die pen in hand. He commenced a *Coronis* to his last work—

“Because no one has hitherto known the meaning of the Consummation of the Age, or why the second advent of the Lord should take place, or that a New Church must be raised up Hence the Word is as it were closed; nor can anything but Knowledges open it, for these are like keys which open the gate and introduce. When this is effected with the Word, then the treasures which lie hid therein as at the bottom of the sea will be revealed; for the Word interiorly contains nothing but treasures.”

Thence he proceeds to a recital of the history of the rise and fall of the Adamic, the Noetic, the Israelitish, and the Christian Churches, and ceases in a fragmentary statement of the desolation and judgment of the Old Christian Church, and the birth and fortunes of the New.

Nor was the *Coronis* a solitary project. There was an *Invitation to the New Church*, which, judging from the fragments, was also to be a re-assertion of former matter. The strain in which the *Invitation* was to be given may be discovered from these notes.

“There is not a single genuine truth remaining in the Church.

“The New Church is established not by miracles, but by the revelation of the Spiritual Sense of the Word, and by my introduction to the Spiritual World, where I was instructed in the nature of Heaven and Hell, and received immediately from the Lord those truths whereby Mankind is to be led to eternal life.”

Meeting the orthodox notion that the Holy Spirit is an arbitrary gift made to certain saints after the fashion of a Christmas box, he argues—

“The fallacy of this appears when it is shown that the Holy Spirit, or the Divine Proceeding from the Lord, or the

Lord Himself, is perpetually present with every man whether good or evil; that without His Presence no one could live; and that the Lord continually acts, urges, and operates to effect His reception by Man: wherefore the Holy Spirit is a perpetual presence.

"In the Spiritual World, the question was once put to the test. The Divine presence was as it were removed from a certain Devil, and he instantly fell prostrate like a corpse. The experiment was witnessed by thousands of Spirits, and among them some Clergy, who were greatly astonished. Melancthon and Luther were present, and could not open their mouths in view of the fact.

"From the Lord's presence it is that a Man is able to think and will. Without His instant influx, he would be less than a beast, or even than a stock or stone. To fancy therefore that the Holy Spirit can be given or lost is an idle conceit.

"The origin of all the errors of the Church has been the conviction *that men live of themselves.*"

On the cover of a copy of the *Vera Christiana Religio*, in the possession of G. E. Klemming of Stockholm, there is in Swedenborg's autograph in Swedish the following mysterious inventory:—

- "1. *A pretty red chest in 5 rows—5 drawers in each.*
- "2. *A beautiful dress—a nice cap.*
- "3. *A little crown with 5 diamonds, which in Heaven is worn on one side of the head.*
- "4. *A lovely little rose with a sparkling diamond in it, which was afterwards set in a gold ring.*
- "5. *A caraph, or head ornament of jewels.*
- "6. *A diamond necklace—a pendent one in gold with a diamond.*
- "7. *A diamond bracelet.*
- "8. *Earrings with 3 diamonds in the side of each.*
- "9. *A box in a drawer with light-flashing crystals, signifying eternal regeneration.*
- "10. *Something precious in the hand which was laid in a pretty box, 28th Nov., 1770.*

- "11. *A pendent jewel with a beautiful diamond.*
 "12. *A nice hat for me.*
 "13. *A precious ornament invisible to Spirits, but visible to Angels, 28th May, 1771.*
"A cane with beautiful gold head, 13th Aug., 1771."
 Many of these might serve to furnish a casket for his bride, the Countess Gyllenborg.

CHAPTER XLV.

DEATH IN LONDON.

SWEDENBORG occupied lodgings in various parts of London, but only the sites of some are known to us. Where he dwelt in 1710, when as a young man "he tarried about a year in London and Oxford," is not on record. When the great convulsion of his life was in progress, 1744-45, he was with Brockmer in Fetter Lane. He lodged for ten weeks at the King's Arms in Wellclose Square; also at a house in the Minories. Latterly he settled in Cold Bath Fields, Clerkenwell.* After an absence, he returned to his apartments there, but the people had removed, and he was recommended to Richard Shearsmith, a wig-maker, in the neighbourhood—26, Cold Bath Fields.† Into Shearsmith's house he was received, and was well satisfied with his quarters.

"Cold Bath Fields," writes Noorthouck in 1773, "consist of some streets which form the extremity of this part of the town. These surround a Square of the same name, consisting of small neat houses; in the centre of which is

* To him a familiar neighbourhood. He was removed from Brockmer's to apartments in Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields, when placed under the care of Dr. Smith for mental derangement. See present volume, p. 131.

† Known at this day as Great Bath Street. Shearsmith's house was taken down some years ago, and replaced by what is now No. 16, occupied by Collins, a butcher.

a handsome old house with a small garden, and containing a good cold bath, which gives name to the neighbourhood. The north side of the Square is as yet open to the fields."*

Cold Bath Fields are now deep in the heart of London, and frowzy with its grime, and the Square is built over. When Swedenborg strolled abroad, he stocked a pocket with gingerbread, and shared it among the children who played there. To children he was ever gracious. The most devilish, like wolves and vultures, may be kind to their own offspring, but in tenderness to children in common, we discern a heavenly nature, yea the presence of the Father.

Swedenborg arrived in London from Amsterdam about the beginning of August, 1771, and taking a hackney-coach, directed the driver to Shearsmith's. As the coach reached Cold Bath Fields, Shearsmith chanced to be in the street, and hearing a cry behind him, "Dat be he! Dat be he!" turned and recognized his former lodger at the coach-window. His rooms were let, but the inmates were willing to give up possession, and the same evening Swedenborg was comfortably installed over the barber's shop.†

Shearsmith did not belong to any religious body, and had no prejudice against his lodger; on the contrary, he regarded his presence as a blessing to the house: his wife said, that whilst he was with them they had harmony and good business. When Shearsmith presented his bills, Swedenborg used to send him to his drawer to pay himself. A certain sour sectary told him that his lodger could be no Christian, inasmuch as he did not go to church on Sundays, when the barber replied, "To a good man like Swedenborg every day is a Sabbath." In after years when his customers were not so numerous, he would say, "If I have not a friend in this world, I know I have one in the other"—referring to his old lodger.

From the accounts of several who inquired minutely of Shearsmith concerning the habits of his lodger, I gather the

* *A New History of London*, by John Noorthouck. London, 1773; p. 752.

† Hindmarsh's *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 19.

following details, which also serve to establish the accuracy of similar reports from Stockholm and Amsterdam.

At first, Shearsmith was frightened with Swedenborg's solitary talks. Sometimes he would stand with his back to the door of his room, and hold forth as if in discussion. As he did not speak in English, Shearsmith could not make out what was going on.

He paid little regard to day and night, but slept at irregular intervals.

His chief sustenance was cakes with tea or coffee made very sweet.* His drink was water: of wine he would take one or two glasses when in company. He ate animal food very rarely; sometimes eels, and once pigeon pie.

Practically he was a vegetarian, and, apart from his delicate stomach, attached much importance to diet. In one of his physiological papers he remarks—

"Those who eat gross and impure food have impure Animal Spirits and sink their Minds in an earthy sphere."†

One of the first commands which he received on the assumption of his prophetic office was, "*Eat not so much*;"‡ and in his Diary about the same time he had to write—

"The Stink of Intemperance."

"In the evening I took a great deal of bread and milk, more than the Spirits thought good for me, and they dwelt on intemperance, and accused me of it."

He found that spiritual association was largely controlled by food—that certain conditions of the intestines induce the presence of certain Spirits. When Celestial Angels were with him, butter was savoury; when Spiritual Angels were with him, he luxuriated in milk, and butter was odious.§

* Mrs. Lewis, his publisher's wife, who knew him at an earlier date than Shearsmith, told Provo that "Swedenborg was very abstemious and lived chiefly on almonds and raisins."

Springer, Swedish Consul in London, in a letter to the Abbé Perneti observes, "Swedenborg's common food was bread and butter and milk-coffee; yet at times he was wont to eat a little fish, but ate very seldom any meat, or drank above two glasses of wine."

† *Posthumous Tracts: The Animal Spirit*, Sec. XV.

See present Volume, p. 138.

§ *Ib.*, p. 169.

"It has been granted me," he writes, "to know the origin of melancholy. There are Spirits who love malignant substances, as food when it lies corrupting in the stomach. Spirits who delight in such corruption are then present, and if the character of the Man is in unison with theirs, he is made gay and cheerful, but if the reverse, he is made sad and anxious."* The same law of association prevails over all food and circumstances: every outward condition tends to union with correspondent Spirits.

He further tells us, that the wise Adamites—

"Never on any account ate the flesh of beast or fowl, but fed solely on corn, fruits, pulse, herbs, milk and butter. To them it was unlawful to kill animals and eat their flesh; they regarded it as something bestial; but in succeeding times, when men began to grow fierce as beasts, yea fiercer, then first they commenced to kill and to eat flesh. Because of their fierceness, flesh-eating was permitted; and so far as any one eats flesh conscientiously, so far he eats lawfully; for conscience is formed of whatever is thought to be right: hence at this day no one is condemned because he eats flesh."†

Swedenborg took snuff profusely and carelessly, strewing it over his papers and the carpet. His manuscripts bear its traces to this day. His carpet set those sneezing who shook it. One Sunday he desired to have it taken up and beaten. Shearsmith objected, "Better wait till to-morrow." "Dat be good!, Dat be good!" was his answer.

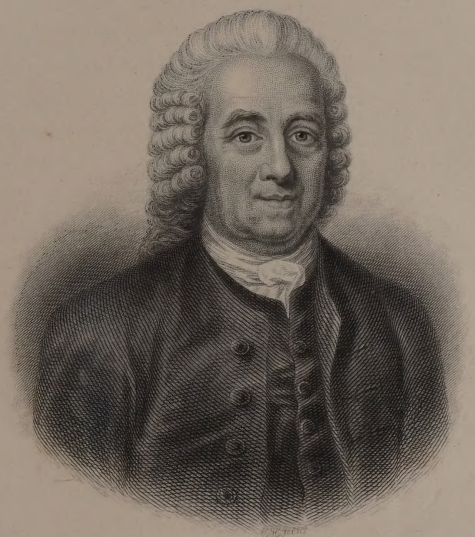
Shearsmith guessed his stature at 5 feet 9 inches: he was rather thin, and of a brown complexion. He described his eyes as "of a brownish grey, nearly hazel, and rather small:" Swedenborg's portrait at Stockholm represents his eyes as blue and large, and I trust the portrait. Cuno moreover speaks of their colour as light blue.‡ He used spectacles.

He generally wore a dark-brown coat and waistcoat and black velvet breeches. When he went abroad in full dress, he appeared in a suit of black velvet made after an old fashion; long ruffles at his wrists; a cocked hat; a sword

* *Heaven and Hell*, No. 299.

† *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1002.

‡ See present Volume, p. 565.



Aged 80.

Em. Swedenborg.

with a curious hilt and a silver scabbard at his side; and a gold-headed cane in his hand.*

He was never seen to laugh, but a cheerful smile was almost perpetual with him. Mrs. Shearsmith, who waited on him, could usually divine the character of his company: there was a dreary expression in his countenance when with Evil Spirits, and a superhuman radiance when with Good.

Henry Servanté passing along St. John Street met an old gentleman with a thoughtful and kindly countenance and dignified and venerable mien. Something unusual in his air attracted his attention, and when he had passed he turned round to have another view; the old gentleman also turned and looked at Servanté. It was Swedenborg. Some years after, Servanté became a reader of the Heavenly Writings, and seeing a copy of the Author's portrait, was delighted to recognize the face he encountered in Clerkenwell.

Swedenborg brought no books to Shearsmith's save his Bible.

To Ferelius, Swedish chaplain in London, we owe some particulars of Swedenborg's latter days. He relates—

“On one occasion when I visited him, I heard him, as I was ascending the stair, speaking with great energy as if addressing a considerable company. I asked the servant that was sitting in the ante-chamber, who was with the Assessor; she replied that no one was with him, and that he had been talking in this manner for three days and nights. He greeted me very tranquilly as I entered, and requested me to be seated. He then told me he had been tempted and plagued for ten days by Evil Spirits sent by the Lord, and had never been afflicted by such wicked ones before; but now he was again favoured with the company of Good Spirits.

* Two of these sticks are extant. One is a painted thorn with a copper head, once probably gilt, and the letters E. S. engraved on it. The other is a genuine Malacca with a pinchbeck head and the initials J. L.—supposed to be a present from John Lewis, his London publisher.

"When he was in health, I once paid him a visit in company with a Danish clergyman. We found him sitting in the middle of the room, at a round table, writing. A Hebrew Bible, which appeared to constitute his whole library, was lying before him.

"Salutations being over, he pointed across the table and said—

"‘Just now the Apostle Peter was here, and stood there: it is not long since all the Apostles were with me: indeed, they often visit me.’

"Thus he spoke without reserve; but he never sought to make proselytes.

"He told us that he contemplated writing a book, in which he would prove from the writings of the Apostles that the Lord is the true and only God, and that there is none besides Him.

"To the question, How it was that nobody besides himself enjoyed such revelations and intercourse with Spirits, he replied, that anybody might at the present day enjoy such intercourse as well as in Old Testament times: the hindrance was the sensual condition into which mankind had sunk."

Ferelius received news by post that the widow Lundstedt (Swedenborg's sister Margaret) was dead. Meier, a Swede who was present, went off to inform Swedenborg. When Meier returned, he said he could have little faith in his intercourse with the Dead, for he knew nothing of the decease of his sister. Next time Ferelius was with Swedenborg, he mentioned Meier's incredulity, and he replied—

"Of such cases I have no knowledge, since I do not desire to know them."

As we have seen, sometimes he had knowledge of such cases. Hart, the printer of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, died whilst Swedenborg was in Amsterdam. On his return to London, he went to Poppin's Court to spend an evening, when he was told his old friend was dead. He answered—

"I know that very well, for I saw him in the Spiritual World whilst I was in Holland, also whilst coming over to

England in the packet. He is not yet in Heaven, but is coming round, and is in a good way to do well."

Mrs. Hart and her son were much surprised with this information, for they had perfect confidence in Swedenborg's truthfulness. Their house was his frequent resort in an evening; and Hart the younger had a little daughter, whom it was his pleasure to fondle.*

Ferelius continues—

"Although Swedenborg went sometimes to the Swedish Church, and afterwards dined with me or some other Swede, he told us that he had no peace there on account of Spirits who contradicted what the preacher said, especially when he spoke of three persons in the Godhead, which amounted, in reality, to three gods.

"Many may suppose that Assessor Swedenborg was a very singular and eccentric person; this was by no means the case. On the contrary, he was very agreeable and complaisant in company; he entered into conversation on every subject; and accommodated himself to the ideas of his acquaintance. He never spoke of his own writings and doctrines except when inquired concerning them, when he always spoke as freely as he had written. If however he observed that any one desired to ask impertinent questions, or to ridicule him, he immediately gave an answer which silenced the aggressor without making him wiser."

Burkhardt, clerk to the Swedish Chapel, knew Swedenborg, and was present when he dined with some Swedish Clergy in London. An argument sprang up concerning the Lord and duty to Him, "when Swedenborg overthrew his opponent, who appeared but a child to him in knowledge."

Burkhardt considered Swedenborg "a good and holy man: much given to abstraction of mind: even when walking he sometimes seemed absorbed in prayer: latterly he took but little notice of things and people in the streets."†

The Rev. Francis Okely, a Moravian, author of a life of

* Provo saw her in 1779; she was then about ten years old.

† Communicated by Burkhardt to Provo in 1783.

Jacob Behmen,* visited Swedenborg, and in a letter to John Wesley, dated 10th December, 1772, he gives some particulars of the interview—

“Baron Swedenborg is to me a riddle. Certainly, as you say, he speaks many great and important truths; and as certainly seems to me to contradict Scripture in other places. But as he told me, I could not understand his *Vera Christiana Religio* without a Divine illumination; and I am obliged to confess that I have not yet a sufficiency for the purpose.

“We conversed in High Dutch, and notwithstanding the impediment in his speech, I understood him well. He spoke with all the coolness and deliberation you might expect from the most sober and rational man. Yet what he said was out of my sphere of intelligence when he related his daily conversation in the World of Spirits, wherewith he declared himself better acquainted than with this.”†

Hartley, the clergyman, and Cookworthy, the Quaker preacher, visited Swedenborg together and invited him to dine with them. He excused himself, as his own dinner of bread and milk was ready.

Unless they conversed with him in Latin, their intercourse could scarcely have been easy; for Swedenborg was unable to maintain a complex conversation in English.

At another time when Cookworthy was with him, some one present argued a point too persistently, when Swedenborg cut the discussion with—“I receive information from the Angels on such things.”

One feels curious to know what was Swedenborg’s inward attitude towards Cookworthy—a leader in that pernicious sect which had “gone on from bad to worse.”‡ What would Cookworthy have thought had he been allowed a few hours’ range in his master’s Diary!

Hartley at this time proposed nine questions chiefly relating to the Lord, the Trinity, and the Holy Spirit, which

* See present Volume, p. 133, where Okely renders an important testimony.

† Printed by Wesley in *Arminian Magazine*, Vol. viii., p. 533: 1785.

‡ See his opinion of Quakerism, present Volume, pp. 215 to 218.

Swedenborg answered. There is no novelty in the catechism, which is usually printed as an appendix to the English editions of the *Doctrine of the Lord*.

On Christmas Eve (1771) a stroke of apoplexy deprived Swedenborg of his speech, and lamed one side. He lay in a lethargic state for more than three weeks, taking no sustenance beyond a little tea without milk, and cold water occasionally, and once a little currant jelly. At the end of that time he recovered his speech and health somewhat, and ate and drank as usual. It does not appear that he had any medical advice in his sickness.

Hartley now visited him in company with Dr. Messiter. They inquired if he was comforted with the society of Angels as before, and he answered that he was. They then asked him to declare whether all that he had written was strictly true, or whether any part or parts were to be excepted. He replied with some warmth—

“I have written nothing but the truth, as you will have more and more confirmed to you all the days of your life, provided you keep close to the Lord, and faithfully serve Him alone, by shunning Evils of all kinds as Sins against Him, and diligently searching His Word, which from beginning to end bears incontestible witness to the truth of the doctrines I have delivered to the world.”

His mind at this time was drawn to Wesley: he had sent him a copy of his *Vera Christiana Religio*,* and towards the end of February addressed him to this effect—

Sir,—I have been informed in the World of Spirits, that you have a strong desire to converse with me. I shall be happy to see you, if you will favour me with a visit.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

Wesley received the note whilst engaged with his preachers arranging circuits. He perused it with manifest

* “The Baron himself presented me with a copy of the *True Christian Religion* a little before he died.”—Wesley in *Arminian Magazine* for 1783, p. 439.

astonishment, and after a pause read it aloud; and went on to confess that he had cherished a strong desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, but had mentioned his wish to no one.

Wesley was a slave of the clock—a remorseless devotee to method. Dr. Johnson said, “John Wesley’s conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk as I do.” Wesley might burn with desire to see Swedenborg, but he must be faithful to his engagements. He therefore wrote, that he was closely occupied in preparing for a six months’ journey, but would wait upon him on his return to London. Swedenborg answered, that the proposed visit would be too late, as he should enter the Spiritual World on the 29th of the next month, March, never more to return. Wesley remained unmoved: he fulfilled his programme, and Swedenborg his; consequently they never met.

For this curious tale we are indebted to Samuel Smith, one of the preachers present when Wesley received Swedenborg’s note. The incident so stirred his curiosity that he was tempted to read Swedenborg’s writings, and ended in their public advocacy. There is no reason to question Smith’s veracity, unless on account of the very trimness of his tale.

As the end drew near, Swedenborg saw little company. His old friend Springer, the Swedish Consul in London, called upon him two or three weeks before his decease. He asked when he believed the New Jerusalem would be established on Earth. His answer was—

“No mortal can declare the time—no, not even the Celestial Angels: it is known to the Lord alone. Read the Revelation xxi. 2, and Zechariah xiv. 9, and you will find that it is not to be doubted that the New Jerusalem (which denotes a new and purer state of the Christian Church than has hitherto existed) *will* manifest itself to all the Earth.”

About this time, says Springer, Swedenborg told him

that his spiritual sight was withdrawn, after he had been favoured with it for so long a course of years. He could not endure the blindness, but cried out repeatedly, "O! my God, hast thou then forsaken thy servant at last!" He continued for several days in this condition, but it was the last of his trials: he recovered his sight and was happy.

He expressed a desire to see Hartley (who was living at East Malling in Kent, about a day's journey from London), but Hartley did not come. "Some hindrances happening at the time," he writes, "I did not embrace the opportunity as I should have done; for those hindrances might have been surmounted. My neglect on this occasion appears to me without excuse, and lies very heavy on my mind to this day."

Bergstrom, the landlord of the King's Arms in Wellclose Square, dropped in. Swedenborg said, that since it had pleased the Lord to take away the use of his arm by palsy, his body was good for nothing but the grave. Bergstrom asked whether he would not take the sacrament. Some one present suggested sending for Mathesius—assistant to Ferelius at the Swedish Church. Swedenborg objected to Mathesius—he had set abroad a report that he was out of his senses; and Ferelius, with whom he was on cordial terms, was preferred.

Ferelius had already visited him several times in his illness, and had on each occasion inquired if he thought himself dying, and was always answered in the affirmative. On this occasion, writes Ferelius—

"I observed, that as many persons thought that he had endeavoured only to make himself a name by his New Theological System (which object he had indeed attained), he would do well now to publish the truth to the world, and to recant either the whole or a part of what he had advanced, since he had now nothing to expect from the world, which he was so soon about to leave for ever."

Upon hearing these words, Swedenborg raised himself half upright in bed, and placing his sound hand on his breast, said with great zeal and emphasis—

"As true as you see me before you, so true is everything I have written. I could have said more, had I been permitted. When you come into eternity, you will see all things as I have described them, and we shall have much to say concerning them to one another."

Ferelius then asked whether he would take the Lord's Holy Supper. He replied—

"Thank you; you mean well; but I, being a member of the other world, do not need it. However, to show the connection and union between the Church in Heaven and the Church on Earth, I will gladly take it;" and asked Ferelius whether he had read his views on the sacrament.

"Before administering the sacrament," continues Ferelius, I inquired whether he confessed himself to be a sinner; he answered—

"'Certainly, so long as I carry about with me this sinful body.'

"With deep and affecting devotion, with folded hands, and with head uncovered, he confessed his own unworthiness and received the Holy Supper. After which he presented me in gratitude with a copy of his great work, the *Arcana Cælestia*, of which only nine copies remained unsold, and which were to be sent to Holland."

He told the Shearsmiths on what day he should die; and the servant remarked—

"He was as pleased as I should have been if I was to have a holiday, or was going to some merry-making."

His faculties were clear to the last. On Sunday afternoon, the 29th day of March, 1772, hearing the clock strike, he asked his landlady and her maid, who were both sitting at his bed-side, what o'clock it was; and upon being answered it was five o'clock, he said—

"*It is well; I thank you; God bless you;*" and a little after, he gently departed.

Charles Lindegren, a Swedish merchant settled in the City, directed the obsequies. He found in Swedenborg's pocket-book a bill for £400 drawn on Hope of Amsterdam.

He had the corpse conveyed to the shop of Robinson, an undertaker, in Ratcliffe Highway, and there laid in state.*

The funeral took place on the 5th of April, with all the ceremonies of the Lutheran religion. Ferelius officiated—the last service he performed previous to his return to Sweden. The body was deposited in the vault of the Swedish Church in Prince's Square, a short way to the east of the Tower of London. In 1782, Dr. Solander was laid by his side.

The House of Clergy in Sweden requested Ferelius to render an account of his experience of Swedenborg. He did so "in three sheets," but unfortunately the document is missing. M. Sandel, Counsellor of the Board of Mines, pronounced his eulogium in the Hall of the House of Nobles, on the 7th of October, 1772, in the name of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm. Sandel was no Swedenborgian, and delivered himself in a stream of colourless adulation.

In 1790, Swedenborg's remains suffered an almost incredible violation. A Rosicrucian in debate with a party of Swedenborgians maintained that Swedenborg must have possessed the elixir of life, that he was not dead, and that his funeral was a sham. To settle the question, the company set off for Prince's Square, and with the sexton descended into the vault, raised the lid of the outer coffin, and sawed the leaden one across the breast. The corpse was exposed, and the Rosicrucian confuted.

A few days after a second party of Swedenborgians visited the vault. The features of Swedenborg were perfect, and answered to his portrait. Various relics were carried off: Dr. Spurgin told me he possessed the cartilage of an ear.

* Provo says the corpse was taken to Burkhardt's house (the clerk to the Swedish Chapel), and from thence was buried. Probably after lying in state at Robinson's, the coffin was conveyed to Burkhardt's, preparatory to interment.

The custom of lying in state was common a hundred years ago. The corpse or coffin was surrounded with black velvet hangings, day-light was excluded and wax candles lit, and the doors were thrown open for the public to enter and view. When it was not convenient to have this dismal ceremony at home, it came off at the undertaker's. The funeral usually took place in the evening by torch-light.

Exposed to the air, the flesh quickly fell to dust, and a skeleton was all that remained for subsequent visitors.

Even worse was to follow. At a funeral in 1817, Granholm, an officer in the Swedish Navy, seeing the lid of Swedenborg's coffin loose, abstracted the skull, and hawked it about amongst London Swedenborgians, but none would buy. Dr. Wählin, pastor of the Swedish Church, recovered what he supposed to be the stolen skull, had a cast of it taken, and placed it in the coffin in 1819. The cast, which is sometimes seen in phrenological collections, is obviously not Swedenborg's: it is thought to be that of a small female skull.

In 1857, a marble slab was fixed in the south wall of the Church in Prince's Square with this inscription—

IN THE VAULT BENEATH THIS CHURCH
ARE DEPOSITED THE MORTAL REMAINS OF
EMANUEL SWEDENBORG,
THE SWEDISH PHILOSOPHER AND THEOLOGIAN.
HE WAS BORN AT STOCKHOLM, JAN. 29TH, 1688,
AND DIED IN LONDON, MARCH 29TH, 1772.

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY ONE OF HIS ENGLISH ADMIRERS,
IN THE YEAR 1857,
BY SPECIAL PERMISSION.

On a smaller slab is repeated in Swedish—

UTI DENNA KYRKAS GRAFHVALF, UNDER ALTARET
FÖRVARAS
DE JORDISKA LEMNINGARNA
AF
PHILOSOPHEN OCH THEOSOPHEN
EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

CHAPTER XLVI.

PROGRESS OF SWEDENBORGIANISM.

WITH a brief estimate of Swedenborg's character and work I might conclude my task; but perhaps I may advance some useful details towards such an estimate by an account of the progress of Swedenborgianism.

It is odd that Swedenborg should have been so thoroughly excluded from the gossip of his English contemporaries. I am not aware that even his name is once mentioned by Johnson or Walpole, Lowth or Warburton, Cowper or Gray, Hume or Burke.

For two or three years after his death, little movement was made. Visitors would sometimes appear at Shearsmith's and ask to see the rooms where the Seer lived and died. One gentleman from St. Croix begged to be placed on the very spot where he used to stand and converse with Spirits. Shearsmith complied—

“Am I now exactly in the position, and on the very spot where you observed Swedenborg stand?”

“You are, sir,” replied Shearsmith.

“Then here is half a guinea for you. I am abundantly satisfied with the honour of having for once trod in the footsteps of so great a man.”

Cookworthy made a translation into English of the *De Cælo et de Inferno*, which his friend Hartley revised, and wrote a preface. It was published in 1778 at Cookworthy's expense, in quarto, by James Phillips, the Quaker bookseller, of George Yard, Lombard Street, London—to the amazement probably of some Friends.

Cookworthy's Swedenborgianism subjected him to no molestation, and he seems never to have thought of forsaking his place in the Society of Friends, though he was delivered from many scruples by the truths he had received. He was one of the first to notice John Opie, and had him to paint his portrait. He was also familiar with Wolcott (Peter

Pindar), who, when pushing his jokes too far before the women, would check himself at Cookworthy's approach with, "Hullo! here comes Will Swedenborg."

He died at his house in Nut Street, Plymouth, in 1780, aged 75. On his death-bed the Quaker broke down. Having lain still some time, he raised himself and said, "I will eat a bit of bread, and drink a glass of wine in commemoration of our Lord Jesus Christ." Two of his daughters joined him in the simple ceremony. "It has long stuck with me," he observed: "My friends may be righter than I, but I pay great reverence to Scripture."*

Hartley died in 1784, aged 77—"a man of unaffected piety, great sincerity, and exquisite sensibility. He lived some years in Hartford, and left a sweet savour behind him, both among the rich and poor."†

Hartley was the means of introducing Swedenborg's writings to Richard Houghton, a gentleman of fortune, resident in Liverpool, a lover of theology and a friend of saints. John Wesley was habitually his guest in Liverpool.

Wesley was naturally impressed with Swedenborg's death according to prediction, and when in Liverpool in April, 1772, said to Houghton, in his profuse and enthusiastic way—

"We may now burn all our books of theology. God has sent us a teacher from Heaven, and in the Doctrines of Swedenborg we may learn all that it is necessary for us to know."

This of course meant very little—simply that he was excited over a new marvel. It is hard to imagine what service Swedenborg could have rendered Wesley short of the reconstruction of his life and work. Moreover the bulk of his writings placed them beyond the exact acquaintance of Wesley, with the business of a great and growing corporation on his hands: "If Angels were our Authors," he wrote, "we should have few folios." Besides, there was much in Sweden-

* *Memoir of Wm. Cookworthy, formerly of Plymouth, Devonshire.* By his Grandson [George Harrison]. London: 1854.

† So testifies Samuel Scott in his Diary. Scott was a Minister in the Society of Friends.

borg in which he had no interest: his mind was strong and agile, but singularly simple, and many questions started in the *Arcana Cœlestia* were quite beyond its range.

Wesley's favour for Swedenborg terminated when one after another of his preachers came to think the New Church superior to Methodism: amongst the deserters were Samuel Smith, James Hindmarsh, Isaac Hawkins, Robert Jackson, Joseph Salmon, and Thomas Parker. Such perverse self-will was intolerable to Wesley, and he opened fire on the New Jerusalem in the *Arminian Magazine*, inventing an outrageous tale about Swedenborg's madness, and selecting bits of his books for ridicule.

Of a different temper was Fletcher, the saintly Vicar of Madely. He read *Heaven and Hell*, and used to declare that he regarded Swedenborg's writings "as a magnificent feast, set out with many dainties, but that he had not an appetite for every dish." Whether prompted by Swedenborg, he always addressed himself in prayer to the Lord, commencing with "Dear Lord Jesus." When asked why he did not introduce the New Doctrines openly, he answered, "Because my congregation is not in fit states to receive them."

The chief Apostle of Swedenborgianism in England was John Clowes.

He was the son of a barrister resident in Manchester, where he was born in 1743. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1766, he took his degree of B.A. with honours, obtained a fellowship, and served as tutor for two or three years. In 1769, he accepted the Rectory of St. John's, Manchester, an office he occupied for the extraordinary term of two and sixty years.

In his thirtieth year, in the spring of 1773, he was in Liverpool and made the acquaintance of Richard Houghton, who commended Swedenborg to his attention, and advised him to commence with the *Vera Christiana Religio*. He eagerly accepted the advice and sent to London for the book; but its size and style repelled him, and it lay on a shelf all the summer. In the autumn he paid an annual visit to an

old pupil, the Right Hon. John Smyth, of Heath, in Yorkshire, and on the evening before his departure he chanced to turn over the volume recommended by Houghton, and cast his eye upon the term *Divinum Humanum*, which seemed new and strange. The remainder of the story I shall give in his own words, modestly expressed in the third person—

“On awaking early one morning, not many days after his arrival at his friend’s house, his mind was suddenly and powerfully drawn into a state of inward recollection, attended with an inexpressible calm and composure, into which was instilled a tranquillity of peace and heavenly joy, such as he had never before experienced. Whilst he lay musing on this strange, and to him most delightful harmony in the interiors of his mind, instantly there was made manifest, in the same recesses of his spirit, what he can call by no other name than a Divine Glory, surpassing all description, and exciting the most profound adoration. But what seemed to him the most singular circumstance on this occasion was, that he was strongly impressed at the time by a kind of internal dictate that the Glory was in close connection with that *Divinum Humanum*, or Divine Humanity, above mentioned, and proceeded from it as from its proper divine source.

“The Glory continued during a full hour, allowing the Author sufficient time both to view and analyze it. Sometimes he closed his bodily eyes, and then opened them again, but the Glory remained the same. It is however to be clearly understood that there was no appearance presented of any visible form, but only a strong persuasion that the Glory proceeded from a visible form, and that this form was no other than the Divine Humanity of Jesus Christ. When the Glory disappeared, as it did by degrees, the Author quitted his bed, but the recollection of what had happened attended him during the whole of the day, whether he was in company or alone; and what is still more remarkable, the next morning, on his first awaking, the Glory was again manifested, but, if possible, with increased splendour. Now too a singular effect was produced by it on the Author’s mind, convincing him of the spiritual and providential origin of what he had seen, by the important end to which it

pointed, and was designed to conduct him. The effect was no other than the excitement of a strong and almost irresistible desire to return home immediately, in order to enter upon a serious and attentive perusal of the neglected volume which he had left behind him. And such was the powerful impulse of this desire, that although he had intended to remain with his friend a week or a fortnight longer, yet he made some excuse for quitting his house the next day, and hastened back to Manchester rather with the impetuosity of a lover than with the sedateness of a man who had no other object of pursuit but to consult the pages of an unknown and heretofore slighted book.”*

The result of course was that Clowes read and believed, and became possessed with a strong desire to diffuse what he had received. He made no secret of his discovery, and his name was soon blazed about Manchester as ‘a Swedenborgian. Great curiosity was excited, and his house in Greenheys was thronged with people seeking information. The labour thus induced became so vast that he was compelled to limit his audiences to two evenings a week, Monday and Thursday, but the assemblies proved too numerous for conversation, and he had to deal with them in formal lectures.

Nor was this all. Societies began to be formed about 1780 in the neighbouring towns and villages for the study of the new doctrines; likewise in London, Bath, Bristol, Stroud, Birmingham, Liverpool, Hull, etc.; and by them the assistance of Clowes was earnestly invoked, and cheerfully rendered. “What was at first a duty,” he writes, “presently became a delight, and he can truly say that some of the happiest hours of his life have been passed in these heavenly assemblies of simple and sincere minds.”

Translations of Swedenborg were in request. Cookworthy and Hartley supplied *Heaven and Hell* in 1778. Clowes followed with the *True Christian Religion* in 1781, with *Earths in the Universe* in 1787, and with *Conjugal Love* in 1794; but the crown of his labours was the production of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, commenced in 1784, and issued

* *Memoir of the late Rev. John Clowes, A.M., written by himself*, pp. 19, 20.

in sixpenny numbers, and completed in twelve volumes in 1806. To bear the cost of these publications a Manchester Printing Society was instituted in 1782; and other translators set to work. Dr. Tucker of Hull produced the *Divine Love and Wisdom* in 1788, the *Divine Providence* in 1790, and the *Apocalypse Revealed* in 1791. The posthumous *Apocalypsis Explicata* was translated by the Rev. William Hill, revised by Clowes, and issued in six volumes between 1811 and 1815.

Nor was the literary activity of Clowes confined to translations. He wrote abundantly in illustration and defence of his opinions—sermons and volumes of sermons, tracts and controversial pamphlets, compilations from Swedenborg, and books for the young. One of his tracts was widely circulated—*An Affectionate Address to the Clergy of the United Kingdom on the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*.

A course of action extraordinary in itself, but still more so in a clergyman of the Church of England, did not pass uncensured. A complaint was laid before his Bishop, then Dr. Beilby Porteus, charging him with the denial of the Trinity and the Atonement, and with the propagation of heresies about the country. The Bishop summoned him to Chester, “read to him the several charges, heard patiently his reply to each, made his remarks (which discovered plainly that he was by no means dissatisfied or displeased with his opinions), and dismissed him with a friendly caution to be on his guard against his adversaries, who seemed disposed to do him mischief.”*

Thus ended ecclesiastical interference with Clowes. Bishop after Bishop succeeded Porteus in the diocese, but none sought to molest John Clowes, “holy, visionary, apostolic,” as his townsman De Quincey describes him. Many will assure us that the Church of England has gained in catholicity in our day, but I question whether there is a Bishop now on the bench who would tolerate a Clowes in his fold, or who would be permitted to suffer him even if disposed.

* *Memoir of Clowes*, p. 27.

A very different character was Robert Hindmarsh, the founder of the sect of Swedenborgians, or as they style themselves, "the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation."

Hindmarsh was a printer in Clerkenwell Close. His father was a Wesleyan preacher. In 1782, at the age of twenty-three, he met with some of Swedenborg's writings, and, as he assures us, "I read them with the utmost avidity, and instantly perceived their contents to be of heavenly origin." Straightway he began to search out other readers of the same, "in order to form a Society for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of the great truths contained in them." Small at first was his success—"I was absolutely laughed at, and set down as a mere simpleton, an infatuated youth, and little better than a madman, led away by the reveries of an old enthusiast and impostor."

On Sunday mornings in 1783, he held meetings at his house in Clerkenwell Close, but the company was limited to three, namely, himself—

Peter Provo, Apothecary, Minorities.

William Bonington, Clockcase Maker, Clerkenwell.

Some time afterwards a fourth turned up—a gentleman of fortune—

John Augustus Tulk, Kennington Lane, Vauxhall.

After a variety of moves and an increase of numbers, in 1784, chambers were rented in New Court, Middle Temple, and the title assumed, *The Theosophical Society, instituted for the purpose of promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem by translating, printing, and publishing the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*. Meetings were held on Sundays and Thursdays, at which portions of Swedenborg were read and discussed. Amongst those who either joined the Society or sympathised with its object, we find the names of—

John Flaxman, Sculptor, Wardour Street.

William Sharp, Engraver, Bartholomew Lane, City.

P. J. Louthembourg, Painter, Stratford Place, Piccadilly.

Emes, Engraver, Poland Street.

- J. Sanders, Miniature Painter, Great Russell Street.
 Daniel Richardson, Artist, Clerkenwell.
 F. H. Barthelemon, Musician.
 Benedict Chastanier, French Surgeon, 62 Tottenham Court Road.
 William Spence, Surgeon, 17 Great Marylebone Street.
 Henry Peckitt, retired Apothecary, 50 Old Compton Street, Soho.
 J. J. Prichard, Proctor, Doctors' Commons.
 Thomas Parker, Barrister, Red Lion Square.
 Lieut.-Gen. Rainsford, Soho Square, afterwards Governor of Gibraltar.
 George Adams, Mathematical Instrument Maker, Fleet Street.
 Thomas Wright, Watchmaker, Poultry.
 Richard Thompson, Floor Cloth Manufacturer, Snow Hill.
 Thomas Young, Silversmith, Little Britain.
 Henry Servanté, Gentleman, Upper Marylebone Street.
 Manoah Sibly, Bookseller, Goswell Street.
 Benjamin Hutton, Merchant, Friday Street.
 J. R. Needham, Wholesale Druggist, Wilderness Row.
 James Glen, a Scotsman, about to settle in Demerara.
 Rev. Jacob Duché, Chaplain to the Orphan Asylum, St. George's Fields.
 Rev. Joshua Gilpin, Curate to Fletcher of Madely.
 Rev. James Hindmarsh, converted by his son and left the Methodists in 1785.

The Theosophical Society prospered, but too slowly for Robert Hindmarsh, who had another scheme in his head. A motion was made on the 19th of April, 1787, for opening a place of worship, but it was negatived by the majority. Clowes came expressly from Manchester to discourage the project. With great good sense he shrank from the creation of a new schism. He was ready to promote social meetings for reading Swedenborg, but held "that every measure ought to be avoided that had a tendency to form the readers into a sect."* Hindmarsh however was not to be diverted from his end. He and his party resolved to open a chapel as soon as one could be found, and in the meanwhile met for worship at each other's houses. On the 31st of July a company of sixteen assembled at Thomas Wright's in the Poultry, and James Hindmarsh was chosen by lot to administer the sacra-

* *Memoir of Clowes*, p. 184.

ments. Ten received the Holy Supper from his hands, and five (amongst them Robert Hindmarsh) "were baptized into the New Church then formed upon Earth."

A chapel was discovered in Great Eastcheap at a rent of £30 a year, where on Sunday, 27th January, 1788, divine service was publicly performed—the elder Hindmarsh preaching the sermon.

The sacred comedy moved apace. Ecclesiastical lust burned with no gentle flame in the breast of the Clerkenwell printer. The New Church must have a Priesthood, but how were the Priests to be made? Wesley was willing to receive unction for his preachers from a Bishop of Arcadia, but Hindmarsh and his friends were at once more scrupulous and self-sufficient; they "unanimously decided that it was impossible for a Priest of the New Jerusalem to derive his authority from any existing Priesthood." To an ordinary mind such a conviction might seem to raise an insuperable difficulty; to the genius of Hindmarsh it was merely an index to an easy solution. First, it was determined that James Hindmarsh and Samuel Smith should be Priests—both recruits from Wesley's camp: next, that twelve, selected by lot out of the sixteen males in the Eastcheap congregation, should lay their right hands on the heads of the said James Hindmarsh and Samuel Smith; and that such process should be their ordination and consecration.

Where however was Robert Hindmarsh in this arrangement? Strange that he should be overlooked! Patience: let us be sure merit *will* come uppermost. Happily I can give the story in his own artless words. The date is Sunday, 1st of June, 1788—

"Being secretary to the Society, it was my office to prepare the tickets for the lot. I accordingly made sixteen tickets, answering to the number of male persons present, members of the Church, and marked twelve of them with a cross. Being desirous, for my own private satisfaction, to ascertain which of the twelve to be selected by lot, it might please the Lord to appoint to read or perform the ceremony, I wrote, unknown to the rest of the Society, upon one of the twelve tickets thus marked with a cross, the word

Ordain. I then put the sixteen tickets into a receiver, when a prayer went up from my heart that the Lord would show whom He had chosen for the office of ordination. The members being properly arranged, I went round to them all, and each one took a ticket out of the receiver, leaving me the last ticket, on which was written, as before stated, the word *Ordain*. Still the other members of the Society were not aware of what I had done; and when the twelve were separated from the rest, after consulting together a few moments, they unanimously requested that I would read and perform the ceremony of ordination. Whereupon James Hindmarsh was first ordained by me, and immediately afterwards Samuel Smith.*

Thus we see how merit did indeed come uppermost, and quite spontaneously too. No hands were laid on the head of Robert Hindmarsh; he was consecrated by the ticket; and the New Jerusalem Church to this day gives him the lead in her list of Priests, and with equal simplicity and modesty asserts his ordination "under the Divine Auspices of the Lord."† As the editor of the *New Jerusalem Magazine* exclaims, "How could we otherwise describe an appointment which had the evident sanction both of God and Man!" Evidently this editor would agree with John P. Robinson, that—

"They didn't know everythin' down in Judee."

If merit has its triumph, it has also its desolation. Ere a year elapsed Robert Hindmarsh was turned out of the

* Hindmarsh's *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusa'em Church*, pp. 70-71.

† It would not be correct to credit every Swedenborgian Priest with faith in his apostolic descent from Hindmarsh. The late Rev. William Mason, of Derby, had not words strong enough for his contempt of the transaction. He wrote, "I personally knew four of the lot-selected twelve, and I do not believe they were, from the simplicity of their character, at all fitted to decide whether the proceeding was proper or not. One of them was actually a night street watchman, and not a moral man by any means, who used to call his wife his 'tin-pot.' Was this man selected, 'under the Divine Auspices of the Lord,' to originate the ministry of the New Church signified by the Holy City New Jerusalem? Alas! alas! Save me from my friends!" —Bush's *New Church Repository*, January, 1853.

Jerusalem he had builded. In the words of Manoah Sibly, one of its inhabitants—

“A very sorrowful occurrence befell the infant New Church in 1789, whereby the floods of immorality were in danger of being thrown open, to her inevitable destruction. The Church had many solemn meetings on the occasion, which ended in her withdrawing herself from six of her members, namely, Robert Hindmarsh, Henry Servanté, Charles Berns Wadstrom, Augustus Nordenskjold, George Robinson, and Alexander Wilderspin. On the Church coming to this conclusion, Hindmarsh remarked, ‘*That he would never put it into the power of any Society again to cut him off, as he never more would be a member of one;*’ and I believe, notwithstanding his eminent services in the cause of the New Church, that to his dying day he kept his word.”*

What was the nature of the “very sorrowful occurrence?” We have an authentic answer from two quarters. First, from John Isaac Hawkins—

“It was a perverted view of Swedenborg’s doctrine of concubinage, in his work on *Conjugal Love*, whereby some held, that if a husband and wife did not agree, they might separate, and the man take a concubine. I forget whether the wife was to have the same privilege.”†

Second, from Mr. Henry Bateman, Surgeon, Islington—

“The evil was no other than an erroneous view of Swedenborg’s teachings in the treatise on *Scortatory Love*—a work which was viewed from an unchaste ground, and abused to the shame of those bodies which were intended to be temples of the Holy Spirit.”‡

Thus rejected, Hindmarsh did not forsake Eastcheap: he hung about and waited his time. Annual Conferences were held of Swedenborgians in general, and in the deliberations he took part. At the Conference of 1792 it was determined that the People should have a voice in the election of their Ministers. Hindmarsh with six others dissented: they held that the Priesthood should govern the Church alone.

* *An Address to the Society meeting in Friar Street, Ludgate Hill.* London, 1839.

† Bush’s *New Church Repository*, March, 1853.

‡ *Ibid.*, March, 1853.

Renewedly mortified, he contrived a *coup d'état*. He persuaded the landlord of the chapel to accept him as his sole tenant, and at the next monthly meeting in the vestry demanded of the astonished company whether they were ready to conduct the New Jerusalem on his principles. If not, they must quit the premises. The society was too self-willed to be thus constrained, and abandoned Eastcheap for quarters in Store Street, Tottenham Court Road.

Hindmarsh was now free to work out his will. He kept the chapel open, and next year had a Conference in it (consisting of seven members), before which he laid his scheme for the government of the New Jerusalem. The innocent audacity of the three tailors of Tooley Street pales before that of the seven of Great Eastcheap. A wonderful hierarchy of three orders was devised, and England, Wales, and Scotland divided into twenty-four dioceses. A form for legacies to the New Jerusalem was drawn up; but the masterpiece was the order for the consecration of a Priest. Having made due declaration of fealty to the Lord, as revealed by Swedenborg—

“Then let him lay his right hand upon the Holy Word while open, and take therefrom a roll of parchment, or piece of paper, sealed with seven seals, and whereon shall have been previously written the following words:

“‘*Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, Matt. xxv. 21. Thou [naming him] art hereby consecrated first Priest, or Minister of the third degree, in the service of the New Jerusalem. Have thou authority to superintend the whole of the ecclesiastical affairs of the New Church in Great Britain, and remember that thou art only a servant and minister chosen in Divine Providence to execute the will of*

“‘THE LORD. (L. S. S.)

“‘Witnessed by’”

The Divine Name is often and in many ways taken in vain, but probably its literal forgery was never before or since contemplated.*

* The fact, scarce otherwise credible, is preserved in—

Minutes of a General Conference of the Members of the New Church,

Hindmarsh had over-reached himself: the chapel in Eastcheap was too heavy a burden, and, ere twelve months were over, he was compelled to close it. Defeated, he was not subdued, as we shall presently see.

Ralph Mather, a Methodist and then a Quaker, and Joseph Whittingham Salmon, a Methodist preacher, received Swedenborg's doctrines, and went through the country preaching them, often to large audiences in the open air. With their activity, Hindmarsh was not pleased—they did not trot in his harness. Joseph Proud, a popular Baptist preacher at Norwich, came in contact with them, and was converted to the new faith.

Swedenborgians in Birmingham built "a temple" for public worship, and secured Proud as minister. The new sect excited considerable attention in the town; Dr. Priestley was present at the opening of the temple in 1791, and was acquainted with the leading members. He read their books, and argued with them in a series of letters.† He was delighted to find men who ridiculed the notion of three gods, but that merit was nullified by their adoration of Jesus Christ as the one God. As for Swedenborg's visions—

"His Spiritual World bears some resemblance to the Ideal World of Plato. Both however are equally the work of imagination; and it is remarkable that (as in dreams) Mr. Swedenborg had no real new ideas communicated to him in the different worlds that he visited, but only such combinations of old ideas as commonly occur in dreams."

He professed himself willing to believe had Swedenborg wrought miracles or foretold events. These were the evidences with which God certified His messengers; yet—

*signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation: Held in Great East Cheap, London, in Easter Week, 1793—37.** London: printed by R. Hindmarsh, Printer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, No. 32, Clerkenwell Close. 1793. pp. 56.

† *Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church, formed by Baron Swedenborg.* Birmingham, 1791.

* Thus the early Swedenborgians wrote their dates—the second number standing for the year since the Last Judgment of 1757. The present generation has discontinued the practice.

"Should any being in the complete form of an Angel, tell me that God had the form of a man, that this God was Jesus Christ, that He was not to return to this world to raise the dead and judge all mankind, that there are marriages in Heaven, etc. etc. etc., I should tell him that he was a *lying Spirit*, and that what he told me could not be true, since both Reason and the Scriptures, much better authorities than an Angel, told me the contrary."

The spirit of Priestley's letters (their simplicity, sincerity, and generosity) was truly admirable: verily he was a good man: but their intellectual shallowness affords fresh reason for wonder that he was ever considered a mental philosopher. Hindmarsh replied with some smartness and with equal shallowness; * and as Priestley did not rejoin, he assumed he had silenced him. The fact probably was, Priestley discovered he had been advertising a parcel of adventurers.

Proud flourished in Birmingham; the temple was one of the "lions" of the town, and crowds were sometimes turned from its doors.

Proud's success stirred Hindmarsh. The society from which he had been expelled was content to worship in obscure corners of London; the New Jerusalem ought surely to have a grander manifestation. With this thought, two of his friends purchased a site in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, and built a temple at a cost of £3000. Proud was engaged, and commenced preaching on the 30th July, 1797: the enterprise was indeed a speculation based on his oratory, and it answered. Arrayed in a purple silk vest, a golden girdle and a white linen gown, overflowing audiences sat under the "Swedenborgian Orator," as he was publicly styled. The summer of prosperity was however brief. Proud differed with the owners of the temple about the rent and about the liturgy, and as they would not yield, he moved in 1799 to a

* *Letters to Dr. Priestley containing Proofs of the Sole, Supreme, and Exclusive Divinity of Jesus Christ, whom the Scriptures declare to be the only God of Heaven and Earth; likewise of the Divine Mission of Emanuel Swedenborg: being a Defence of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse.* By Robert Hindmarsh. London, 1792—36.

chapel in York Street, St. James's Square, taking with him nearly the whole congregation.

John Flaxman was a member of Proud's committee in Cross Street. Soberly tried was his gentle spirit with their brawls, and gladly did he make his escape from the litigious crew. Faithful he remained to Swedenborg, but his two years' experience of the "New Jerusalem Church" was sufficient. He rarely attended public worship of any kind afterwards.

Other preachers were hired by Hindmarsh's friends to replace Proud, but they did not "draw," and at last the temple was let to whoever chose to hire it. About 1812 it was sold to the managers of the Caledonian Asylum, and London was once more beguiled within its unlovely walls to its intolerable pews by the eloquence of Edward Irving.* In 1827 it was re-purchased by the Swedenborgians, in whose hands it remains.

Proud's popularity continued for a time unabated in St. James's. That enlightened pagan Sydney Smith coveted his pulpit, and pleaded in piteous tones with the rector of the parish for leave to occupy it, but in vain—

"You would rather that the worship of the Church of England were carried on there, than that it should belong to such sectaries as the Christians of the New Jerusalem (as they entitle themselves)."

Again—"I beg you to recollect that the question before you for your decision is a choice between fanaticism and the worship of the Church of England in your parish; one or the other must exist."

And again—"I ask you to give me the preference over a low and contemptible fanatic."†

A rise in the rent of the chapel drove Proud from York Street in 1813 to a room in Lisle Street, Leicester Square.

* Irving's success seems to have been little more than a repetition of Proud's—I mean as to numbers. S. Noble asserts, "We can state, for we continually witnessed it, that the crowds which pressed to hear Mr. Proud were not fewer than those which afterwards flocked to hear Mr. Irving." *Intellectual Repository*, 1826-27, p. 349.

† *Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*. By his Daughter, Lady Holland. London: 1855. Vol. I., pp. 69 and 75.

With increase of years (he was 68) he had ceased to charm ; his hearers melted away, and he returned to Birmingham in 1814, where, neglected and obscure, he died in 1826.

What evidence we have of Proud's eloquence exhibits a mind ordinary to meanness, but we must not seek the secret of oratorical success in printed sentences. The veriest commonplace, yea utter rubbish, delivered with enthusiasm and sustained by certain physical powers, will always command the applause of multitudes.

In his retreat at Birmingham he composed a *Last Legacy to the New Church*—a volume of advices, ignorant, sour and malignant. With special bitterness he attacked those who read Swedenborg, but remained in the Church of England. This drew a reply from Clowes.* He contended that he and his friends were far too few and feeble to leave the Church. Moreover it was not proved to be their duty. Neither the Lord nor His Apostles deserted the temple or the synagogues. Why then should they? There is not a word in Swedenborg to encourage separation from the Old Church. He never advised his dear friend Hartley to quit his rectory of Winwick ; and Hartley "to the end of his life most earnestly importuned me" to abide in the Church of England. Besides, if they did secede, they would cut themselves off from influence over their fellows—

"Was it ever known that any fowler, who intended to catch a bird, first began with scaring it? Can it further be wise and prudent in a Clergyman of the Established Church who has received the Doctrines of the New Church to quit his congregation immediately, and thus leave them to perish in false persuasions, instead of teaching them the truth by still continuing his ministry amongst them?"

What however of the bold builder of Jerusalem—Robert Hindmarsh?

After Proud's retreat from Cross Street he seems to have sunk into a state of indifference. He was willing to govern, but unfortunately there were few disposed to be his subjects.

* *A Letter to the Rev. J. Proud in reply to his Remarks on Separation from the Old Church.* By the Rev. J. Clowes. Manchester, 1818.

He left his types in Clerkenwell Close and turned stock-jobber, and so immersed in money seeking did he become, that it was supposed he had forgotten New Jerusalem. As a speculator he was not successful; and it is said that when he quitted the City, it was not as a rich man.

Clowes had a curate named William Cowherd—a strange fellow indeed, as erratic as overbearing. From Clowes he broke loose, and set up an independent society in Salford, with a code of doctrine only slightly Swedenborgian, full of odd notions, and with abstinence from animal food and intoxicating drinks as a condition of membership. I may add the society still survives in Salford—perhaps the smallest sect in England. Joseph Brotherton, long M.P. for the borough, belonged to it, and was for years its minister.

Cowherd proposed to establish a printing-office for the production of cheap editions of Swedenborg's works, and applied to Hindmarsh for his practical assistance. The broken-down stockjobber went to his aid in 1811, but it soon became plain that they could not draw together. To a thorough-bred Cockney like Hindmarsh, a man who thought beef and beer wicked was an object of constant offence. True, Swedenborg was a vegetarian, but he being "the Lord's servant" was no rule for common people. After a short and irritating connection, Cowherd and Hindmarsh parted. Cowherd died in 1816 in his 54th year—a victim, Hindmarsh fondly believed, to his awful delusion about beef and beer. On his tomb, by his own direction was inscribed—

ALL FEARED, NONE LOVED, AND FEW UNDERSTOOD.

Clowes made many Swedenborgians, but he could not restrain them from dissent. A party begged Hindmarsh to remain in Manchester and preach to them. He was very unwilling: as he writes, "For a considerable time I declined the proposal, having no desire whatever, but on the contrary an almost insuperable reluctance at my age (being then in my 52nd year), to undertake the office of a Preacher."* At last his aversion was overcome; a "New Jerusalem Temple" was built for him in Salford and opened in 1813. On the

* *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 204.

front of the building was inscribed *Nunc Licet*—words which Swedenborg saw written over a gate in the Spiritual World, signifying, that now it was allowable to enter intellectually into the mysteries of faith.* Such an explanation of the legend could never occur to the passers-by; the Salford folk said it meant, “Now it is lawful to eat meat;” and the holy place became vulgarly known as “the Beef-steak Chapel.”

There Hindmarsh ministered until 1824, when he retired from regular public duty. He employed his latter years in writing a history of the New Jerusalem Church, which owed to him its being. He died in 1835 at Gravesend, aged 76.

Of Swedenborg’s higher philosophy, Hindmarsh had no appreciation—I might almost say, no knowledge. He merely prolonged Swedenborg’s ignoble and ineffectual wrangle with Protestantism in its most debased forms.

He was a Cockney to the finger-tips—a Cockney in intelligence, impudence and ignorance. His portrait is an effigy of good-humoured impregnable conceit—of, in short, the Founder “under the Divine Auspices of the Lord of the New Jerusalem Church.” Of reverence and ideality (the inmost and rarest of human feelings) he was nearly destitute. To him the New Jerusalem was no mystic city, but a sort of New Clerkenwell. It was a shop for the sale of theological notions warranted fresh from Heaven. With the contents of the celestial warehouse he was familiar from basement to ceiling; and for rival establishments he had all the contempt of a crack salesman. *The Church of England weighed in the Balance of God’s Word and found wanting*, is the title of one of his feats; of another, *A Seal upon the lips of Unitarians, Trinitarians, and all others who refuse to acknowledge the Sole, Supreme and Exclusive Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. He had an eye on the foreign market. He sent samples of his wares to the Dey of Algiers, and by the first ship of convicts to Botany Bay. The Holy Alliance raised in him exceeding expectations. Some phrases of the imperial Pecksniffs convinced him, that they were

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 508. The motto had a fascination for Hindmarsh. *Now it is allowable* was written over the entrance of the chapel in Eastcheap.

ready to confess "the sole, supreme, and exclusive Divinity," and forthwith he addressed letters to the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia as possible omnipotent Apostles of the Clerkenwell Gospel. As little as Swedenborg himself had he any sense of the misery of the world born of its anarchy.* The New Jerusalem conveyed to him no promise of a society revolutionized by Jesus Christ. The divine desire and prophecy of Burns, that "Sense and worth should rule the earth," and that "Man to man the world o'er shall brothers be," never perhaps entered his mind. He adopted Swedenborg's bitterest words against those who trust in faith alone; but in his own confidence in notions, he was as thorough a Solifidian as ever ran after Luther or Calvin.

Amongst Proud's hearers was Samuel Noble, a young man, an engraver. Proud detected ability in the youth, and said, "My dear young friend will become eminent in the Church." He began to preach, and with such acceptance that he was often requested to devote himself to the ministry, but he was earning a good income and distrusted himself. In the end however, in 1819, when in his 40th year, he was persuaded to assume the care of the remnant of Proud's congregation, which ultimately returned to its original quarters in Cross Street, Hatton Garden. There he remained till his death in 1853, in his 75th year.

Noble could not be called a good preacher—his utterance was marred by some defect in his palate; but his matter was of a very different quality from that vended by Hindmarsh or Proud, and bore reading better than hearing. Alike in learning and intellect, he was by far the superior of the motley company of Swedenborgian Priests. He was proud; he delighted in rule; he knew his own value; and his contempt must often have risen as he considered his comrades whose ignorance was too dense to appreciate his knowledge,

* "For is not Anarchy, or the Rule of what is Baser over what is Nobler, the one life's misery worth complaining of; and, in fact, the abomination of abominations, springing from and producing all others whatsoever?" Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Vol. VI., p. 697.

and who were by no means disposed to submit to his dictation. Nevertheless they had sense enough to recognize their ablest champion at a pinch.

A book entitled *Anti-Swedenborg* by a Rev. G. Beaumont was published at Norwich in 1824, and Noble was deputed to answer it in a course of lectures in that city. Out of these lectures grew the work whereby he is best known—*An Appeal in behalf of the Views of the Eternal World and State, and the Doctrines of Faith and Life, held by the Body of Christians who believe that a New Church is signified by the New Jerusalem; embracing Answers to all principal Objections*, published in 1826. The *Appeal* is to the Swedenborgians what Barclay's *Apology* is to the Quakers. Coleridge read the book, and his notes upon it are preserved in his *Literary Remains*. He observes, "How natural it is to mistake the weakness of an adversary's arguments for the strength of our own cause! This is especially applicable to Noble's *Appeal*. Assuredly as far as Mr. Beaumont is concerned, his victory is complete." After complaining of the confusion of its contents, he concludes with the verdict, "Noble's *Appeal* is a work of great merit."

Whilst the ability of the *Appeal* is obvious, it is the ability of a barrister. A work of more heart and less skill might have been far more effective. If in a court of law you are defended by some masterly advocate, your gratitude is sadly tempered by the reflection that if the other side had retained him, the same shot and shell would have been showered on you. Even so with the *Appeal*: we feel as if an Author so able could find arguments as excellent for the other side. In saying so, not a shadow of insincerity is imputed: I simply indicate the distrust which must ever pertain to mere dialectic fence.

Nor, unless you have a strong taste for controversy, is the *Appeal* very entertaining. Many a Swedenborgian distributes the volume as a sound statement of his case, who has never had the patience to read it himself. He fancies it ought to make converts: I question if it often does.

William Mason was an early friend of Noble's—afterwards his intellectual antagonist. He too was a Londoner; born

in 1790; educated at Christ's Hospital; converted to Swedenborgianism at eighteen; for fourteen years clerk at the Horse Guards; compelled to resign on a pension in 1825 in consequence of an affection of the eyes; entered the Swedenborgian ministry; and died at Derby in 1863.

Mason's labours in defence of his faith were multifarious and incessant: sermons and lectures, books and tracts, hymns and prayers, articles in magazines and letters in newspapers streamed from him. He was an eager and fierce controversialist—pitiless in word, but very tender and merciful in deed; a terrific barker, willing to bite, but, when the chance was given, couldn't. His love of order and accuracy was painfully intense, and passed into a mania for hair-splitting. You would write to him and make some incautious statement; forthwith you would receive a long letter in a clear, clerkly hand, dissecting and correcting your mistake. His intellect was a wonderful logic-mill driven by passions of more than ordinary strength. He had an unwarrantable confidence in the efficacy of argument. He forgot that we can only recognize as true what is congruous with our character, and consequently fretted himself perpetually in trying to force nature, which will not be forced.

Another man of note was Charles Augustus Tulk—son of John Augustus Tulk who was the fourth to join Hindmarsh in 1783. He was born in 1786, educated at Westminster School and Cambridge, and designed for the bar, but the large fortune he inherited rendered professional exertion unnecessary. He entered Parliament in 1821, where he sat for many years, first for Sudbury and then for Poole. He shared the political opinions of his intimate friend Joseph Hume.

Tulk was an ardent student of Swedenborg. He neither conformed to the Church of England nor entered Hindmarsh's Jerusalem. For chapel-going he substituted family worship, for which he prepared expositions of the Spiritual Sense of the Word with as much care as for a public pulpit.

With Coleridge, Tulk was well acquainted, and many were their talks over Swedenborg. "If your friends will pay me £200, I will write a Life of the Mind of Sweden-

borg," was an offer made by Coleridge, but Tulk's friends had neither the sense nor the courage to accept it. Tulk had a philosophic mind, and as his rational powers developed he revolted at the hash of notions which filled (and fills) the heads of Swedenborgians. He commenced to systematize. He argued that one law of creation pervaded the universe, and therefore the Natural World (in common with the Spiritual World) is created by God through the Human Mind, and has no existence independently of that Mind. In fine, he united Berkeley with Swedenborg—with the important proviso, that whilst Berkeley supposed the vision of an External World to be a perpetual arbitrary creation of God, he referred its phenomena to Divine Action modified by states of the Human Mind; thus, that what a Man sees is not the perfect work of God, but God's work distorted by descent through his disorderly nature.

Tulk's most startling application of this theory was to the appearance of God as Jesus Christ. Jesus was God, but God as depicted through the Mind of base Jews and simple-hearted Disciples. It was incredible that the Infinite and Unchangeable should be born, undergo vicissitudes, suffer crucifixion, and rise from the dead.

With great pains he worked out his theory and tried to foist it on Swedenborg. He made it very plain that some doctrine was requisite for the interpretation of Swedenborg, and that for lack of doctrine his readers lived in intellectual muddle; but the fault lay with Swedenborg as much as with his readers: in Tulk's sense Swedenborg had probably no system, and Tulk added enormously to his own difficulties by assuming he had one. It is possible that Tulk's theory may bring a greater number of Swedenborg's parts into harmony than any other: I think not, but nevertheless allow him great credit for his attempt to evolve order from confusion.

Tulk encountered much enmity because of his speculations. He died in 1849, whilst busy over *Spiritual Christianity*—an extensive work in which Swedenborg's writings were collated from end to end in support of his views.*

* So noxious was he to the Swedenborgians, that his death was not even

Space fails for much further gossip over particular Swedenborgians. Fain would I write of Flaxman and his admirable wife. Blake is sometimes reckoned amongst Swedenborgians, but mistakenly. When Cary objected in conversation with Flaxman, "But Blake is a wild enthusiast, isn't he?"—the sculptor, ever loyal to his friend, drew himself up, half offended, saying, "Some think me an enthusiast." Blake was a visionary on his own account and recognized Swedenborg only to abuse him. "Any man of mechanical talents," he wrote, "may from the writings of Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen produce ten thousand volumes of equal value with Swedenborg's, and from those of Dante or Shakspeare an infinite number;" and again, "Swedenborg boasts that what he writes is new, though it is only the contents or index of already published books." A copy of the *Divine Providence* which belonged to him, is annotated with protests that Swedenborg is as strong a predestinarian as Calvin; and "cursed folly" is written against the statement that "if Evil be not removed on Earth, it cannot be removed afterwards."

William Sharp and Loutherbourn were both attracted to Swedenborg by their love of the marvellous; and by the same love were diverted from him to Richard Brothers and Joanna Southcott.

Samuel Crompton, the inventor of the Mule, was an earnest Swedenborgian. He advanced £100 towards the erection of a chapel in Bolton, where an odd character, Samuel Dawson, herbalist and maker of a famous poultice, preached. He led the choir until Dawson's death, when he was displaced by a preacher jealous of the charms of his melody over his eloquence. Crompton was noted for his abstraction of mind. He would hold his teacup within an inch of his face, poised on his three fingers, and remain immovable for a minute or two. He held a firm faith in spiritual manifestations, and averred that on his return

mentioned in their magazines. His disciple, Miss Mary C. Hume, repaired the neglect in *A Brief Sketch of the Life, Character, and Religious Opinions of the late Charles Augustus Tulk. Addressed to Members of the New Church.* Boston, U. S. A., 1850.

from his wife's funeral, she met him on the threshold with extended hands to welcome him.

A kindred genius of the same faith was Highs of Leigh, by whose skill Arkwright profited. He would stand in meditation with his eyes half closed and his back to the wall for an hour or two at a stretch.

An eccentric of another kind was James Glen. He passed the greater part of his time in solitude in a hut in the interior of Demerara. He was disposed to think well of the Gentiles (as Swedenborg had said the New Church was to be established among them), and especially of the Africans, but experience rudely dispelled his dreams. "Few men," he wrote, "have ever inquired by questions into the thoughts, ideas and affections of Negroes and Indians as I have; and though they have seen me most desirous to pump up all the knowledge I could out of them, yet I never yet found one who had the least desire to inquire after any knowledge of any kind by a single question put to me. Yea, I am certain there is no Negro or Indian here, man or woman, who would not ten times rather choose a hand of tobacco, or a bottle of new rum, or five or six bits in dry money, than any kind of knowledge I could communicate; and as to spiritual knowledges of any kind, they are totally averse to them; money and sensual pleasures and fine clothes are seated in the inmost chamber of their affections."

A match for Glen in oddity was Mrs. French, who lived in London on an income of £50 a year, and out of that sum contrived to subscribe liberally to the Swedenborgian propaganda, and to distribute books and tracts. Her conversation constantly ran on the Heavenly Doctrines. She disregarded dress, and was at all points a female Diogenes. At her lodgings in Lisson Grove, she died in 1826, aged 78.

There has always been a thin line of Swedenborgians among the Quakers since Cookworthy. George Harrison, a grandson of Cookworthy and his biographer, was in many ways a remarkable man. "He was called to the bar in 1818, and soon acquired great reputation for the vigour, perspicuity, and (according to the standard of the time) concise-

ness of drawing, as well as the sound learning of his opinions. His practice was for several years large and his school of pupils numerous, some of whom became eminent as real property lawyers. The delicacy of his health, and also inclination, led him to follow his professional labours at his residence on Highgate Hill, only attending his chambers in Lincoln's Inn for consultations." *

Having acquired a handsome competence, he retired to Newton-in-Cartmel, North Lancashire, and devoted the leisure of many years to a new translation of the chief part of Swedenborg's theological works. He considered the current translations diffuse, obscure, and disfigured with Latinisms, and set himself to reproduce the original in terse, idiomatic English, testing his work at times against the intelligence of his servants. The result was the publication between 1857 and 1861 of sixteen volumes including the *Arcana Cœlestia*. Whilst the printing of his manuscript was in process, he died, 11th October, 1859, in his 70th year.

George Harrison made no secret of his opinions, and suffered nothing on account of them until, late in life, he issued a pamphlet † in which he pointed out how the theology of Fox and Penn and Barclay had been displaced by the semi-Calvinism of the courtly Gurneys of Norwich; so that beyond external observances nothing at this day divides a Quaker from a Low Churchman or a Baptist. George Harrison might harbour any number of heresies and for a life-time pass for a sound Member of the Society of Friends, but a straight thrust like this from the sword of truth was unendurable; forthwith he was disowned—lynched ecclesiastically by his brethren of Kendal. He was too old and too busy for resistance: in his younger days, his execution might not have been accomplished so quietly.

John Clowes died in 1831, and Manchester mourned for him. People who thought nothing of his opinions confessed and revered his goodness. Much more by his life than by his logic did he commend Swedenborg to public accept-

* *The Jurist*, 1859, pp. 391 and 408.

† *A Few Thoughts on the Present State of the Society of Friends*. By George Harrison. London, 1856.

ance. His many writings are enlivened by neither force of argument, nor eloquence, nor wit; they are wordy in the extreme, but through all there runs a spirit of gentle wisdom which wins your respect in spite of the interminable prose.

Clowes dearly loved a clerical convert, but few rewarded his zeal. "I am sorry to say," he wrote, "that the blessed truths of the New Kingdom are almost entirely rejected by the Clergy of the Established Church, who in this particular incur the terrible sentence pronounced against the Scribes and Pharisees of old, by neither going in themselves, nor suffering them that are entering to go in. There are not wanting, however, some exceptions; and I am happy to be acquainted myself with seven very respectable worthy Clergymen who cordially receive the New Doctrines. Two of them are Rectors of Churches in this County, and three are Vicars in the County of York; but as I am not sure whether it would be agreeable to them that their names should be made public, you will excuse my saying more about them at present." *

The numbers during Clowes's long life varied: sometimes he spoke of corresponding with more than forty:† rumour exaggerated them to hundreds; but beyond Clowes not one exercised any obvious influence. Since his death the number has diminished, and at this day probably the Clergy who would answer to the designation of Swedenborgian might be counted on the fingers of one hand.

It would be idle to tax Clowes with dishonesty for holding his living together with Swedenborgian Doctrine. He openly professed his faith, and if Bishop following Bishop of Chester saw no cause for interference, he might well conclude that he was lawfully extending the area of liberty. Moreover it was his sober conviction, that the Church would be gradually converted to the New Jerusalem by Clergyman after Clergyman receiving its Doctrine.

There is much to be said for a Clergyman holding peculiar opinions in the Church of England—if he holds them frankly. The Church is the Church of the People of England. In the

* *Memoir of Clowes*, p. 171.

† So he stated to Manoah Sibby in 1817.

eye of the law all Englishmen are its members, whether conformists or nonconformists: dissent is merely tolerated. Its creed and ritual owe their authority to Parliament, and by Parliament have been changed and will be changed. Now if an Englishman has many and even radical faults to find with the Constitution of his country, he does not cease to be an Englishman, nor does he leave England. He submits to what he thinks wrong or absurd, and agitates for improvement; and if he is a statesman rejoices when called to power that he may sweep away what is offensive. Why then should not an English Clergyman pursue the same policy in the Church (which is merely a section of the State) as in the State itself?

Whilst Clowes was adverse to separation from the Church, true to his own gentle nature, he held friendly relations with those who saw fit to act otherwise, and who in the great majority of cases were drawn to Swedenborgianism from the ranks of Dissent. He could not as an officer of the Established Church preach from the pulpits of the New Jerusalem Temples, which kept rising in the chief towns of Lancashire, but occasionally he would strain a point and deliver a discourse from a pew.

The new sect was a mystery to the world, and many absurdities were imputed to its members. Not unfrequently it was asserted, that they pretended to converse with Angels as did their master; and Crabbe gave currency to the mistake in his verse—

“Some Swedenborgians in our streets are found,
Those wandering walkers on enchanted ground,
Who in our world can other worlds survey,
And speak with Spirits though confined in clay :
Of Bible mysteries they the keys possess,
Assured themselves where wiser men but guess :
'Tis theirs to see around, about, above—
How Spirits mingle thoughts, and Angels move ;
Those whom our grosser views from us exclude,
To them appear—a heavenly multitude ;
While the dark sayings, sealed to men like us,
Their priests interpret, and their flocks discuss.” *

* *The Borough*, published in 1810.

Lackington, the Finsbury bookseller, wrote of the Swedenborgians in 1791 as "gaining ground very fast," at the cost of the Methodists. Southey took Espriella, his imaginary Spaniard, to Proud's chapel in St. James's—

"It is singularly handsome, and its gallery fitted up like boxes at a theatre. Few or none of the congregation belonged to the lower classes; they seemed to be chiefly respectable tradesmen. The service was decorous, and the singing remarkably good: but I have never in any other heretical meeting heard heresy so loudly insisted upon."

After an account of their doctrines, Southey proceeds to make sport of a very natural misconception of Swedenborg's statement that Universal Humanity is a Grand Man: he concludes—

"One word more—they who have loved infants with most tenderness are in the province of the neck of the uterus and of the ovaries. By some unaccountable oversight the inference has been overlooked. There is therefore a Grand Woman also! It is not good for man to be alone, not even for the Grand Man. I have found a wife for him! The discovery—for it is a discovery—is at least equal in importance to any in the eight quarto volumes of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, and entitles me to be ranked with Swedenborg himself; if indeed, I modestly beg leave to hint, the honour of having perfected his discoveries and finished his system be not fairly my due." *

Another writer classed Swedenborgians with Infidels, and inquired, "What must we think of a sect which explains away the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment? and which excludes the Epistles from the New Testament as private letters?" and went on to observe that "the chief article of the New Church faith is just as old as Muggleton and Reeves, who first published that the whole Godhead is circumscribed in the person of Jesus Christ, and retains the human form in Heaven." †

* *Letters from England by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish.* London, 1808. Vol. III., pp. 113-140.

† *The Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies in this Metropolis.* By William Hamilton Reid. London, 1800, p. 53.

Attacks like these, and the difficulty experienced in making their position quickly intelligible, convinced the more thoughtful Swedenborgians that conversions were not to be effected by public wrangling. Hence one of their most earnest preachers wrote—

“I am fully persuaded in my own mind that controversy can never strengthen the cause of the Lord’s New Church. The truths of the New Church become manifest in intellectual light far elevated above the apprehension or perception of the controvertist.” *

As the leaders of the early Swedenborgians came from Methodism, one of their first efforts was the establishment of a Conference for the government of the New Church. Five annual Conferences were held in London between 1789 and 1793; but they were little more than assemblies of Hindmarsh and his friends: that of 1793, as we have seen, consisted of seven members. Fourteen years elapsed ere another was held. It came off in 1807 in Proud’s chapel in London, and consisted of five Ministers and seven Delegates. Ecclesiastical order was their theme: they decreed that no one should act as Minister who had not received their ordination; and recommended all who would enter the New Jerusalem to receive baptism at their hands. About the quality of their priestly authority they were a little nervous; Robert Hindmarsh, its sacred source, was stock-jobbing, and had forsaken his holy office; but they re-assured themselves by passing a resolution that his procedure in 1788 “was, under the circumstances, most consistent, proper, and expedient.” Nevertheless, the ghost was not laid. At a Conference held in Birmingham the following year, 1808, the lottery of 1788 was again reviewed, and again “approved and confirmed.” Seven years intervened: the next Conference was held in Manchester in 1815, consisting of four Ministers and sixteen Delegates; and again ecclesiastical order was the theme: it was decided that the Priesthood should be a hierarchy of three orders. At a Conference in Derby, in 1818, Robert Hindmarsh (who had resumed his

* Manoah Sibly to John Hargrove in 1805.

sacerdotal character) occupied the chair. Some still felt squeamish about his ticket trick whereby he was consecrated first Priest of the New Jerusalem without imposition of hands, and whose holy touch was presumed to confer Priesthood on others. He was requested to leave the room, and a long discussion ensued. His conduct was certainly questionable, but matters had gone too far for retreat; and when the chairman was recalled he gratefully learnt, "that it was Resolved unanimously, *That in consequence of Mr. Robert Hindmarsh having been called by lot to ordain the first Minister in the New Church, this Conference considers it as the most orderly method which could then be adopted, and that Mr. Robert Hindmarsh was virtually ordained by the Divine Auspices of Heaven; in consequence of which this Conference considers Mr. Robert Hindmarsh as one of the Regular Ordaining Ministers.*" There is a proverb that one may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, and it probably applies to profanity as well as to sheep-lifting. Plainly this Derby Conference was not disposed to stick at trifles.

Conferences have been held regularly every year since 1815, moving from town to town as invited. The Swedenborgians, as represented by Conference, form a corporation of 3,660 members divided into 55 Societies. The distribution of these Societies is not without interest. No fewer than 27 of the 55 are in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and have Manchester for a centre. Here is the list—

Places.	No. of Members.	Places.	No. of Members.
Accrington, . . .	344	Radcliffe, . . .	150
Ashton, . . .	No return.	Ramsbottom, . . .	70
Blackburn, . . .	49	Rhodes, . . .	23
Bolton, . . .	104	Salford, . . .	180
Bury, . . .	31	Wigan, . . .	30
Failsworth, . . .	34	YORKSHIRE.	
Haslingden, . . .	27	Dalton, . . .	41
Heywood, . . .	110	Embsay, . . .	48
Kersley, . . .	117	Hull, . . .	19
Liverpool, . . .	72	Keighley, . . .	28
Manchester, . . .	180	Leeds, . . .	64
Middleton, . . .	66	Sheffield, . . .	36
Oldham, . . .	19	York, . . .	31
Oswaldwistle, . . .	30		—
Preston, . . .	77	Total, . . .	1,980

Thus upwards of half of the 3,660 are contained in the two counties—I might almost say in Lancashire, for Yorkshire claims no more than 267.

Other Societies to the number of 19 are distributed as follows—

Places.	No. of Members.	Places.	No. of Members.
Newcastle,	72	Ipswich,	17
Carlisle,	12	{Brightlingsea, Essex, . .	111
Longton, Staffs., . .	22	{St. Osyth,	19
{Derby,	78	Snodland, Kent,	25
{Melbourne,	31	{Birmingham,	117
Nottingham,	104	{Hockley,	54
Norwich,	31	Bath,	56
Northampton,	24	Brighton,	14
Chatteris Cambs., . .	20	Jersey,	28
St. Ives, Hunts., . .	26	Total,	861

In London are 6 Societies, comprising 622 members—

Argyle Square, King's Cross, 335	Hammersmith,	19
Cross Street, Hatton Garden, 124	Deptford,	27
Islington,	Newington Causeway, . .	55

In Scotland, there are 3 set down—

Edinburgh,	30	Paisley,	39
Glasgow,	128	Total,	197

There is also a Society in Dunfermline led by Mr. Joseph Noel Paton (father of the well-known painters), and another in Alloa led by Mr. Allan Drysdale; but neither will have anything to do with Conference, “which assuming to be the New Jerusalem has all the notes of Babylon.” Indeed, the Scottish Swedenborgians have always dealt reluctantly with Hindmarsh’s tainted organization.

Wales and Ireland are free from Swedenborgianism. There was once a Society in Dublin, but it has long ceased to exist.

When two-thirds of a Society request Conference to ordain a preacher who has officiated for two years, Conference complies and directs an Ordaining Minister to perform the ceremony, whereby he is converted into a reverend brother.

The supply of Ministers falling low, Conference in 1860 appealed to leaders of Societies to be ordained, even if they were shopkeepers, or otherwise engaged in business; and the invitation has been accepted. Conference has at present 20 Ministers on its list, of whom 6 are out of employment.

The fancy for a trine in the Ministry, answering to the three orders of Angels, is thus carried out. The Highest Heaven is composed of 5 Ordaining Ministers—archbishops in short, who have unfortunately only a Middle Heaven of 15 Ministers to supervise, or 3 a-piece. The Outmost Heaven is constructed of Licentiates—that is, Leaders of Societies who are docile enough to accept licenses to administer the sacraments; of these there are 11.

It would be wrong to infer that all connected with Conference sanction its priestly pretensions: there is a considerable party who regard them with appropriate contempt; but there seems no limit to the follies of the ecclesiastical mind, whether its sphere be wide as Rome or narrow as a single meeting-house. Clergy of all denominations are, as a rule, poor creatures, with neither the virtues of men nor women. The majority are drawn into the pulpit by passion for display (the most despicable of motives) which honest handicraft cannot satiate. Quite the same style of character (*minus* pious concupiscence) is attracted to the stage, but the theatre rejects the incapables which the pulpit retains; for any goose may be a priest, and once a priest always a priest.

Here we may note that Clowes and his adherents used to hold a Conference every summer in Hawkstone Park, Shropshire, and there read essays, discuss theology, and enjoy themselves. They passed resolutions declaratory of their opinions, and advertised them in the newspapers, and printed a report of their proceedings. These friendly gatherings commenced in 1806, and continued under the presidency of Clowes until his death. George Harrison then assumed their direction: since his decease their course has been broken, and there seems no chance of their revival: the constituents of the old assemblies have ceased to exist.

Conference has for its organ the *Intellectual Repository*

and *New Jerusalem Magazine*. It was started as a quarterly in 1812; was adopted by Conference in 1830 and changed to a bi-monthly, and in 1840 to a monthly. Its price is 6d. It contains 52 pages, and about 1,300 copies are sold of each number. Contributors supply matter gratis, and the editor is paid £50 a year. The magazine is neither better nor worse than the run of religious periodicals, though some of its sarcastic readers amuse themselves by calling it the *Unintellectual*: there is the ordinary forcible-feeble amateur essay, the ordinary extraordinary controversial logic, the ordinary small beer of chapel news, the ordinary obituaries of the faithful, and, seasoning all, the ordinary spiteful sectarian piety. Since there is no longer a Clowes to fear or conciliate, the Established Church receives hard measure. The Editor "would tell Ernestine that having received the Doctrines of the New Church, she cannot in consistency with truth, and with her own spiritual progress in the heavenly life, remain a member of the Church of England, still less can she be confirmed by any of its Bishops. It is a house divided against itself, which cannot long stand, and which is now evidently only kept together by the external emoluments and dignities which, as it were, embalm the carcase, and prevent even its votaries from becoming sensible of the sphere of its putrescence. Quite contrary is the counsel which Divine Truth itself gives to all such as have received the pure Truths of the Word, as made known in the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem. That counsel is, 'Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' And this is the counsel we would give to Ernestine."*

There have been many attempts to start other Swedenborgian magazines, but all have ended in failure.

There are two Societies for the production of Swedenborgian Tracts—one in London and the other in Manchester. The London *Missionary and Tract Society of the New Church* had in 1867 an income of £43, and circulated 40,000 tracts. The Manchester *New Jerusalem Church Tract Society* had the same year an income of £142, and circulated 70,000

* *Intellectual Repository*, 1850, p. 356.

tracts. No one expects much in tracts, but the tracts of these Societies are of unequalled saplessness; they are not uncommonly foolish, but with a few exceptions simply unreadable; they are as sticks to bread.

There is also a *National Missionary Institution* designed to convert Great Britain and Ireland to the New Church by sermons and lectures. The Institution had an income of £196 in 1867 wherewith to fulfil its magnificent programme.

The *Society for Printing and Publishing the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, instituted in London in the year 1810*, is of true importance. For half a century this Society was the happy meeting place of all who had any lively interest in Swedenborg, whether citizens of Hindmarsh's Jerusalem, or Churchmen like Clowes, or Quakers like Harrison, or unattached like Tulk. Flaxman served on its committee in 1811, 1815, and 1817, subscribed two guineas yearly to its funds, and made speeches at its annual dinners. In 1854 it was thought advisable that the Society should do its own bookselling, and the Rev. Augustus Clissold of Stoke Newington subscribed £3,000 for the purchase of suitable premises. A house was taken in Bloomsbury Street, and the publications of the Society were offered to the public at the mere cost of production. The movement proved a costly mistake: few more books were sold, and no other advantage was gained. There were 2,852 volumes disposed of in 1867, valued at £163; and the income of the Society from subscriptions and donations was £175.

The Society since its foundation has done a good work. Swedenborg's books have been kept in print, and have been bestowed on libraries and persons of eminence at home and abroad with a liberality only measured by willingness to receive. A painful dispute arose among the members of the Society in 1860, which was taken to the Court of Chancery, and ended in the transfer of the Society to the Conference Swedenborgians. As long as Swedenborg's writings are printed and advertised, it is of little consequence by whom the work is done, but there is cause for regret that the more catholic constitution of the Society should have been lost.

Some efforts have been made at separate Swedenborgian education. A boarding-school for the education of boys and girls in the principles of the New Jerusalem was projected by Mr. William Malins in 1827. A house and grounds were obtained at Woodford in Essex at a cost of £12,000, but the requisite boys and girls did not make their appearance, and though an able manager, Mr. Malins had to throw up the enterprise as a bad job. Sundry attempts followed to proselytize by means of schools for poor children where copy-heads were set to New Jerusalem Doctrine. Of course the proselytism failed, but several excellent secular schools survived. On the testimony of H.M.'s Inspectors, there are no better schools of their class in England than those maintained by the Swedenborgians of Manchester and Salford, in which about 1,400 children are educated. May they persevere and prosper in such truly heavenly business! A College for the education of young men for the Swedenborgian ministry is a scheme of Mr. Henry Bateman's, a surgeon of Islington. Roger Crompton, a Lancashire paper-maker who died in 1860, left £12,000 for its furtherance. A house for the purpose has been erected in Islington, and some poor students have made their appearance.

The Swedenborgian sect—the New Jerusalem Church—long ago attained its majority in England, and, if it has not retrogressed, has remained stationary since Clowes's death in 1831. In former years statistics were not so carefully collected as now, and there was less money to spend in fussy demonstrations; but Manoah Sibly, in 1805, reporting the state of affairs in the metropolis, wrote—

“We opened the first place in London with about 30 members; now in our Society alone there are about 100. Two other Societies, Mr. Proud's and Mr. Hodson's, are labouring in the same cause, and Mr. Proud's congregation sometimes amounts to a thousand and more.”

Sixty years have intervened, and now we see six Societies in London muster only 622 members—and this a rack number. Birmingham and Manchester would have to render

similar accounts, and beyond these centres the sect may be said to exist rather than live. Of its extinction there is as little danger as of its extension—those who have tasted and relish the waters of Swedenborg will never forsake them; but invariable failure attends its propaganda—planting and watering are lost as in a desert.

Something of this non-success is to be attributed to the new spirit of the times. It is not only Swedenborgians who find their walls vanish as fast as they build them. The air of the world grows every year less propitious to sectaries. There is a general dissolution of religious prejudices, and we find it impossible to abhor one another as we ought. A red-hot bigot does not offend—he amuses as a piquant anachronism. If I ask a man to come over to my church, assure him,

“We are a garden wall’d around,
Chosen and made peculiar ground,
A little spot enclosed by grace
Out of the world’s wide wilderness,”

that my creed is *the* Truth, which if he will receive and let my priest mark his forehead with water, he will enter into special Divine favour, and be posted on the way to Heaven, he will laugh in my face, if I have not already smiled in his. Once upon a time men did not laugh at such communications, but seriously withstood them; nor have they ceased to be made, but they are advanced in such polite circumlocutions, and with such rational accommodations, that we can scarcely recognize the core of the matter—Submit or be——. Whence this changed temper? We may ascribe it to various causes; but, whatever its origin, its increasing prevalence is certain; and this temper it is which renders sects after the old fashion (and among them Hindmarsh’s Jerusalem) impossible.

Furthermore, the class of mind which finds Swedenborg credible is not numerous. Students of physiognomy are well aware that there is a Catholic face, a Quaker face, a Unitarian face, a Methodist face, a Mormon face, and so on—not that everyone who chances to be attached to those bodies has the appropriate visage, but only the stedfast, because natural, adherents. Now there is a well-marked Sweden-

borgian breed, beyond which it is vain to recruit. My own opinion is, that as soon as a sect has absorbed its breed in a nation, from that hour its propaganda is ineffective.

The old school of Swedenborgians is passing rapidly away. They were a curious race, many being highly eccentric and rich in character. They were well read in "our Author," reading little else indeed, and regarding other theological literature as beneath consideration; and were bold in the assertion of their identity with the New Jerusalem. The modern school has sadly degenerated from the ancient standard. On their shelves are neatly ranged rows of Swedenborg's works (they are so cheap that they are worth having as furniture), but newspapers and novels absorb the hours given by their predecessors to the *Arcana Coelestia*. They have been baptized into the New Jerusalem, but their faith in their citizenship is subject to many unworthy qualifications, and is not much talked about.

The world supposes the Swedenborgian to be a dreamy fellow. In many cases he is a shrewd pushing shopkeeper. It is not Swedenborg's Angels which take his fancy, but his negations of the popular theology—there aren't three gods, you aren't saved by faith alone, there's no resurrection of the body, there's no Devil, Adam wasn't a man but a church, the Deluge wasn't a flood of water but of error, we aren't afraid of science, and so forth. There is quite as little romance about him as about a Unitarian; indeed if the Unitarian would only say Christ was God, they might join forces and go to battle together. He is aggressive (often coarsely so), delights in debate, and conceives himself invincible.

A Swedenborgian congregation is generally composed of shopkeepers, clerks, and mechanics; any wealthy man in it has earned his fortune by his own industry; a surgeon is usually the only professional presence—surgeons have always been common among the Swedenborgians. The members are intelligent, but their intelligence is marred by their narrow education, and still farther by their conceit that with them abides the light of the world.

Of course Swedenborgianism is equally impossible in

illiterate and in educated society. It has obtained foothold solely in half-educated communities like Lancashire and Massachusetts. How indeed could any man of ordinary culture face society and confess himself a denizen of the Hindmarsh Jerusalem! Even Mr. Clissold, with all his enthusiasm for Swedenborg, has taken care to stand as clear as Clowes himself of "the Conference of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation."

For what they call the Old Church, the Swedenborgians entertain supreme contempt—it is dead and done for, extinguished in 1757. If you observe it lives and thrives, you are assured it is only an illusion—it is undermined and the day of destruction is near, when Jerusalem will be revealed in its glory. The smartest among them know everything and explain everything in heaven above and earth beneath. Reverence is not their distinction: piety is not among their graces. Nearly all have to tell how they were sceptics, and were only delivered from unbelief by acquaintance with Swedenborg—an experience you can readily credit as you detect how much of the old character survives under the new vesture.

The preacher or leader is one of the abler members, who may possibly develop into an ordained and paid minister, and as such, his lines will not be laid in pleasant places. His culture is rarely in advance of the chief personages of his flock; he is subject to their lively criticism, and not unlikely, two or three consider themselves quite his match in or out of the pulpit. Mrs. Oliphant's *Salem Chapel* with its Tozers, Pigeons and Browns, and their time-serving Tufton or worried Vincent, may be accepted as a very accurate picture of life in a New Jerusalem Temple.

Conference has published a liturgy and hymn-book, which are used in most congregations. The sermon is controversial or exegetical. Some Old Church dogma is dissected and refuted, or the Spiritual Sense of some portion of Scripture unveiled. The favourite texts for this treatment are those which are obscure, or have a trivial meaning. The obscurity or triviality is duly set forth, followed by the consideration that inasmuch as the words are the Lord's they cannot be

unworthy of Him. After sufficient ado on this score, Hey presto! the box is opened. The inner meaning of the outwardly dark or shabby words is given, and all are elated and edified.

After this fashion Scripture is converted into pious conundrums. The preacher and his hearers forget that the Science of Correspondences is not identical with the perception of the Spiritual Sense of the Word. What they call the Spiritual Sense may be not a whit more divine than the letter. If I read *Love* for *Gold* or *Truth* for *Silver*, by what am I profited? The metaphysical word, as a word, is no more alive than the physical. He who reads the Bible and by it has his imagination excited, or his understanding enlightened, or his heart enlarged, he, and he alone, is moved by its inner spirits, though he may never have heard of their existence; whilst he who has all the correspondences of the *Arcana Cœlestia* at his tongue's end, may be deaf as a post to the heavenly voices. Indeed, there is for Man no access to the Heaven of the Word save through the hearty enjoyment of its Earth: the one is given through the other.

Under such drear conditions it is no wonder that Swedenborgian Societies drag on an uncertain existence from year to year. As for quarrelling and splitting, they are probably unequalled among sects. The discord Hindmarsh initiated in Eastcheap has run through the history of his Jerusalem. Noble's Society in Cross Street was rent in twain by scandal, in which Noble was active and malicious as any old harridan, and he seceded from Conference because Conference declined to take his side in the brawl. I should be accused of exaggeration if I tried to relate the multiplicity of these dissensions and their absurdity. Much of this litigiousness is to be accounted for by the vigour and restlessness of character which Swedenborgianism absorbs. A Swedenborgian minister used to observe that his dear brethren were by nature not better, but worse than other men, and that the Lord in His mercy had brought them to the New Jerusalem, for by its truths alone could they be saved from perdition. Yet a remark of this sort must not be too widely generalized. Among Swedenborgians there have been not a few of a

temper of the gentlest heavenliness. Of these Flaxman was one, Francis Finch another, and Edward Brotherton another.* Others I cannot name, whose acquaintance I regard as among the choicest privileges of life. The mischief is, that whilst such angels are the salvation of sects as of cities, their goodness is used to consecrate and palliate the corporate badness, and the corporate policy is shaped by the pushing, overbearing, and vulgar. As in the world so in churches, it is the coarse capable fellow who thrusts forward and is seen uppermost.

There are few Swedenborgians whose names ever reach the public ear. Their literature is profuse enough, but absolutely without significance. Since Mr. Richard Malins† lost his seat for Wallingford, Swedenborgianism has had no representative in Parliament. Dr. Garth Wilkinson, whose editorship of Swedenborg's philosophical works gave them what little life they had, would disown any partnership in the sect. The Rev. Augustus Clissold, formerly of Exeter College, Oxford, might pass for the successor of Clowes if he only held a cure of souls. Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt is the authoress of a multitude of books, once known at the circulating libraries. Mrs. M. C. Hume Rothery has published a novel and several poems which have been favourably received by the reviewers. Mr. Leo Hartley Grindon is a name well known in popular botanical literature. Mr. Isaac Pitman has in phonography produced a system of shorthand so easy that boys and girls write it, and so efficient that it is driving all other stenography out of use. Mr. Edward Sonstadt has shown us how to get at magnesium, perhaps the most abundant metal in Nature. Mr. Henry Butter (at the prompting of Conference, of which he was for many years secretary),

* Francis Oliver Finch, of the old Society of Painters in Water Colours, died in 1862. There is a pleasing notice of him in Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, pp. 298-300.

Edward Brotherton died in 1866. He was well known in Lancashire by his indefatigable labours in the extension of education among the poor. Brotherton seceded from the Conference Swedenborgians in 1860, and set forth his reasons in a pamphlet entitled, *Spiritualism, Swedenborg and the New Church: an Examination of Claims*.

† Now Vice-Chancellor Sir Richard Malins.

has compiled the most popular of spelling-books, to the diffusion of which a critic attributes the fine English in which British Philistines indulge. Mr. E. W. Brayley, F.R.S. and librarian of the London Institution, is familiar to habitual frequenters of scientific lecture-rooms. Mr. Hiram Powers, the American sculptor, is a zealous missionary of the Swedenborgian faith. Two or three others of a similar order might be mentioned, but possibly not without offence.

The doctrinal dissensions of the Swedenborgians have not been trifling, but all sink in importance before the grand difference concerning the person of Christ. Tulk was a radical disturber on this question, and his endeavours to frame a systematic and rational doctrine were observed with suspicion and finally condemned with merciless severity. Noble denounced his "awful opinions" with equal solemnity and malignity, and he was excluded from the community as a most dangerous infidel. Had he cared for revenge, he lived to enjoy it.

The question was sprung, Since Jesus Christ is God, in what body does He exist? Noble answered, that the body He had from Mary was dissipated in the sepulchre, and that He arose in a Divine Natural Body. This opinion he tried to substantiate from Swedenborg, but in its complete development it was his own: as I have heard one of his intimate associates assert, he perfected Swedenborg's doctrine by Divine inspiration.

Noble had no sooner stated his view than he was accused of heresy. Clowes and Hindmarsh disowned it; but William Mason was its most pertinacious and vigorous assailant.

Mason staked his case on our Saviour's declaration to His disciples after His resurrection, "*Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.*" His aim, he said, was to defend "a most important and fundamental portion of the Word from violation, a portion he must ever regard as the peculiar basis of Christianity, being fully persuaded with the Apostle Paul, that '*if Christ be not raised, our faith is vain;*' if His body, 'fully glorified in

the world,' and which the Apostle believed was raised, was dissipated in the sepulchre, the doctrines of the Gospel have no firm resting place—nothing but a sandy foundation!" Noble's opinion was a denial of the resurrection. The two leaders divided Jerusalem between them. Some of Noble's section would have that the difference of opinion was of little moment; not so, replied Mason—the difference between us Resuscitationists and you Dissipationists is wide as any that ever parted sects in Christendom; there is no use crying Peace! Peace! where there is no unity: "we are a divided body on the most essential point of the doctrine of the New Church—the idea entertained of the Visible God, and I cannot see that any honest purpose is answered by concealing it, or endeavouring to make less of it than it deserves."

The war extended over many years, and is as far from settlement as ever. It ceased as those died who were qualified to carry it on. A combat between two such Titans as Noble and Mason, who could pitch the numbers of the *Arcana Cœlestia* from 1 to 10,857, at each other's head like stones, is not to be enjoyed by a race of smatterers who seldom get beyond *Heaven and Hell* and *Conjugal Love*.

Whatever benefits Swedenborg may have conferred on his followers, neither unity of faith nor charity to endure differences has been among them. When controversy is brisk in the Church of England and a crisis seems imminent, Mr. Clissold usually proffers the advice in speech or pamphlet—Come to Swedenborg and receive his Doctrines; Reason and Faith will be reconciled, all your perplexities will be resolved, and the reign of love will begin. In reply, he might be referred to the history of the Hindmarsh Jerusalem, and asked, How does your prescription agree with experience? If Swedenborg settles some controversies, he starts others, and starts more than he settles. In saying so, I do not censure but praise him. As our acquaintance with truth widens, our inquiries multiply: every piece of knowledge begets an appetite for more. Unity is desirable, but vain indeed is the search for unity through truth! Elevate doctrine to the first place, and you will wrangle and

divide to eternity. No two Angels, says Swedenborg, are perfectly agreed touching any matter of opinion. Unity must be sought in love "*which beareth all things*," which regards belief as altogether secondary, and achieves practical unity of faith by this very subordination without compulsion and without effort.

The relation of Swedenborgianism to Spiritualism is a story for a humourist: stolid should he be who would not chuckle over its details well told.

Years ago, when familiarity with Spirits was rare, Swedenborgians used to snap up and treasure every scrap of supernatural intelligence. The grand common objection to Swedenborg was his asserted acquaintance with Angels and Devils—it seemed an insuperable obstacle to faith. For its reduction, his followers maintained that open intercourse with Heaven was Man's ancient privilege, that he lost it by degradation in worldliness and sensualism, and that he would recover it by regeneration: moreover they would urge, even in his present low estate he is not altogether left without sensible evidence of a world beyond the tomb, and straightway a budget of modern proofs of supernatural existence would be opened. Many of the early Swedenborgians had wonderful private experiences to relate. Hindmarsh could have contributed many an anecdote to Mrs. Crowe. Spirits rapped in Noble's study. Clowes professed himself an amanuensis of Angels, and that many of his sermons were dictated by Spirits in the night.

A people in such a case, it might be supposed, were ready to run wild after mesmerism or spiritual manifestations; but whoever had so conjectured, would have proved greatly mistaken. Clairvoyants and mediums confirmed *in general* Swedenborg's other-world revelations, but contradicted him in many particulars. This was intolerable—Contradict our Heavenly Messenger! At once the old line of argument was abandoned. Nothing was wickeder than converse with Spirits. Spirits are liars; intercourse with them is dangerous and disorderly, and forbidden by the Word. True, Swedenborg did talk with Spirits, but he held a special

license from the Lord; he warned us of its perils; and his example is no pretext for all and sundry.

It is told of Thackeray, that seeing oysters displayed in one window at 7*d.* a dozen and in another at 6*d.*, he remarked to his companion, "How these shopkeepers must hate each other!" The anecdote is a fair illustration of Swedenborgianism *versus* Spiritualism. Whilst the Spiritualists offer wide and easy access to the other world, the Swedenborgians would limit all acquaintance therewith to the reports of "our Author." If you presume to any knowledge better or beyond, you are a bad man. It is no longer the Solifidian or the Tri-personalist (as in the days of Clowes and Hindmarsh) who is the butt of Swedenborgian archery, but the Spiritualist.

In return, the Spiritualists rank Swedenborg among their chief apostles, and question and adopt his testimony at discretion; but this liberal indifference only adds fire to the jealousy of the Swedenborgians, and fiercer and thicker fall their blows. It is the case of the big jolly navy and his furious little wife over again—"Why do you let her beat you so?" "Oh! sir, it pleases her, and she don't hurt me."

Swedenborgianism has had few witnesses in France. Its chief advocate has been J. F. E. Le Boys des Guays. Born in 1794, he entered the army and was present at the battle of Waterloo: he studied law, and was appointed Judge of the Civil Tribunal of St. Amand, Cher, in 1827. He commenced to translate Swedenborg's writings into French in 1838, and found so much pleasure in the task that for many years he spent fourteen hours a day in the employment, and lived to publish 54 volumes, including the whole of Swedenborg's theological works. He also conducted a magazine, *La Nouvelle Jérusalem*, between 1841 and 1848. He died in 1864. His work is continued by M. Auguste Harlé, of Paris, who was his efficient *collaborateur* in his latter years.

The sale of these translations has been small. One of the chief contributors to the cost of their publication is said to have been Marshal Canrobert. Many copies go to Russia, where Swedenborg has always had disciples: a very earnest

one was General Alexander Mouravieff, who died in 1863. There is, I am told, a Society in Moscow. An energetic little Society in Mauritius is also a customer for the French editions.

Oberlin was a reader of Swedenborg. Laying his hand on a copy of *Heaven and Hell*, he asserted, "I know from my own experience that everything in this book is true."* During his early acquaintance with the inhabitants of the Ban-de-la-Roche, he was irritated with the frequent recital of other-world experiences, but by-and-by on investigation he found cause to change his mind, and at last had his own vision opened to the Spiritual World and became a seer himself. Oberlin is a saint in the Protestant calendar, but his biographers usually slur over his spiritualism.

Strange to say, Swedenborgians have always been rare in Germany; but to Johann Frederich Immanuel Tafel, Librarian to the University of Tübingen, we owe the editorship of Swedenborg's posthumous remains—his *Diarium*, *Adversaria*, *Index Biblicus*, and other manuscripts, and revised editions of the *Arcana Cælestia*, etc. Tafel was born in 1796, and commenced service as editor and translator about 1821, and was sustained by pecuniary contributions from England and the United States. To his difficult drudgery he brought the perseverance and minute accuracy of the German scholar, and a faithfulness which printed verbatim without thought of flinching. Tafel also wrote much in defence of Swedenborg, but there was no persuasion in his tortuous and tedious style. He was a dry little soul, with neither unction nor procreative force in him. He did the editorial work for which he was created thoroughly, and only erred when he tried to do that for which he had no faculty. He died in 1863.

Swedenborg illustrates the saying, "*A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.*" He has Swedes for disciples, but they are few and far between. Some of his works have been translated into Swedish, but in hope of demand, not in answer to demand. His manuscripts are carefully preserved in Stockholm, and

* *Intellectual Repository*, 1840, pp. 151-162.

the Royal Academy of Sciences struck a medal in his honour in 1854. What pride Swedes have in Swedenborg is reflected: they are proud of their countryman because there are foreigners who hold him in reverence.

Swedenborg has found his true home in England and wherever the English race has spread. In Canada, South Africa, and Australia little gatherings and individuals bear testimony to his light. In the United States, however, and specially in New England and its chief city, Boston, Swedenborgianism has obtained its widest diffusion. In the Union there are 74 Societies meeting for public worship, and are thus distributed—

Place.	No. of Societies.	Place.	No. of Societies.
Maine,	4	Virginia,	2
New Hampshire,	1	South Carolina,	1
Massachusetts,	15	Louisiana,	1
Rhode Island,	2	Ohio,	9
New York,	3	Indiana,	2
New Jersey,	2	Illinois,	7
Pennsylvania,	10	Michigan,	3
Delaware,	2	Wisconsin,	1
Maryland,	3	Iowa,	2
Columbia,	2	Missouri,	1
		California,	1

I do not know the numbers of each of these Societies, but in the majority they are very small. A religious census of the United States assigns 3,700 to the Swedenborgians, which number divided by 74 gives an average of 50 members to each Society. The Clergy number 62, and are divided into three orders, namely, 8 Ordaining Ministers, 42 Pastors, and 12 Licentiates. Of these 13, or one-fifth, are unemployed.

The body is represented by a General Convention, which meets annually in various cities as invited. The Convention has two organs, *The New Jerusalem Magazine*, published monthly in Boston with a circulation of 600, and the *New Jerusalem Messenger*, a weekly newspaper issued from New York with a circulation of 2,000.

The school culture of the American Swedenborgians is

perhaps higher than that of their English brethren, and this, coupled with the absence of an Established Church, gives them a better social standing. Their sectarianism is however far more pronounced. As we have seen, there has been no lack of disposition in England to establish a close corporation with the loftiest pretensions, but there has been too much good sense, or too little audacity for the achievement. *The General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States* (such is the title assumed) is strange to many of the scruples which impede the policy of the English Conference. The Convention boldly prescribes re-baptism: the water from the finger of one of its Priests is held to have a specific efficacy, and until a convert is re-moistened he is considered no proper citizen of New Jerusalem, nor qualified to approach the Lord's supper. Other Churches are dead and their ceremonies void: Heaven abides in Convention, which constitutes the heart of Humanity. The authority of the Priesthood is magnified to the uttermost. Abject submission to the Church is inculcated; resistance to her authority is as sinful as compliance is commendable. The motherhood of the Church and her power to bind and loose are favourite subjects of discourse. The clerical lust for dominion has sometimes run into extraordinary manifestations. Once it was taught in Boston that a Priest was a Husband and his Congregation a Wife, and that as a Wife is bound to love, honour, and obey her Husband, so ought a Congregation to behave towards its Priest: and that it was spiritual adultery for a Priest to preach to any but his own Congregation, or for the Congregation to be instructed by any but its own Priest. Conclusions over which Rome would hesitate are accepted in Convention; indeed, it has been well defined as Babylon in a pill-box.

Unlike the English, the American Swedenborgians do not court public criticism; they do not advertise themselves, or preach controversial sermons. They are content to proselytize privately, and to capture those who swim of themselves into their net. They shrink from forcing Swedenborg on those who will reject him; to do so is to

cast pearls before swine, and to seduce men to profanation. There is craft in this conduct: ridicule is evaded, and conquests effected without disturbance. Consistently, a habit of extreme reticence is cultivated; they neither obtrude their own opinions, nor attack those of others—unless a successful issue seems certain. Often this forbearance passes for a liberal temper, but let no one imagine that the old Adam of intolerance is dead. Whether by design or accident you fracture the crust of a Swedenborgian bred in the Boston school, such a flood of wrath against adversaries bursts forth, that you find you have tapped hell indeed, and query whether a little ordinary cursing diffused over life would not be less harmful than such an accumulation of vengeance.

Theodore Parker once wrote, "The Swedenborgians have a calm and religious beauty in their lives which is much to be admired." Probably he never considered the cost of "the calm and religious beauty." I should say the Swedenborgians of New England play at being good and leading pretty lives. They withdraw their converts from association with any but kindred believers, and from the agitation and irritation of conflict with social iniquities. It is very easy to keep cool if you don't fight; but better far be ruffled and active than look nice and be idle. When slavery was in power, the Convention of the New Jerusalem bore no testimony against it; the long line of the *New Jerusalem Magazine* might be searched in vain for a sentence in approval of the Abolitionists; the pulpits of the New Jerusalem were silent over "the domestic institution," or uttered its apologies. Time however works strange transformations. In 1865 the Convention passed a resolution unanimously, "That no person shall be considered fit for the office of the ministry of the New Church who advocates a system of human slavery." Such a resolution in 1859 would have been worth something, but in 1859 its mover would have been sent to Coventry: in 1865 it suggests the ass which kicked the dead lion.

It is not to be supposed that the whole of American Swedenborgianism is included in Convention; from it there

are numerous dissenters. There are a few who would fain practise ceremonial worship by architecture, vessels, vestments, and gestures contrived according to correspondences. These ingenious people fail to see that ritualism is the antithesis of fetishism, and whilst appropriate for those who are to be weaned from fetishism, is utterly beneath those to whom fetishism has grown impossible. Then there are many who object on various grounds to the ecclesiastical assumptions of Convention; these are represented at present by the *New Church Independent*, edited by the Rev. Henry Weller, and published at Laporte, Indiana, and by the *New Church Monthly*, edited by the Rev. B. F. Barrett, and published at Philadelphia.

The chief man of the anti-clerical faction was George Bush. He was born in Vermont in 1796, and was educated for the Presbyterian ministry at Princeton. Theological literature drew him from the pulpit, and he became a prolific popular writer after the style of John Kitto and Albert Barnes. In the height of his reputation in 1845, the religious world was shocked by the intelligence that he had gone over to the Swedenborgians. Shortly after, he vindicated his change in *Reasons for Embracing the Doctrines and Disclosures of Emanuel Swedenborg*. A variety of encounters with orthodox antagonists ensued; but gradually he sank out of public notice as he immersed himself in the domestic politics of Swedenborgianism, wherein he squandered his latter years. He died in 1859.

Bush and those who follow him, such as the Rev. B. F. Barrett, seem blind to the uselessness of their zeal. They dislike *The Convention of the New Jerusalem*, and they do well; but the re-iteration of their dislike merely supplies its adherents with that choicest luxury—a sense of being persecuted without suffering. There are many follies which are best overcome by neglect; we do not wrangle with a monomaniac over his illusions. Serious discussion confers on the follies of Convention a factitious importance; the counsel of Wisdom is—Laugh at them and leave them.

As an original and independent expositor of Swedenborg, the name of Mr. Henry James must not be forgotten. Al-

most unknown in England, he is familiar to the bolder metaphysicians of New England. Scholarly, cultivated far beyond the measure of most who have dealt with Swedenborg, he is master of a voluble and vigorous style, which some critics call coarse; certainly he rejects no epithet or illustration which he considers graphic. In common with Margaret Fuller, it is not as a seer of ghosts, but as a seer of truths, that Swedenborg interests him. That God is Life alone, and that Man's independence has no validity beyond sensation, is the Gospel according to Mr. James, and he concentrates all his power on its illustration. His estimate of Swedenborg as a man of letters is well worth reading—

“In avowing my intellectual obligations to Swedenborg's writings, I have no wish to conceal my honest sense of their conventional literary limitations. I fully concede, indeed, to Swedenborg what is usually denied him, namely, an extreme sobriety of mind displayed under all the exceptional circumstances of his career, and which ends by making us feel at last his every word to be almost insipid with veracity. I cordially appreciate, moreover, the rare destitution of wilfulness which characterizes all his researches; or rather the childlike docility of spirit which leads him to seek and to recognize under all the most contradictory aspects of nature the footsteps of the Highest. But I should be sorry to recommend him to the attention of our mere men of letters. There seems a ludicrous incongruity, for example, between his grim sincere performances and the enamelled offspring of Mr. Tennyson's muse, or the ground-and-lofty tumbling of an accomplished literary acrobat like Macaulay. It is evident that he himself never once dreamt of conciliating so dainty a judgment. It would be like trying the mainsail of a man-of-war by a cambric handkerchief. His books are a dry unimpassioned unexaggerated exposition of the things he daily saw and heard in the World of Spirits, and of the spiritual laws which these things illustrate; with scarcely any effort whatever to blink the obvious outrage his experiences offer to sensuous prejudice, or to conciliate any interest in his reader which is not prompted by the

latter's own original and unaffected relish of the truth. Such sincere books it seems to me were never before written. He grasped with clear intellectual vision the seminal principles of things, and hence is never tempted to that dreary Socratic ratiocination about their shifting superficial appearances, which gives great talkers a repute for knowledge. Full, however, as his books are on this account of the profoundest philosophic interest, they naturally contribute almost nothing to one's scientific advantage. You need never go to them for any *direct* help upon existing social or scientific problems. You might as well go to a waving wheat-field to demand a loaf of bread. Just as in the latter case, before getting one's loaf, one would be obliged to harvest his wheat and convert it into flour, and then convert the flour itself into dough, and afterwards allow the dough to ferment before putting it in the oven and baking his bread: so in the former case, before getting the slightest scientific aid from Swedenborg, he will be obliged first of all intellectually to harvest his spiritual principles, and then gradually bring them down through the hopper of his imperious daily needs, and under the guidance of the great truth of human equality or fellowship, into social and personal applications wholly unforeseen I doubt not, and perhaps undreamt of by the Author himself."*

The formation of a Swedenborgian Church and its failure were both perhaps inevitable, but that its failure should have been so decided is probably at first sight surprising; but surprise is reduced after sundry reflections.

No man has appeared among the Swedenborgians with a talent for organization after the manner of Wesley: practically they are Independents.

If it was further observed, that the Swedenborgians have been as a rule of humble station, and, if intelligent, illiterate, we might be referred to the case of the Lord's apostles. Good; but the business of the apostles was to diffuse a religion, not a philosophy; theirs was the enthu-

* *Substance and Shadow; or, Morality and Religion in their Relation to Life: an Essay upon the Physics of Creation*: Boston, 1863, p. 103.

siasm of humanity. As the author of *Ecce Homo* observes, "When the power of reclaiming the lost dies out of the Church, it ceases to be the Church. It may remain a useful institution, though it is most likely to become an immoral and mischievous one." It is superfluous to assert that the Swedenborgian corporation has never even dreamt of "reclaiming the lost"—no more indeed than the Royal Society. The propagation of certain notions has been its chief business, unless when wrangling over the notions themselves. With sin and sinners it has taken no concern, except as Biblical symbols.

Swedenborgianism, as represented by the New Jerusalem Church, is a philosophy spoiled in the attempt to make it a religion; like milk and water, the water spoils the milk, and the milk the water. True philosophy approaches the human mind with courtesy; Swedenborgianism with arrogance. Swedenborg was the Lord's Messenger, and all he wrote is to be accepted as divine truth. It is amusing to hear the slang of the New Jerusalem Temple about "full receivers" and "partial receivers"—a full receiver being one who has bent his neck to the yoke, and yielded his reason at all points to Swedenborg's *ipse dixit*, and a partial receiver one who is preparing, but has not screwed himself down to unconditional surrender. An infallible Bible is bad enough, an infallible Pope is much worse, but an infallible Swedenborg is worst of all. The infallibility of the Bible is mitigated by the pliability and diversity of its interpretations, and the infallibility of the Pope by the many glories of the ancient corporation of which he is the head; but what is there to mitigate the half-hundred-weight of infallibility contained in a uniform edition of Swedenborg's works!

Shocking is the demoralization which the defence of an infallible position engenders. Consider the fraudulent apologies made for the Bible! For Swedenborg the case is as bad. Many of his followers are experts in the satanic logic which can prove anything true and anything false. Moreover, their case is made worse by the entertainment of esoteric and exoteric doctrine—one mode of speech for the

initiated and another for the vulgar. A company of well-read and orthodox Swedenborgians will have no doubt whatever that David and Paul are among the Lost, and would be scandalized if a preacher prefixed a sermon with a text from Paul, or even read one of the Epistles from the pulpit. Let it be stated however in some newspaper that Swedenborgians believe David and Paul are in Hell, and that they slight the Apostolic Letters, and forthwith will come an answer, as from outraged innocence, that David and Paul are in Heaven,* and that their respect for the writings of the Apostles is only subordinate to the Word itself. So with many other matters which need not be enumerated. Little dependence can be set on any voice from the New Jerusalem Church to the Gentiles; the probability is that its tones will have suffered many modifications to meet carnal apprehensions.

Sir William Hamilton has truly said, "The sciences always studied with the keenest interest are those in a state of progress and uncertainty; absolute certainty and absolute completion would be the paralysis of any study; and the last worst calamity that could befall man, as he is at present constituted, would be that full and final possession of speculative truth which he now vainly anticipates as the consummation of his intellectual happiness." Swedenborgians are an excellent illustration of Hamilton's observation. In Swedenborg they suppose they have "absolute certainty and absolute completion," and it would require some acquaintance with them to realize the mental sterility thereby induced. Theodore Parker wrote, "A wise man may get many nice bits out of Swedenborg, and be the healthier for such eating; but if he swallows Swedenborg whole, as the fashion is with his followers, why, it lies hard in the stomach and the man has a nightmare on him all his natural life." Talk with them and you do not get their own opinions, but "Thus saith Swedenborg." Granting Truth and Swedenborg to be identical, yet whoever would profit by Truth must eat and digest it in order to

* I am not exaggerating: the feat is actually and laboriously performed in the *Intellectual Repository* for 1866.

reproduce it as his own mental tissue. A Swedenborgian's treatment of Swedenborg is as one who should show us a loaf, saying, "There never was such bread, so pure, so well baked, so nutritious!" "Why then don't you eat it?" "O, sir, I never dare chew such precious bread, or degrade it by descent into my humble stomach!"

Well says Joubert, "Books which absorb our attention to such a degree that they rob us of all desire for other books, are absolutely pernicious. In this way they only bring fresh crotchets and sects into the world; they multiply the great variety of weights, rules, and measures already existing; they are morally and politically a nuisance."

Finally it may be asked, How far is Swedenborg to be held accountable for Hindmarsh's Church? Had he been living, is it likely he would have been seduced into that queer speculation? I should think not. It is hard to say what the disappointed old man might not have ventured, but his hereditary ecclesiastical instincts would have been severely strained had he joined in the Clerkenwell printer's burlesque. His expectations in his latter years (diverted from the Gentiles) seem to have been directed to the Protestant Clergy and Universities. His trust was in individual inquiry. "Of whom," he writes, "shall we ask counsel concerning the Trinity? There is no possible help for a man but in the Lord God his Saviour. Let him read the Word under His influence, for He is the God of the Word, and his understanding will be enlightened, and he will see truths to which his reason will assent."*

From Councils he had no expectations—

"What dependence is to be placed on Councils? Have not Councils established the Pope's vicarship, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, the division of the eucharist, and many like things? Has not another Council pronounced the atrocious doctrine of predestination to be the palladium of religion? Do you, my friend, go to the God of the Word, and thus to the Word itself, and enter by the door into the sheep-fold, that is into the

* *True Christian Religion*, Nos. 165 and 176.

Church, and you will be enlightened, and then you will see, as from a high mountain, not only the errors of many others, but also your own former bewildered wanderings in the dark forest at the foot of the mountain."*

In the New Light thus spreading from mind to mind, he probably contemplated an ultimate crisis like the Reformation, when the Churches of England and Sweden became bodily Protestant. Such too was Clowes's view.

An anti-Swedenborgian might say, a Clowes is more mischievous than a host of Hindmarshes; and go on to express profound thankfulness that such heretics should • cast their poisonous selves into harmless isolation—bottled, corked, and plainly labelled *New Church* in independent communities: and add "What (short of their conversion) I should desire, that they do."

CHAPTER XLVII.

LAST WORDS.

PERHAPS no evidence in support of Swedenborg's claim to open intercourse with the Spiritual World is so strong as that furnished by a comparison of his writings before and after 1745. The change from the *Principia* or *Animal Kingdom* to the *Arcana Cœlestia* is as from one world to another. He had obviously undergone a strange transformation, and become the master of a profusion of novel ideas; and we are constrained to account for the phenomena. For my part, I accept his own solution of the difficulty—that he had indeed entered into acquaintance with Angels, Spirits, and Devils, and that the Lord vivified his new experience into wisdom. Such a confession may be received with ridicule, but until a better explanation of the case is offered, ridicule need not distress me. Men of fifty-seven do not beget new philosophies, nor do their brains begin to

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 177.

teem with original ideas ; nor would it be possible at any age for a man to draw such a book as *Heaven and Hell* out of his imagination.*

We speak of the power of imagination, but we seldom consider how it is limited by experience, and how its function is not creation, but observation, and specially the combination of observations. Take Shakspeare for example. He is constantly spoken of as a creator, but most erroneously. He was an exquisite seer: where others saw little or nothing, he saw much ; we read him and he gives us to see what he saw, and delights us in the combination of his observations in men and women true to Nature—that is to universal experience. Abstract his experience, and where would be Shakspeare ? So with all poets: they are original as they see what has not been seen before, and admirable according to the skill wherewith they present their vision to verification by common experience: the false and absurd poet sees nothing new, and in a flood of words would hide his emptiness.

So with Swedenborg. It is idle to assert that he invented his Spiritual World: such a power of creation does not belong to the human mind. He must have seen what he described. As he asks in one place, "What man could produce such things from himself?" He had no belief in intuitive knowledge. If the Spiritual World was to be revealed it must be seen. "Unless the Lord had enabled

* The *Pall Mall Gazette* hereon remarks, "Are these supposed to be arguments?" Well, if not arguments, then suggestions. An acquaintance used to tease me for proofs of what Catholics style the Immaculate Conception. He could "get over" the other wonders of the Gospels, but not that. I tried to satisfy his vexed mind, but vainly. I once observed that as he seemed little the better of what he could believe, so I hoped he wouldn't suffer from lack of what he couldn't—which he said was flippant. At last, worried to desperation, I turned on him and said, Define the evidence that will satisfy you concerning the Virgin, and we shall try and find it. He afflicted me no more.

Even so with Swedenborg. Many want you to compel them to believe—to pin them by some impossible logic or unattainable evidence. People will believe Swedenborg as they believe the Gospels, because they like to believe, and on no other terms. I may help to educe the disposition to believe, but can do no more.

me or some one else to explore it, the information I have communicated must have remained hidden from mankind to eternity." * In this position one may stand secure: the difficulty lies with those who maintain that he conjured his Spiritual World out of nothing.

"Do you then accept all Swedenborg has to relate concerning the Spiritual World as true?" By no means; no more than I should accept the testimony of the most veracious traveller as to the United States, or Russia, or India. I should say he means truly, but had I to go over the same ground, I should certainly arrive at many different conclusions, and on some details contradict him point-blank. The full force of my dissidence from Swedenborg is not however brought out by a comparison with travels in the United States, Russia, or India. In these lands are many stable phenomena; but observations taken in the Spiritual World are as observations taken in cloud-land, where the shapes are transitory, and worse than transitory—illusory, by reason of their subordination to the influence of the beholder. "I can see no Spirit," said Swedenborg, "of whom I cannot form an idea;" and supposing his idea incorrect (as many chances to one it must have been), Whom would he see? Out of the enormous population of the Spiritual World, some one who answered to his idea. Hence I have no confidence whatever that any Spirit he testifies he saw was the real person. He disliked David and he disliked Paul, and he saw a David and he saw a Paul to justify his dislike. The Moravians and the Quakers had disgusted him, and he found pictures to match his disgust in the Spiritual World. He fancied it would advance his Jerusalem in the favour of the great potentates of Europe if they learned that their predecessors were in Heaven, and forthwith he reported Elizabeth of Russia, and Louis XIV. of France, and George II. of England, as among the Blessed. I do not accuse him of any conscious humbug in these stories: I only adduce them to prove that he was liable to see what he wished to see. Disregarding the authenticity of his portraits, we may accept

* *True Christian Religion*, No. 312.

them as accurate reflections of the painter's own prejudices—as insights to his own character.

Then, again, about a large variety of details (as for example concerning the Planets) I have no opinion whatever. I hear him, neither affirming nor denying. What he relates may be true or untrue: I have no means of judging.

Other details I read and credit. Why? Because they seem consonant with such experience as I have had in this World, or because they seem orderly outgrowths of the laws of the Spiritual World—of that magnificent system revealed by Swedenborg; in which system again I have faith, because it seems a reasonable development from the experience of this Earth under spiritual circumstances. Yet this faith I would hold modestly, subject to correction, knowing how easy it is to be mistaken; for whilst truth is single, error is multitudinous.

Here a consideration occurs which, in the opinion of some, bears disadvantageously on Swedenborg. His revelations do not all date from 1745—only their Divine authority. We have not forgotten the *Principia* in which the generation and order of the Elements were set forth, not as probabilities, but as certainties; nor how in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* and the *Animal Kingdom* he anticipated many ideas which he afterwards vended as from Heaven; nor how in the *Worship and Love of God* he displayed the vivacity of his fancy in all the sobriety of reality. These items must not be omitted in an estimate of Swedenborg's character. It is surprising to see the coolness with which he delivers conjectures as facts, but in the habit he was not singular; he simply brought down to very recent times a custom of ancient and mediæval philosophers, who all delivered their intuitions as dogma. Whoever thinks he has made a point against Swedenborg in these observations may enjoy his triumph. I do not suppose his acquaintance with truth began in 1745, nor that his liability to err then ceased; his truth and error before and after we must discriminate with whatever skill we possess. Very probably he carried his old habit of affirmation into the Spiritual World, and many a statement in the

Arcana Cœlestia, as in the *Principia*, is an inference given as a fact.

Others complain of his affectation of omnipotence; that he seldom, if ever, committed himself to a frank "I do not know;" but sidled off with "I am not permitted," as if he wished to impress the inquirer that "I could an' if I would." Test questions he thus usually evaded. There was excellent evidence for his seership, but those who required instant practical demonstration were rarely gratified.

If his omniscience should oppress, at any rate no one has allowed such grace to a sense of ignorance; from out much that is beautiful on that head, take this as a sample—

"Holiness has its abode in ignorance, nor can it dwell elsewhere. The wisest Angels have their holiness in ignorance, for they own that they know nothing of themselves, and that all their knowledge is from the Lord; and further, that all the science, intelligence, and wisdom they have from Him is as nothing to that which remains with Him.

"The holiness of ignorance does not consist in knowing less than others, but in the lively confession on Man's part, that all his knowledge is the Lord's in him, and that such knowledge is as nothing in comparison with the Lord's omniscience."*

The grand principle of Swedenborg's Philosophy has been frequently stated, but will bear re-statement. It is, that God is the Life of His Creation; that Creation in itself is deadness and nothingness: that God and Life are convertible terms: that a stone, a tree, an animal and a man share a common Life, and that their difference lies in the constitution whereby each more or less adequately shows forth the common Life.

Man, inasmuch as he is the epitome of Creation, and the image and likeness of the Creator, receives and entertains Life with a fulness and perfection unknown to lower creatures. To him is given self-consciousness, the sense of independent existence, and the god-like confidence that he lives of himself.

* *Arcana Cœlestia*, No. 1557.

It is right that Man should feel so; the feeling is indestructible and constitutes his manhood, but the illusion must be corrected, or he would be destroyed by pride.

This correction is effected by Revelation—by religions, which teach that he is not independent, but has a superior in God, who regards him as one of His many children whom he must treat with justice, or suffer His vengeance here or hereafter.

Such roughly is the correction administered to the sensation of personal independence by the majority of religions, ancient and modern. In Christianity sensation met with a much more thorough and searching treatment. Man's relation to God was defined as not simply that of a subject to a king (a pair of distinct existences, one owing fealty to the other), but as an absolute and instant dependence. Men too were declared an equal brotherhood; the strong were bound to care for the weak; and as if to clench the evidence for the Divine Presence in Humanity, God Himself was pronounced served in service rendered to the least of His creatures. In a multitude of melodious utterances, these truths were diffused over the world by the Church.

So the Church taught, but taught as teaching mysteries, against which the Natural Man was in continual revolt. He, posted on sensation, felt independent and could discern no actual relation between himself and God; nor any unity between himself and all and sundry of mankind.

What the Church thus held as mystery, Swedenborg would teach as philosophy: it was his mission to reduce spiritual truth to the apprehension of the rational mind. He would show that Man in himself is a dead nothing, every instant vivified by God; that he only appears to live *as* of himself; that his love, his reason, his science, yea, all energies mental or physical, are God's in him—communicated by God so as to *appear* as his own. Thus he swamps all distinction between Divine and between Human Love and Wisdom: they are one: if a man is wise, he manifests Divine Wisdom: if he loves, he is an outlet of Divine Love.* Thus Sweden-

* How we (beguiled by sensation) appropriate God—steal His love and justice present in our hearts, and then turn and tax Him with Himself, is

borg assigns a scientific reason for humility: How can any one be proud when he *knows* that all he *seems* to have is God's in him? He indeed feels God as himself, but he learns that the feeling is an illusion—an illusion of the same sort as the fixity of the earth and the mobility of the sun.

This is the core of Swedenborg's philosophy: all else is deduced therefrom, or subservient thereto.

Swedenborg's aggressions on Protestantism, which formed the business of his later years, have already been characterized as unjust and useless. As Coleridge observes, "It was a fault common to Wesley and Swedenborg to limit the words of their opponents to the worst possible sense, instead of seeking, as Leibnitz did, the truest sense, and thus finding the error in the insufficiency and exclusiveness of the position." Swedenborg dealt with such matters as an amateur; his theological reading was practically *nil*; and applying his logic to the antiquated Protestant confessions, he drew conclusions which Doddridge, or Butler, or Law would have viewed with dismay. "A doctrine," says Mill, "is not judged at all until it is judged in its best form;" and therefore according to this noble dictum, Swedenborg never judged the theology of Protestantism.

From the charge of plagiarism (sometimes preferred against him), by his own confession and by the internal evidence of his writings, he must be held guiltless. One of the most voluminous of writers, he was the most sparing of readers. Yet with all his ignorance of books, he made few blunders, for he rarely spoke of what he did not know. He evidently believed, in announcing that certain of the Scriptures contained two inner senses, that he was making an original revelation: he was unaware that the mystical sense

finely set forth in that remarkable epitaph discovered or invented by George Macdonald—

"Here lie I, Martin Elginbrodde:
Ha'e mercy o' my soul, Lord God;
As I would do, were I Lord God,
And ye were Martin Elginbrodde."

(sense within sense) had exercised the ingenuity of the Church from the Fathers to the Schoolmen, and that one of the great services of the Reformation was to sweep away the mountains of preposterous rubbish which by them had been piled over the natural Scriptures, and allow the Word in its strong, straightforward sense to exercise its powerful influence on the human heart. So with some other discoveries: had his reading been wider his satisfaction in them would have been less.

His voluminousness is a sad drawback on his influence. We do not complain of voluminousness in itself. Many of the greatest writers have been most voluminous; they had much to say out of their full hearts on many matters: but Swedenborg is voluminous in the worst sense; he is voluminous by repetition, and by repetitions the enormity of which can only be appreciated after experience. If any one wished to support some thesis in his philosophy, he might discover authority for it in some dozens of passages almost identical. The patience of the most enduring reader must sometimes yield under this infliction. By all accounts he used to write on and on just as his thoughts flowed, and send his manuscript to the press without revision or condensation. His mind was orderly, but loose. One consistent theory pervades and underlies all he wrote; but he could only be exact at the expense of prodigious space.

One is often asked, "With what book should we commence the study of Swedenborg?" I would answer, With any book. Swedenborg is not an author to be read through any more than is a dictionary, or cyclopædia, or diary. Most who make the attempt find themselves yawning or asleep before they get far. He is read to most advantage by dipping into one of his volumes at a hazard, or looking up some subject he has treated with the aid of an index. Swedenborg may be compared to a great country without roads, full of pleasant and fruitful spots, divided by sandy and arid tracts, and best reached by dropping from above as from a balloon.

Perhaps something of the extravagant diffuseness of his later style (at the best always diffuse) is to be attributed to

his solitary life, and seclusion from discussion. To this seclusion we may also ascribe his imperfect statement and treatment of many subjects. Had he enjoyed the criticism of a circle of friends, we may readily suppose their questions and difficulties would have driven him to greater precision and a firmer logic. It is curious to observe the constant illusion he lived under that he was reasoning and proving when he was only backing up his original assertion with new ones: his imaginary arguments are nothing but prolonged affirmations.

It is strange to think of Swedenborg's destitution of friends. He had acquaintances, and he had disciples, but he had no intimates. Thackeray remarks, "Through life Swift always seems alone, somehow. Goethe was so. I can't fancy Shakspeare otherwise. The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company." Certainly it was so with Swedenborg: he lived alone: he held counsel with no man: he gave advice, but received none.

When with this isolated life we consider the perseverance with which year after year he went on writing and publishing, meeting with neither response from sympathy nor antipathy, our wonder grows. Yet it was not a blind perseverance: he varied his tactics to gain, if possible, the public attention. As few would read the *Arcana Cœlestia*, he compiled a batch of books out of it and sent sets to the English Bishops. As they received them with indifference, he resolved to compel their attention by the exposure of their creed and characters in the *Apocalypse Revealed*. This too turned out useless, but he would not submit to defeat; and by renewed violence in the *Brief Exposition*, and the *True Christian Religion*, he seemed as if he had vowed, "But they shall hear me!"

All this manner of strife for the possession of the world's ear proves how little he understood his times, and how much he stood in need of friends who did. How many a man (far otherwise his inferior) could have told him that he might as well put his parcels in the fire as send them to the Bishops, and be angry with them for burning as with their lordships for inattention! Such advice, however, would have been

thrown away, being met with the irresistible dictum, "I am so commanded."

Through Swedenborg's work and conduct we detect an omnipresent self-sufficiency: he never hesitates in doubt, nor asks for help, but is always equal to the occasion. So far he was a true son of his father, the Bishop; and, as I said of him, whilst such a temper enables its possessor to enter with vigour upon courses of action from which more sensitive and modest natures would shrink, it is attended with all the disadvantages of that dulness which is best described by blindness. Thus Swedenborg never understood his generation nor tried to understand it: he served it with such food as he deemed convenient, and when it was rejected, never once imagined that any fault might lie on his side.

Nor, whilst he longed for converts, did he conciliate parties, but was to them a very Ishmaelite. The Christian Church was dead—dead in falses and evils. Protestantism was bad, Catholicism worse, and the little heresies of Fox and Zinzendorf peculiar only in wickedness. Unbelievers (in his phrase Naturalists) were creatures of Hell without disguise. Jews *could not* receive Christian truth, nor Mahometans till they abandoned polygamy. Gentiles were his sole favourites, but which Gentiles he did not designate. No author perhaps ever cut himself off more completely from common sympathy. Then too he maligned reputations which Christians everywhere hold dear. In such offences, coupled with those of strange doctrine, he provided a constant stock of prejudice against himself. Philistines will never find any difficulty in the application of their handy Lynch law formula to him—"Does he say so?" He does. "Then that's enough for me! I want no more of him."

Whilst thus by style, originality, and indiscreet disclosure, the superficial public are driven from him, year after year the great teachers of mankind rise more and more into accord with his philosophical and ethical system. Coleridge said long ago, "As a moralist, Swedenborg is above all praise;" and in the union of utilitarianism with transcendentalism, which begins to characterize our best litera-

ture, we breathe a Swedenborgian air. The coincidences between him and contemporary authors and preachers are so frequent and numerous that those versed in Swedenborg's writings are prone to infer an underhand acquaintance with them; but such an inference is certainly erroneous. It would be easy to find parallels in Swedenborg for scores of Carlyle's finest utterances, but no one would credit him with more than a nominal acquaintance with the great Spiritualist. Whatever be the truth about spontaneous generation in the physical world, there is no doubt about its occurrence in the mental world. Given equivalent conditions, and the Divine Wisdom will instantly vivify them into similar ideas in any number of minds. God is constant and impartial as His effigy the sun. Swedenborg was a mountain top which caught the first rays of a light which is now flooding the valleys.

Much more I might say, and should like to say, but in all these pages I have surely said enough! My end will be gained if I induce even a few to leap the barriers of prejudice which environ Swedenborg, and break through the thickets of his own verbiage, and so reach his most precious and invigorating wisdom. Sure I am that he who does so will say as Sheba said of Solomon, "*It was a true report of thy acts and thy wisdom. Howbeit, I believed not the words until I came and mine eyes had seen it, and behold the half was not told me!*" One by one the lights of last century grow dim or disappear, but time only adds to the power and clear shining of my Author's flame. He testifies of this light, that it is the New Jerusalem as to doctrine, yea the second advent of the Lord Christ, the Truth. To many this seems an awful claim, yet the more I study his writings, and learn to disregard their extraneous encumbrances, the more credible does the claim become.

CATALOGUE OF SWEDENBORG'S WRITINGS;

ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, WITH THE DATE AND
PLACES OF PUBLICATION.

Upsala, 1709. L. Annæi Senecæ et Pub. Syri Mimi, forsan et aliorum selectæ sententiæ, cum annot. Erasmi et Græca versione Scaligeri notis illustratas. Quas cum consensu Ampl. Fac. Philos. notis illustratas sub præsidio Viri Amplissimi Mag. Fabiani Törner, Philos. Theoret. Prof. Reg. et Ord. publico examini modeste submittit Eman. Svedberg, in Audit. Gustav. maj. d. 1 Junii. *Upsaliæ*, 1709.

Skara, 1709. Jesperi Svedbergii, Doct. et Episcopii Scarensis, Parentis Optimi, Canticum Svecicum, Ungdoms Regel och Ålderdoms Spegel [Instruction for Youth and Reflection for Old Age], ex Ecclesiast. c. xii. Latino carmine exhibitum ab Em. Svedbergio, filio. *Scaris*, 1709.

Griefsvalde, 1715. Camena Borea cum heroum et heroidum factis ludens: sive Fabellæ Ovidianis similes sub variis nominibus scriptæ ab E. S., Sueco. *Gryphiswaldiæ*, 1715.

Skara, 1715. Ludus Heliconius sive Carmina Miscellanea, quæ variis in locis cecinit E. S.

Skara, 1716. Cantus Sapphicus in charissimi Parentis diem natalem. *Scaris*, 1716.

Upsala, 1716-18. Dædalus Hyperboræus, eller några nya Mathematiska och Physicaliska försök och anmärkningar för år 1716: som Velb. Hr Assess. Pålheimer och andre sinrike i Sverige hafve gjort och nu tid efter annan till allmän nytta lemna. 6 Floekar. *Upsala*, 1716-18.

(*The Northern Dædalus, or some new Mathematical and Physical Attempts and Observations for the year 1716: which Assessor Polhem and other ingenious men in Sweden have made and published from time to time for the use of the Public. Six parts.*)

Stockholm, Underrättelse om thet förtenta Stjernesunds Arbete,
1717. thes bruk och förtening. *Stockholm, 1717.*

(*Information concerning the Manufacture of Tin-plate at Stjernesund, and its Use.*)

Upsala, 1718. Regel-Konsten författad i tijo böcker. *Upsala.*

(*The Art of Rules in ten parts.*)

Upsala, 1718. Försök att finna östra och vestra lengden igenom
Manån, som til the Lärδας ompröfvande framställes.
Upsala, 1718.

(*Attempts to find the Longitude by means of the Moon,
set forth for the judgment of the Learned.*)

Skara, 1718. Om jordenes och planeternes gång och stånd: thet
är några bevisliga skäl at jorden aftager i sitt lopp och
nu går långsammare än tilförene; görande vinter och
sommar, dagar och nätter längre, i anseende til tiden
nu än förr. *Skara.*

(*On the Motion and Position of the Earth and Planets, in
which are some conclusive proofs that the Earth's course de-
creases in rapidity, being now slower than heretofore, making
winter and summer, days and nights longer in respect to time
now than formerly.*)

Dedicated to King Frederick, 10th Dec., 1718.

Upsala, 1719. Om vatnens höjd och förra verldens starka ebb och
flod. Bevjs utur Sverige. *Upsala.*

(*On the Level of the Sea and the Strong Tides of the
Ancient World. Proofs from Sweden.*)

Dedicated to Ulrika Eleonora on her coronation day.

Stockholm, Förslag till vårt mynts och måls indelning, så at
1719. rekingen kan lättas och alt Bråk afskaffas. *Stockholm,
1719.*

(*Proposal as to the Division of Moneys and Measures, in
order to facilitate calculation and avoid all fractions.*)

1719. Underrättelse om Dockan, Slyssvercken och Saltver-
ket. 1719.

(*Information concerning Docks, Shuices, and Salt
Works.*)

Amsterdam, Prodromus Principiorum Rerum Naturalium, sive
1721. novorum tentaminum Chemiam et Physicam experimen-
talem geometrice explicandi. *Amstelodami, 1721.*

Amsterdam, 1721. Nova Observata et Inventa circa Ferrum et Ignem una cum Nova Camini inventione. *Amstelodami*, 1721.

Ditto. Methodus Nova inveniendi Longitudines Locorum, terra marique, ope Lunæ. *Amstelodami*, 1721.
(Reprinted in 1766.)

Ditto. Artificium Novum Mechanicum Receptacula Navalia, vulgo Dok appellata, construendi. *Amstelodami*, 1721.

Ditto. Nova Constructio Aggeris sive Moliminis Aquatici. *Amstelodami*, 1721.

Ditto. Modus Mechanice Explorandi Virtutes et Qualitates diversi generis, et Constructionis Navigiorum. *Amstelodami*, 1721.

This set of treatises, published at Amsterdam in 1721, was re-issued in English by the Swedenborg Association as—

Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Chemistry, with other Treatises. Translated from the Latin, with Introductory Remarks, Bibliographical Notices, Index, etc., by Charles Edward Strutt, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and dedicated by permission to the Baron Berzelius. Illustrated with 21 Plates. London, 1847.

Stockholm, 1722. Oförgripelige tankar om Svenska myntets förnedring och förhögning. *Stockholm*, 1722.
(*On the Depreciation and Rise of the Swedish Currency*)

Leipsic, 1722. Miscellanea Observata circa res naturales et præsertim circa Mineralia, Ignem et Montium Strata. *Lipsiæ*, 1722.

(In three parts. Dedicated to Count Gustavus Bonde.)

Schiffbeck, near Hamburg, 1722. Miscellaneorum Observationum circa Mineralia, Ferrum et Stalactites in Cavernis Baumannianis. *Naupotami*, 1722.

(Fourth Part. Dedicated to the Duke of Brunswick.)

The four parts were re-issued with other Papers by the Swedenborg Association as—

Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences; with an Appendix containing Swedenborg's Papers from the Acta Literaria Sveciæ. Translated from the

Latin, with Introductory Remarks, Bibliographical Notices, and Index of Subjects, by C. E. Strutt. Illustrated with 9 Plates. London, 1847.

Dresden and Opera Philosophica et Mineralia. Tres Tomi:
Leipsic, 1734. Tom. I.—Principia Rerum Naturalium sive Novorum
Tentaminum Phænomena Mundi Elementaris Philosophice Explicandi.

Tom. II.—Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Ferro deque Modis Liquationum Ferri per Europam passim in usum receptis; deque conversione ferri crudi in chalybem: de vena ferri et probatione ejus; pariter de chymicis præparatis et cum ferro et victriolo ejus factis experimentis.

Tom. III.—Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Cupro et Orichalco modis liquationum cupri per Europam passim in usum receptis: de secretionem ejus ab argento: de conversione in Orichalcum: inque Metalla diversi generis: de Lapide Calaminari: de Zinco: de Vena Cupri et probatione ejus: pariter de chymicis præparatis, et cum cupro factis experimentis, etc., etc. Cum figuris æneis. *Dresdæ et Lipsiæ*, 1734.

The first volume was re-issued by the Swedenborg Association in two volumes as—

The Principia; or, the First Principles of Natural Things; being New Attempts toward a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World. Translated from the Latin, with Introductory Remarks, Index, etc., by the Rev. Augustus Clissold, A.M. London, 1845-46.

Ditto. Prodromus Philosophiæ Ratiocinantis de Infinito et Causa Finali Creationis: deque Mechanismo Operationis Animæ et Corporis. *Dresdæ et Lipsiæ*, 1734.

Re-issued by the Swedenborg Association as—

The Philosophy of the Infinite; or, Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite, and the Final Cause of Creation; and on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body. Translated from the Latin by James John Garth Wilkinson, with an Introduction and Index of Subjects. London, 1847.

Amsterdam, Œconomia Regni Animalis in Transactiones divisa:
1741. quarum hæc prima de Sanguine, ejus Arteriis, Venis et Corde agit: Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustrata. Cui accedit Introductio ad Psychologiam Rationalem. *Amstelodami*, 1741.

Amsterdam, 1741. *Œconomia Regni Animalis in Transactiones divisa: quarum hæc secunda de Cerebri Motu et Cortice et de Anima Humana agit: Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustrata. Amstelodami, 1741.*

Re-issued in two volumes by the Swedenborg Association as—

The Economy of the Animal Kingdom, considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. Augustus Clissold, A.M., and edited, with Introductory Remarks, Indexes, Bibliographical Notices, etc., by James John Garth Wilkinson, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London. London, 1846.

London, 1745. *Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum; cujus Pars Prima. De Visceribus Abdominis seu de Organis Regionis Inferioris agit. Hagæ Comitum, 1744.*

Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum; cujus Pars Secunda. De Visceribus Thoracis seu de Organis Regionis Superioris agit. Hagæ Comitum, 1744.

Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice perlustratum; cujus Pars Tertia. De Cute, Sensu Tactus, et Gustus; et de Formis Organicis in Genere, agit. Londini, 1745.

Re-issued in English in two volumes as—

The Animal Kingdom, considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically. Translated from the Latin, with Introductory Remarks, Indexes, Bibliographical Notices, etc., by James John Garth Wilkinson. London, 1843-44.

London, 1745. *De Cultu et Amore Dei; ubi agitur de Telluris Ortu, Paradiso et Vivario, tum de Primogeniti seu Adami Novitate, Infantia et Amore. Londini, 1745.*

Pars II.—*De Conjugio Adami, et de Anima Mente Intellectuali, Statu Integritatis, et Imagine Dei. Londini, 1745.*

POSTHUMOUS WRITINGS.

Composed before 1745.

1733. *Itinerarium (1733). Tübingæ, 1840.*

1710-39. Itinerarium (1710-14, 1721-22, 1733-34, 1736-39),
Stuttgartiæ, 1844.

About 1743-45. Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice
 perlustratum; cujus Pars IV.—De Carotidibus, de Sensu
 Olfactus, Auditus et Visus, de Sensatione et Affectione
 in Genere, ac de Intellectu et ejus Operatione agit.
Tubingæ, 1848.

Ditto. Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice
 perlustratum. Cujus supplementum sive. Pars VI.
 Sect. I.—De Periosteo et de Mammis agit. Sect. II.—
 De Generatione, de Partibus Genitalibus Utriusque
 Sexus, et de Formatione Fœtus in Utero agit. *Tubingæ*,
 1849.

This last volume has been translated into English
 by Dr. Garth Wilkinson as—

*The Generative Organs, considered Anatomically, Physi-
 cally, and Philosophically.* London, 1852.

Ditto. Regnum Animale Anatomice, Physice et Philosophice
 perlustratum; cujus Pars VII. de Anima agit. *Tubingæ*,
 1849.

Opuscula quædam Argumenti Philosophi. Nunc
 primum edidit Jac. Joh. Garth Wilkinson. *Londini*,
 1846.

Translated as follows:—

Posthumous Tracts.—*The Way to a Knowledge of the
 Soul.*—*Faith and Good Works.*—*The Red Blood.*—*The
 Animal Spirit.*—*Sensation, or the Passion of the Body.*—
The Origin and Propagation of the Soul.—*Action.*—*Frag-
 ment on the Soul, and the Harmony between it and the Body.*
 Now first translated from the Latin by J. J. Garth
 Wilkinson. London, 1847.

There yet remain in manuscript many of Swedenborg's
 physiological studies; among them a work on the Brain
 of upwards of a thousand pages.

Clavis Hieroglyphica Arcanorum Naturalium et Spirit-
 ualium per Viam repræsentationum et correspondenti-
 arum. *Londini*, 1784.

Printed by Hindmarsh from the original manuscript.

*An Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries
 by way of Representations and Correspondences.* Trans-
 lated and published by Robert Hindmarsh. London, 1792.

SPIRITUAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS.

(With the titles and prices of the English editions published by the Swedenborg Society, Bloomsbury Street, London.)

- London, Arcana Cœlestia quæ in Scriptura Sacra, seu Verbo
1749-53. Domini sunt detecta: Hic Primum quæ in GENESI.
Una cum Mirabilibus quæ visa sunt in Mundo Spirituum
et in Cœlo Angelorum.
Pars I.—1749. Pars IV.—1752.
Pars II.—1750. Pars V.—1753.
Pars III.—1751.

- London, Arcana Cœlestia quæ in Scriptura Sacra, seu Verbo
1753-56. Domini sunt detecta. Hic quæ in EXODO, etc.
Pars I.—1753. Pars III.—1756.
Pars II.—1754.

Arcana Cœlestia: the Heavenly Mysteries contained in the Holy Scripture, or Word of the Lord, unfolded in an Exposition of Genesis and Exodus: together with a Relation of Wonderful Things seen in the World of Spirits and in the Heaven of Angels. Twelve vols., 4s. each. Index in two vols., 20s.

- London, De Cœlo et ejus Mirabilibus, et de Inferno, ex Auditis
1758. et Visis. *Londini*, 1758.
Heaven and Hell; also, the Intermediate State, or World of Spirits: a Relation of Things heard and seen. 3s.; or, with Preface by Hartley of Winwick, 3s. 6d.

- Ditto. De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari, quæ vocantur
Planetæ: et de Telluribus in Cœlo Astrifero: deque
illarum incolis; tum de Spiritibus et Angelis ibi; ex
Auditis et Visis. *Londini*, 1758.

On the Earths in our Solar System, and on the Earths in the Starry Heavens: with an account of their inhabitants, and also of the Spirits and Angels there; from what has been heard and seen. 8d.

- Ditto. De Ultimo Judicio, et de Babylonia Destructa: ita
quod omnia, quæ in Apocalypsi prædicta sunt, hodie
impleta sint: ex Auditis et Visis. *Londini*, 1758.

The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon, showing that all the Predictions in the Revelation are at this

day fulfilled: being a Relation of Things heard and seen.
8d.

London, 1758. De Nova Hierosolyma et ejus Doctrina Cœlesti: ex Auditis e Cœlo. Quibus præmittitur aliquid de Novo Cœlo et Nova Terra. *Londini*, 1758.

On the New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine, according to what has been heard from Heaven; to which is prefixed information respecting the New Heaven and the New Earth. 2s.

Ditto. De Equo Albo de quo in Apocalypsi, cap. xix. Et dein de Verbo et ejus Sensu Spirituali seu Interno, ex Arcanis Cœlestibus. *Londini*, 1758.

On the White Horse, mentioned in the Revelation, chap. xix., with particulars respecting the Word and its Spiritual Sense, extracted from the Arcana Cœlestia. 4d.

Amsterdam, 1763. Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Domino. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Lord. To which are added Answers to Questions on the Trinity, proposed by the late Rev. T. Hartley, A.M. 1s.

Ditto. Doctrina Nova Hierosolymæ de Scriptura Sacra. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Sacred Scripture. 1s.

Ditto. Doctrina Vitæ pro Nova Hierosolyma ex Præceptis Decalogi. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem from the Commandments of the Decalogue. 6d.

Ditto. Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Fide. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting Faith. 4d.

Ditto. Continuatio de Ultimo Judicio: et de Mundo Spirituali. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

Included in the English edition of the *Last Judgment*.

Ditto. Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et de Divina Sapientia. *Amstelodami*, 1763.

Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom. 2s.

- Amsterdam, Sapiëntia Angelica de Divina Providentia. *Amstelo-*
1764. *dami*, 1764.

Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence. 3s.

- Amsterdam, Apocalypsis Revelata in qua deteguntur Arcana quæ
1766. ibi prædicta sunt, et hactenus recondita latuerunt.
Amstelodami, 1766.

The Apocalypse Revealed; in which are disclosed the Arcana therein foretold. Two vols. 8s.

- Amsterdam, Delitiæ Sapiëntiæ de Amore Conjugiali; post quas
1768. sequuntur Voluptates Insaniæ de Amore Scortatorio.
Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Sueco. *Amstelodami*, 1768.

Conjugal Love and its Chaste Delights; also Adulterous [Scortatory is not necessarily Adulterous] Love and its Insane Pleasures. 4s.

- Amsterdam, Summario Expositio Doctrinæ Novæ Ecclesiæ quæ
1769. per Novam Hierosolimam in Apocalypsi intelligitur.
Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Sueco. *Amstelodami*, 1769.

A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation. 10d.

- London, De Commercio Animæ et Corporis, quod creditur fieri
1769. vel per Influxum Physicum, vel per Influxum Spiritu-
alem, vel per Harmoniam Præstabilitam. *Londini*, 1769.

The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body, which is supposed to take place either by Physical Influx, or by Spiritual Influx, or by Præ-established Harmony. 4d.

- Amsterdam, Vera Christiana Religio, continens Universam Theo-
1771. logiam Novæ Ecclesiæ a Domino apud Danielelem, cap.
vii. 13, 14; et in Apocalypsi, cap. xxi. 1, 2, prædictæ.
Ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Domini Jesu Christi Servo.
Amstelodami, 1771.

The True Christian Religion; or the Universal Theology of the New Church; foretold by the Lord in Daniel vii. 13, 14; and in the Apocalypse xxi. 1, 2. 7s.

POSTHUMOUS WRITINGS.

Svedenborg's Drömmar 1744, jemte andra hans anteckningar. Efter original-handskrifter meddelade af G. E. KLEMMING. *Stockholm*, 1859.

(*Swedenborg's Dreams in 1744, together with some other Memoranda of his.* Edited from the Original by G. E. KLEMMING.)

In October, 1853, there was offered for sale to the Royal Library at Stockholm a small octavo volume, such as was commonly used for note-books last century, bound in parchment, with a pocket on each side, and fastened at the middle with a clasp. There were only 69 leaves in it, as some, probably blank, had been torn out. Only 54 leaves, or, to be exact, 104 pages, were written upon. It proved on examination to be a Diary kept by Swedenborg between 1743 and 1744. The book was from the library of Prof. Scheringsson, who died in 1849, aged 90. With his heirs it remained unnoticed, until turning it over, it was thought some money might be got for it at the Royal Library. Mr. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, quickly discerning the value of the shabby old book, bought it, and in 1859 printed an edition of 99 copies, edited with a punctilious care, which will for ever leave Swedenborgian students his grateful debtors.

1745-47. *Adversaria in Libros Testamenti. E chirographo ejus in Bibliotheca Regiæ Academiæ Holmiensis asservato.*

Pars I.—Vol. I. *Genesis. Tübingæ, 1847.*

II. " " 1848.

III. " " 1851.

IV. *Genesis et Exodus.*

Tübingæ, 1852.

V. *Exodus.* " 1853.

VI. " " 1854.

Pars II.—*Continens Josuam, Judices, Ruth, Samuelem, Reges et Chronica. Tübingæ, 1842.*

Pars III.—*Continens Leviticum, Numeros et Deuteronomium. Tübingæ, 1842.*

Pars IV.—*Continens Jesajam et Jeremiam. Stuttgardiæ, 1843.*

1747, with intermissions to 1764. *Eman. Swedenborgii Diarii Spiritualis. E chirographo ejus in Bibliotheca Regiæ Universitatis Upsaliensis asservato.*

Pars I.—Vol. I. *Tübingæ, 1844.* Vol. II., 1845.

E chirographo ejus in Bibliotheca Regiæ Academiæ Holmiensis asservato.

Pars II. *Stuttgardiæ, 1843.*

III. Vol. I. " 1844.

" II. " 1844.

IV. *Tübingæ, 1843.*

Pars V.	Vol. I.	<i>Tubingæ</i> , 1846.
	„ II.	„ 1847.
VI.		„ 1845.
VII.	Vol. I.	„ 1846.
	„ II.	„ 1854.
	Sect. III.	„ 1859.

Continens Narratiunculas de Vitis Hominum in Diario E. Swedenborgii commemoratorum; quibus adjecta est Genealogia Familiæ Nobilis Swedenborgiæ. Auctore Achatio Kahl, Archidiacono Templi Lundensis; etc.

Sect. IV. *Tubingæ*, 1860.

Continens opusculum posthumum de Conjugio.

Two volumes of the Diary have been translated into English—Part I. by the Rev. J. H. Smithson, of Manchester, and Part II. by the Rev. George Bush, of New York.

Index Biblicus sive Thesaurus Bibliorum Emblematicus et Allegoricus.

Vol. I. *Tubingæ*, 1859.

II. „ 1860.

III. „ 1863. In progress.

1759.

Apocalypsis Explicata secundum Sensum Spiritualem; ubi Revelantur Arcana, quæ ibi prædicta, et hactenus recondita fuerunt. *Londini*, typis Roberti Hindmarsh, No. 32, Clerkenwell Close. Vol. I.—1785. Vol. II.—1786. Vol. III.—1788. Vol. IV.—1789.

The Apocalypse Explained according to the Spiritual Sense: in which are revealed the Arcana which are there predicted, and which have hitherto been deeply concealed. Six vols. 4s. each.

Summaria Expositio Sensus Interni Prophetarum et Psalmorum Davidis. *Londini*, 1784.

A Summary Exposition of the Internal Sense of the Prophets and Psalms. 1s.

Quæstiones Novem de Trinitate, etc., ad Emanuelem Swedenborg propositæ a Thomâ Hartley; tum illius responsa. *Londini*, 1785.

These Questions and Answers are printed as an Appendix to the English edition of the Doctrine of the Lord.

Dicta Probandia Veteris et Novi Testamenti collecta et breviter explicata. *Tubingæ*, 1845.

De Domino et de Athanasii Symbolo. *Londini*, 1840.

Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Charitate. *Londini*, 1840.

Canones, seu Integra Theologia, Novæ Ecclesiæ. De Deo Uno et Infinito. De Domino Redemptore; et de Redemptione. De Spiritu Sancto. De Divinâ Trinitate. *Londini*, 1840.

Had these in hand before onem. Coronis seu Appendix ad Veram Christianam Religio-

his death, Invitatio ad Novam Ecclesiam.

1772. Printed by Dr. Tafel, in Part VII., Vol. I., of Spiritual Diary.

The Coronis or Appendix to the True Christian Religion, treating of the Four Churches on this Earth since Creation. 8d.

Any corrections or additions to this list will be thankfully received by

W. W.

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